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EURIPIDES

ION

EDITED BY JOHN C. GIBERT

## CAMBRIDGE GREEK AND LATIN CLASSICS

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# EURIPIDES

## *ION*

EDITED BY  
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## PREFACE

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In recent decades, *Ion* has come to be recognized as one of Euripides' most attractive and inventive tragedies. With its story of an anonymous temple slave who, on reaching maturity, is discovered to be the son of Apollo and an Athenian princess, the play is increasingly appreciated as a rare dramatization of Athenian myth for (mostly) Athenian spectators; a thoughtful meditation on Apollo, Delphi, and piety; and a unique representation of the suffering and longing of the foundling and his mother, who refuse to play exactly the parts Apollo has in mind for them. The prologue's prediction of a happy ending guarantees a play unlike *Medea*, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, or *Agamemnon*, but amid the twists and turns of a plot that anticipates later Greek comedy, Euripides reflects seriously on the god and his oracle, the experiences of Creusa and Ion, and the ideology of autochthony and empire. Along with the thrills attendant on deception, intrigue, narrowly averted violence, and finally joyful reunion, the play provokes intense sympathy and occasionally smiles or even laughs, and its overall effect remains elusive and puzzling. This edition aims to make *Ion* accessible to students and scholars by addressing its contexts in myth, ritual, and religion, and law, politics, and society, along with matters of literary form, dramatic technique, style, and language. It aims at nuanced views of issues that have often been oversimplified. Readers will encounter my judgments and opinions, but I hope also to help them form their own.

It has taken much longer than intended to complete this edition and commentary, and I have incurred debts of many kinds, which it is a pleasure to acknowledge. I would like to thank the students with whom I have read *Ion* at the University of Colorado Boulder, especially Tyler Denton and Florencia Foxley, for their work as research assistants; and Zachary Biles and Jennifer Starkey, friends who are now as inspiring as scholars and teachers as they once were as students. Warm thanks also to my wonderful colleagues in the Classics Department. My work has been supported by various leaves and grants provided by the University of Colorado Boulder and its College of Arts and Sciences. Harvard's Center for Hellenic Studies provided an incomparable setting for research and writing at an early stage; my sincerest thanks to all who made my year there so memorable, especially then Directors Deborah Boedeker and Kurt Raaflaub.

All students and scholars of Euripides owe a tremendous debt to James Diggle for his magisterial critical edition in the Oxford Classical Texts series. I have also derived much benefit from the Aris & Phillips edition and commentary by Kevin Lee, and the Loeb Classical Library edition

by David Kovacs. The new edition and commentary by Gunther Martin appeared when my work was essentially complete. For help of various kinds, I am grateful to Diane Arnson Svarlien, Lucia Athanassaki, James Diggle, Kevin Glowacki, Mark Griffith, Carolin Hahnemann, the late James Irvine, David Kovacs, John Miller, Melissa Mueller, Victoria Pedrick, Ed Sacks, David Sansone, Scott Scullion, and Zoe Stamatopoulou. Helene Foley and her students at Barnard and Columbia read most of the commentary and provided feedback as they prepared for a production of *Ion* in New York in 2015. For reading and offering detailed and helpful comments on portions of the work at various stages, I am especially grateful to Luigi Battezzato, Donald Mastronarde, Lauri Reitzammer, Harvey Yunis, and the participants in a commentary writers' workshop held at the University of Minnesota in 2007, above all its tireless and learned organizer Douglas Olson. Martin Cropp read the entire work when it was nearly complete and made a number of very useful suggestions and corrections; I offer him heartfelt thanks for his kindness and expertise. I first studied *Ion* three decades ago while writing a dissertation in Harvard University's Department of the Classics under the supervision of Albert Henrichs, with whom I continued to discuss the play from time to time until his death in 2017. Albert's warmth, energy, learning, and insight are fondly remembered and sorely missed by all who knew him.

Finally, I would like to thank the editors at the Cambridge University Press, in particular Michael Sharp, for his patience and professionalism; Mary Bongiovi, for her work as Content Manager; and especially Iveta Adams, for her outstanding copy-editing. Most of all, I thank Pat Easterling, Neil Hopkinson, and Richard Hunter, Greek Editors of the Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics, for the invitation to contribute to the series, for thoughtful comments on multiple drafts of the text, commentary, and introduction, for helpful responses to my queries, and for patiently awaiting the completion of my work. I have benefitted enormously from their knowledge and editorial experience. They have saved me from countless errors; for those that remain, I am solely responsible.

I dedicate this book to Adam and Sophie, who have had to live with it for too long, and who have taught me more than anyone.

*Boulder*

*August 2018*

## ABBREVIATIONS: EDITIONS AND REFERENCE WORKS

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Beekes	R. Beekes, <i>Etymological dictionary of Greek</i> , 2 vols. (Leiden 2010)
Bruhn	<i>Sophokles, erklärt von F. W. Schneidewin und A. Nauck</i> , vol. VIII: <i>Anhang, zusammengestellt von E. Bruhn</i> (Berlin 1899)
DK	H. Diels and W. Kranz, eds. <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> , 6th edn. (Berlin 1951–2)
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, ed. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> (Berlin and Leiden 1923–58)
GMT	W. W. Goodwin, <i>Syntax of the moods and tenses of the Greek verb</i> (London 1889) (references are to numbered paragraphs)
GP	J. D. Denniston, <i>The Greek particles</i> , 2nd edn. (Oxford 1954)
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (Berlin 1873–); vol. I, 3rd edn. (Berlin 1981)
K–G	R. Kühner and B. Gerth, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache</i> , Part 2: <i>Satzlehre</i> , 3rd edn., 2 vols. (Hannover 1898–1904) (references are to volume and page number)
LIMC	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> (Zurich 1981–2009)
LSJ	H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, <i>A Greek–English lexicon</i> , rev. H. S. Jones (9th edn., Oxford 1925–40), with <i>Revised supplement</i> , ed. P. G. W. Glare and A. A. Thompson (Oxford 1996)
LSS	F. Sokolowski, <i>Lois sacrées des cités grecques, Supplément</i> (Paris 1962)
OCD	S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth, and E. Eidinow, eds. <i>The Oxford classical dictionary</i> , 4th edn. (Oxford 2012)
OLD	P. G. W. Glare, ed. <i>The Oxford Latin dictionary</i> , 2nd edn. (Oxford 2012)
OR	R. Osborne and P. J. Rhodes, <i>Greek historical inscriptions 478–404 BC</i> (Oxford 2017)
PMG	D. L. Page, ed. <i>Poetae melici Graeci</i> (Oxford 1962)
Schwyzler	E. Schwyzler and A. Debrunner, <i>Griechische Grammatik</i> , 4 vols. (Munich 1938–50)
Smyth	H. W. Smyth, <i>Greek grammar</i> , rev. G. Messing (Cambridge, Mass. 1956) (references are to numbered paragraphs)

TrGF	B. Snell, R. Kannicht, and S. Radt, eds. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum fragmenta</i> , 5 vols. (Göttingen 1971–2004)
West	M. L. West, ed. <i>Iambi et elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati</i> (Oxford, vol. I 1971, 1989 <sup>2</sup> ; vol. II 1972, 1992 <sup>2</sup> )

N.B. Abbreviations of ancient authors and works generally follow LSJ and/or *OCD*. In references to Attic tragedies and comedies, the titles of plays are abbreviated as follows (plays by each author in probable chronological order):

A. (Aeschylus): *Pe.* (*Persae, Persians*), *Se.* (*Septem contra Thebas, Seven against Thebes*), *Su.* (*Supplices, Suppliant Women*), *Ag.* (*Agamemnon*), *Ch.* (*Choephoroi, Libation Bearers*), *Eu.* (*Eumenides*), *PV* (*Prometheus Vincetus, Prometheus Bound*);

S. (Sophocles): *Aj.* (*Ajax*), *Ant.* (*Antigone*), *Tr.* (*Trachiniae, Women of Trachis*), *OT* (*Oedipus Tyrannus, Oedipus the King*), *El.* (*Electra*), *Ph.* (*Philoctetes*), *OC* (*Oedipus Coloneus, Oedipus at Colonus*);

E. (Euripides): *Alc.* (*Alcestis*), *Med.* (*Medea*), *Hcld.* (*Heracidae, Children of Heracles*), *Hipp.* (*Hippolytus*), *An.* (*Andromache*), *Hec.* (*Hecuba*), *Su.* (*Supplices, Suppliant Women*), *El.* (*Electra*), *Her.* (*Heracles*), *Tro.* (*Troades, Trojan Women*), *IT* (*Iphigenia in Tauris, Iphigenia among the Taurians*), *Hel.* (*Helena, Helen*), *Ph.* (*Phoenissae, Phoenician Women*), *Or.* (*Orestes*), *Ba.* (*Bacchae*), *IA* (*Iphigenia Aulidensis, Iphigenia at Aulis*), *Cy.* (*Cyclops*), *Rh.* (*Rhesus*);

Ar. (Aristophanes): *Ach.* (*Acharnes, Acharnians*), *Thesmo.* (*Thesmophoriazusae, Women at the Thesmophoria*), *Lys.* (*Lysistrata*). Other Aristophanic titles are given in full in English.

Tragic fragments are cited from TrGF. Fragmentary plays of Euripides: *Alex.* (*Alexandros*), *Androm.* (*Andromeda*), *Ant.* (*Antiope*), *Arch.* (*Archelaus*), *Bell.* (*Bellerophon*), *Cresph.* (*Cresphontes*), *Cret.* (*Cretans*), *Erech.* (*Erechtheus*), *Hyps.* (*Hypsipyle*), *Mel. Soph.* (*Melanippe Sophe, Melanippe the Wise*), *Oed.* (*Oedipus*), *Pha.* (*Phaethon*).

Comic fragments are cited from R. Kassel and C. Austin, eds. *Poetae comici Graeci*, 8 vols. (Berlin 1983–2001).

# KEY TO METRICAL TERMS, ABBREVIATIONS, AND SYMBOLS

---

—	heavy (“long”) element
∪	light (“short”) element
×	<i>anceps</i> element (may be heavy or light)
˘	<i>brevis in longo</i> (light element in place of heavy)
∪∪	two light elements taking the place of a heavy element (“resolution”)
≡, ∇	upper element occurs in strophe, lower element in antistrophe
oo	two elements of which at least one must be heavy
∫	“dovetailing” (word-end one, or occasionally more than one, position later than colon-end)
^	element omitted in syncopation
⋮	place where word-end is frequent
	place where word-end coincides with colon-division within a period, or where word ends after dovetailing
	period-end (previous element counts as heavy regardless of vowel-length)
<sup>h</sup>	period-end accompanied by hiatus (superscript <sup>h1</sup> indicates strophe, <sup>h2</sup> antistrophe)
<sup>b</sup>	period-end accompanied by <i>brevis in longo</i> (superscript <sup>b1</sup> indicates strophe, <sup>b2</sup> antistrophe)
<sup>?</sup>	period-end possible, but not certain
	end of lyric stanza
~	in responsion with
an	anapaestic metron (∪∪ — ∪∪ —)
anacr	anacreontic (∪∪ — ∪ — ∪ — —)
2an <sub>Λ</sub>	anapaestic dimeter catalectic (∪∪ — ∪∪ — ∪∪ — —) (“paroemiac”)
ba	bacchiac (∪ — —)
choerilean	— ∪∪ — ∪∪ — × — ∪∪ — ∪∪ — (D × D)
cr	cretic (— ∪ —)
da	dactyl (— ∪∪)
D	— ∪∪ — ∪∪ — (in dactylo-epitrite)
do	dochmiac (× — — × —)
e	— ∪ — (in dactylo-epitrite)
elegiambus	— ∪∪ — ∪∪ — × — ∪ — × (D × e ×)

enop	enoplian (various cola that begin with double-light movement and end with single-light movement: see 1439–1509n. <i>Meter</i> )
hypodo	hypodochmiac (– ∪ – ∪ –)
iambelegus	× – ∪ – ×   – ∪ – ∪ – (pe   D)
ia	iambic metron (× – ∪ –)
io	ionic metron (∪ ∪ – –)
ith	ithyphallic (– ∪ – ∪ – –)
mol	molossus (– – –)
pe	penthemimer (× – ∪ – ×)
tr	trochaic metron (– ∪ – ×)

*Aeolic cola*

ar	aristophanean (– ∪ – ∪ – –)
dod	dodrans (– ∪ – ∪ –)
gl	glyconic (oo – ∪ – ∪ –)
hag	hagesichorean (× – ∪ – ∪ – –)
hi	hipponactean (oo – ∪ – ∪ – –)
ibyc	ibycean (– ∪ – ∪ – ∪ –)
ph	pherecratean (oo – ∪ – –)
phal	phalaecian oo – ∪ – ∪ – × – – (gl ia <sub>^</sub> )
prax	praxilleian – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – ∪ – – (ar <sup>2d</sup> )
r	reizianum (× – ∪ – –)
tl	telesillean (× – ∪ – ∪ –)

A preceding numeral (as in 3ia) indicates the number of metra.

In 2ia<sub>^</sub>, 4tr<sub>^</sub>, etc. the sign <sub>^</sub> applies only to the last metron.

Superscript <sup>c</sup> or <sup>d</sup> indicates choriambic or dactylic expansion.

Superscript ~ (as in ~tl) indicates that the first position is resolved.

Superscript ¯ (as in ¯gl, gl¯) indicates anacalasis (the double-light element has traded places with the preceding or following single-light element).

For a fuller list and discussion of metrical terms and concepts, see West 1982, especially xi–xii and 191–201.



# INTRODUCTION

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## 1 EURIPIDES: LIFE AND WORKS

Few details of Euripides' life are certain. As celebrities, tragic poets attracted gossip and comic caricature – Euripides more than most. Ancient sources present such material, along with untrustworthy inferences from the poet's work, as biographical fact. Sources like the *Life* prefaced to the plays in many manuscripts, the papyrus fragments of a dialogue on the poet's life by the Peripatetic Satyrus (probably third-century BCE), and the entry for Euripides in the Byzantine encyclopedia known as the *Suda* (ε 3695), must therefore be treated with great caution.<sup>1</sup> A few data, however, derive from study by Aristotle and his pupils of the records of tragic competitions kept by the Athenian *polis*,<sup>2</sup> and these can be combined with careful use of the other available evidence to give an outline of the poet's life and career.

Euripides was probably born in the 480s. His father's name is given as Mnesarchides or Mnesarchus; his deme was Phyla, which belonged to the tribe Cecropis. We know nothing of his childhood and young adulthood, but we can infer from his activity as poet that he came from a prosperous family and received a good education. He must have participated in the standard military training and service required of Athenian males and, to an unknowable extent, in the institutions of Athenian democracy. He probably acquired theatrical experience by associating with other poets, actors, and chorus-trainers (roles often combined in the same individual). The ancient *Life* calls him a pupil of Anaxagoras, Prodicus, and Protagoras, and an associate (ἑταῖρος) of Socrates (T 1.7–8). This dubious claim, echoed and varied in other sources, reflects awareness that his characters and choruses participate more overtly than their Aeschylean and Sophoclean counterparts in the intellectual trends of fifth-century Greece.

The date of Euripides' first entry in the dramatic competition, again according to the *Life* (T 1.26–7 ~ 51–2), is 455, when he is said to have won third (that is, last) prize with a tetralogy including *Daughters of Pelias*. The

<sup>1</sup> For a complete collection of sources, see *TrGF* v.1.39–145 (reference to which is made by the letter T followed by item number). See also the collection and interpretation by Kovacs 1994: 1–141, and Scodel 2017.

<sup>2</sup> The Greek word for “director” (normally the poet) is διδάσκαλος, lit. “teacher”; a dramatic production is διδασκαλία, a word also used for the written record of a production. The evidence for tragic productions is collected in *TrGF* 1.3–52.

next important date is 441, when he won his first victory, with unknown plays (T 56–7). Of the nineteen surviving plays attributed to Euripides (seventeen genuine tragedies; the satyr play *Cyclops*; and the tragedy *Rhesus*, almost certainly the work of a fourth-century poet), the earliest is *Alcestis* (438, second prize); next comes *Medea* (431, third prize). The other extant plays produced on known occasions are *Hippolytus* (428, first prize), *Trojan Women* (415, second prize), *Helen* (412), and *Orestes* (408). *Phoenician Women* was produced after 412. The surviving *Iphigenia in Aulis* and *Bacchae*, along with the lost *Alcmeon in Corinth*, won first prize in a posthumous production within a few years of Euripides' death, which the evidence of Aristophanes' *Frogs* (405) allows us to fix in 407/406. Altogether, ancient scholars knew the titles of ninety-two plays, but they had texts of only seventy-eight (seventy tragedies and eight satyr plays), and they doubted the authenticity of a few of these.

No dates are transmitted for the other surviving plays, including *Ion*. The approximate dates assigned by scholars are based mainly on two criteria: quotations and allusions in datable comedies, and the frequency and types of metrical resolution in the iambic trimeter. Suspected allusions to datable historical events are sometimes adduced as well, but these are mostly vague or general, in accordance with tragic norms, and thus open to varying interpretation. An even less reliable criterion is the development of Euripides' dramatic technique. The following are commonly accepted dates and date-ranges: *Children of Heracles* (c. 430), *Andromache* (c. 425), *Hecuba* (c. 425–424), *Suppliant Women* (c. 423), *Electra* (c. 420), *Heracles* (c. 416), *Iphigenia among the Taurians* (c. 414).<sup>3</sup>

There are no certain allusions to *Ion* in datable comedies.<sup>4</sup> The metrical criterion points to the 410s, one of the most thickly documented decades in Greek history. Given the play's relevance to Athenian imperial propaganda during a turbulent phase of the Peloponnesian War, we would very much like to narrow the range further. Unfortunately, the method of dating Euripides' plays by metrical evidence, while generally convincing, depends on various assumptions that can be questioned, and in any case can indicate only approximate dates; special circumstances, such as the low incidence of proper name resolutions in *Ion* in comparison with other plays, introduce further uncertainty.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Mastronarde 2010: 28–43.

<sup>4</sup> Delebecque 1951: 226 unconvincingly identifies two passages of Aristophanes' *Birds* (securely dated to 414) as allusions to *Ion* (*Birds* 769–84 ~ *Ion* 161–9, *Birds* 999–1009 ~ *Ion* 1132–40), which would then predate 415 (that year being already occupied by the Trojan trilogy). No sound inference regarding chronological priority can be based on mention of Pan's cave in Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (produced in 411) at 1, 720, and 911 and in *Ion* at 492–509 and 936–8.

<sup>5</sup> Cropp and Fick 1985: 5–25 and *passim*.

*Ion*'s resolution rate falls between that of the securely datable *Tro.* (415) and *Hel.* (412); other extant plays whose rates fall between those of *Tro.* and *Hel.* are *IT*, for which external evidence is lacking, and *Ph.*, for which  $\Sigma$  Ar. *Frogs* 53 indicates a date between 411 and Euripides' death. Cropp and Fick's calculation from *Ion*'s resolution rate makes a date within the range 417–414 "very plausible," and a date outside the range 418–413 "implausible."<sup>6</sup> When the evidence of *types* of resolution is taken into account, *Ion* again fits comfortably among the plays named so far, along with *El.* and *Her.*, and is somewhat less free than the latest group, consisting of *Or.*, *Ba.*, and *IA*.<sup>7</sup>

Efforts to date *Ion* on the basis of political tendency and supposed historical allusions have not produced consensus. At 1592, Athena calls Achaea "the coastal land around Rhium." The small town of Rhium opposite Naupactus near the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf was important to Athenian naval strategy in the Peloponnesian War and is mentioned by Thucydides in connection with events of 429 (2.86, 92) and 419 (5.52). Because it is otherwise rarely heard of, Henri Grégoire argues that Euripides must have written *Ion* while the events of 419 were recent.<sup>8</sup> Others, favoring the lower end of the range suggested by meter (in part for good, but inconclusive reasons relating to dramatic form and technique), examine the relationship of *Ion* to the disastrous (for Athens) end of the Sicilian expedition in 413. They disagree, however, as to whether the play more naturally belongs to a time before Chios, Erythrae, and other Ionian allies revolted from Athens, or after.<sup>9</sup> They also disagree about the relevance

<sup>6</sup> Cropp and Fick 1985: 23, dates rounded to the nearest whole number. The authors calculate two "relative likelihood intervals" (RLIs), 50% and 10%. The former means that a date within the calculated range has at least half as good a chance of being correct as the date corresponding, on the line derived from the metrical data, to the actual resolution rate; such a date is "very plausible." A date outside the 10% RLI has less than 10% as good a chance of being correct as the date corresponding to the rate and is "implausible."

<sup>7</sup> Cropp and Fick 1985: 60–5.

<sup>8</sup> Grégoire opts for 418 (1923: 167–8), and is followed by Delebecque 1951: 225 and, tentatively, Goossens 1962: 478 n. 1. Owen 1939: xl–xli agrees about Rhium, but thinks a supposed allusion to ostracism at *Ion* 603 "would well suit the period immediately preceding the ostracism of Hyperbolus," which he puts in 417. The attack on such methods by Zuntz 1955: 55–69 (64 on *Ion*) has been influential.

<sup>9</sup> Wilamowitz first held that *Ion* could not have been produced after the "collapse" of the empire in winter 413/412 (1935–72: vi.188 n. 1 [1888]), then that it very well could have been (1926: 24). Matthiessen 1964 accepts his first thoughts, Zacharia 2003: 3–7 his second. Zacharia's reason for preferring 412 to any later date is unconvincing, since it depends on an association between the number 400 and the four old Ionian tribes around the time of the oligarchic revolution (411 BCE). While no ancient source makes this association, the oligarchs demonstrably made use of the ten Cleisthenic tribes in their reorganization of the government.

of the Spartan fortification of Decelea in spring 413 which, starting in the autumn of that year, prevented initiates into the Eleusinian Mysteries from following the usual route of the Iacchus-procession from Athens to Eleusis along the Sacred Way.<sup>10</sup> While some think that Euripides would not have evoked the procession as he does at *Ion* 1074–89(n.) after these events, others take the opposite view.<sup>11</sup> *Ion* celebrates the shared ancestry of Athenians and Ionians, affirms the Athenian claim to hegemony, and disparages the Dorian Spartans' inferior ancestry and claim. The Sicilian defeat created an atmosphere conducive to this tendency, but it would be equally fitting at any point during the Peloponnesian War, and certainly throughout the decade of the 410s. The trimeter evidence fits the middle of the decade best, but we will probably never know the exact chronological relationship of *Ion* to events of the war and Athenian domestic politics.

## 2 MYTH

### 2.1 Genealogy

In terms of genealogical myth, *Ion*'s defining purpose is to serve as eponym of the Ionians.<sup>12</sup> The stories told about him were not among the oldest or best attested Greek myths, and they remained subject to variation and manipulation into the fifth century and beyond. The most influential early version, preserved in the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, makes *Ion* the son of Xuthus and Creusa, a daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus; in addition to *Ion*, Creusa bears Xuthus a son Achaeus and a daughter Diomedes.<sup>13</sup> In this account, Xuthus is one of three sons of Hellen (son of Deucalion,

<sup>10</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 1.4.20; cf. Plut. *Alc.* 34, Diod. Sic. 13.68–9.

<sup>11</sup> For the first view, see Owen on 1076; for the second, Wilamowitz 1926: 24 and ad loc. Note that although *Ion*'s resolution rate as interpreted by Cropp and Fick renders 412 “implausible,” many recent scholars are prepared to consider it. Martin 2018: 24–32 supports a date as late as 410 (advocated by Klimek-Winter 1996 and some earlier scholars on less convincing grounds); regarding meter, he emphasizes the many similarities of *Ion* and *Ph.* (datable by external evidence to 409 ± 2).

<sup>12</sup> The ethnic Ἴωνες, from which the personal name *Ion* derives (cf. 80–1n.), has no agreed etymology. It appears to be attested already in Linear B in the form *I-ja-wo-ne* (Bremmer 1997: 10–11), and several west Asian languages borrow and adapt it as a name for “Greeks” generally (Beekes s.v. Ἴωνες).

<sup>13</sup> [Hes.] fr. 10a.20–4 = P.Turner 1.20–4 + P.Oxy. 2822 fr. 2, first published in 1981 and 1971, respectively. The only name entirely preserved in the papyri is Diomedes, also called Xuthus' daughter in Apollod. 1.9.4, but the combination of preserved letters and Apollod. 1.7.3 puts the restoration of the others beyond doubt (Parsons, Sijpesteijn, and Worp 1981: 14). *Ion*'s name, which falls entirely in a gap, must have appeared here in the form *Iaon* (West 1983 and 1987). In *Mel. Soph.* fr. 481.9–11, Euripides follows Hesiodic tradition in making *Ion* the son of Xuthus and an Erechtheid (unnamed). For a possibly older, west Locrian genealogy that makes him the son of Physkos, see Hall 2003: 29–30.

son of Prometheus); the others are Aeolus and Dorus ([Hes.] fr. 9). This so-called “Hellenic genealogy” explains the main ethnic subdivisions of the people who called themselves Ἕλληνες at the time when it was constructed or became widely accepted, namely Aeolians, Dorians, Ionians, and Achaeans.<sup>14</sup> Xuthus is the only “Hellene” in this stemma who is not an eponym; his purpose is rather to facilitate expression of the perceived or asserted degrees of kinship among the others: Achaeans and Ionians are presented as more closely related to each other than to Aeolians and Dorians, while the insertion of an extra generation between them and Hellen perhaps implies that they are somehow less “Hellenic.” That Ion’s mother is a daughter of the Athenian king Erechtheus, meanwhile, suggests that Athenians at this time wanted to be seen both as “Hellenic” and as ancestors of the Ionians.<sup>15</sup> But Athens’ claim to be the Ionian metropolis was contested: a strong tradition located Ionian origins in Achaea in the northwest Peloponnese. The fact that Achaeus and Ion are brothers in the Hellenic genealogy may be an attempt to explain or reconcile these competing claims.<sup>16</sup>

The genealogy put forward in *Ion* differs from the Hesiodic Hellenic genealogy in three ways. First, and most important, it makes Apollo Ion’s father. Apollo’s paternity is not attested before Euripides, and the relatively few sources that attest it later are not demonstrably independent of him.<sup>17</sup> The relative obscurity of Xuthus was a standing invitation for someone to gratify the Athenians by giving Ion a superior father and eliminating the foreign element from his background. Fortunately, it hardly matters for interpretation of *Ion* whether it was Euripides or someone else who

<sup>14</sup> On genealogical thinking generally, see J. Hall 1997 and 2002; on the Hellenic genealogy, J. Hall 1997: 34–66 and 2003, Fowler 1998 and 2000–13: II.122–30. Fowler dates “the birth of Greek ethnic identity, if not its widest diffusion, at a time slightly before Homer, in the late eighth century B.C.” (127); West 1985: 136 dates the Hesiodic *Catalogue* to the period 580–520 BCE.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. the equation of Ionians and Athenians at Hom. *Il.* 13.685–9 and Solon’s description of Athens as πρεσβυτάτην . . . γαῖαν Ἰαονίης (fr. 4a.2 West).

<sup>16</sup> Parker 1986: 206. For the historical colonization of Ionia, see Hornblower on Thuc. 1.12.4, Deger-Jalkotzy 2006.

<sup>17</sup> At Pl. *Euthd.* 302c–d, Socrates says that there is no “ancestral” (πατρῷος) Zeus for Athenians and Ionians, but rather Ἀπόλλων πατρῷος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἴωνος γένεσιν. For the view that Plato may depend on Euripides here, and that later sources naming Apollo as Ion’s father (e.g. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* fr. 1, Arr. *Anab.* 7.29.3, Diod. Sic. 16.57.4, Σ Ar. *Birds* 1527) in turn depend on either Euripides or Plato, see e.g. Parker 1986: 207 n. 80; for speculation that Euripides draws on an older tradition, e.g. Conacher 1967: 271, Smarczyk 1990: 362. Socrates’ suggestion that Apollo’s cult epithet πατρῷος derives from a myth of paternity is misleading, as it can be explained in other ways (Parker 2005: 22–3). Although the word is very common in Euripides (around ninety occurrences), it is not found even once in *Ion*. Athenians and Ionians shared the festival Apatouria, concerned with kinship, but Apollo was not its honorand (Parker 2005: 458–61), and Ion apparently played no part in it (Kearns 1989: 109).

answered the call.<sup>18</sup> Having two fathers, a mortal one in name (as will continue to be the case, within the fiction, in the future Athena ordains at the end of *Ion*) and an immortal one in fact (as Athenians would be pleased to believe), places Ion in the distinguished company of Heracles (Zeus and Amphitryon), Theseus (Poseidon and Aegeus), and the Dioscuri Castor and Pollux (Zeus and Tyndareus), among others.<sup>19</sup> But the treatment of Ion's mortal "father" differs greatly from that of, for example, Amphitryon, who opens *Heracles* by proudly identifying himself as "the one who shared [Alcmene's] bed with Zeus."<sup>20</sup> The premise in *Ion* is that Xuthus and the world at large are never to know that Ion's true father is Apollo.<sup>21</sup> Ion, meanwhile, differs from other divine children in that he already has a close relationship with Apollo through personal religious devotion before he learns that the god is his father, and his social status and political identity are problematized in ways not seen with other semi-divine tragic heroes.<sup>22</sup>

Second, whereas the *Catalogue* makes Xuthus son of Hellen (son of Deucalion,<sup>23</sup> son of Prometheus), in *Ion* Euripides makes him son of Aeolus, son of Zeus. On the assumption that this Aeolus is the one who is Xuthus' brother in the *Catalogue* (and in two other places in Euripides, fr. 481.7–9 and 929b), it is not clear why Euripides here makes him Xuthus' father instead, as he has no obvious motive for boosting the status of Aeolian Greeks.<sup>24</sup> If the goal is not simply to

<sup>18</sup> *Creusa* and *Ion* (possibly the same play) are attested as titles for Sophocles, but the fragments are undatable and do not even establish that Sophocles treated the same story as Euripides, let alone what parents he may have given Ion. For a possible intertextual relationship between *Ion* and S. fr. 356 and 354 (*Creusa*), see 633–45n.; cf. 16, 919–22nn.; n. 99 below.

<sup>19</sup> LIMC v.1.703 (E. Simon). West 1985: 106 notes that Apollo, though not named in [Hes.] fr. 10a, may have been identified as Ion's true father when Creusa's story was told more fully later in the *Catalogue of Women*.

<sup>20</sup> τὸν Διὸς σύλλεκτρον (*Her.* 1). Cf. *Or.* 476, where Tyndareus takes no offense at being addressed by Menelaus as Ζηνὸς ὁμόλεκτρον κάρα.

<sup>21</sup> This is in keeping with the treatment of Xuthus as an outsider (§5.2); see also §9 on *Ion* and comedy. For Apollo's wish to keep his union with Creusa secret, see §8.1.

<sup>22</sup> §§7.1, 6.1.

<sup>23</sup> West 1985: 50–6 makes a strong case that the *Catalogue* made Zeus the true father of Hellen. This would explain why Euripides does the same in *Mel. Soph.* fr. 481.1–2 and 929b.

<sup>24</sup> Smith 2012 argues that the Aeolus meant is the *Odyssey*'s king of the winds, and that Euripides thus alludes to a Dorian genealogy of Xuthus (since this Aeolus is son of Hippotes, a Heraclid). Smith succeeds in showing that Xuthus' ethnic background could be contested, but he is wrong to say that *Ion* 292 (cf. 63–4) points to a Dorian genealogy because "no matter how hard you look, Zeus is nowhere to be found in the lineage of the ps.-Hesiodic, Ionian, Hellenic Xuthus" (2012: 133). On the contrary, Euripides himself, probably following the Hesiodic *Catalogue*, makes Zeus Hellen's father (previous note). Smith does not explain why Euripides would *blend* Dorian and Hellenic elements in Xuthus' genealogy, nor what it means that he presents Dorus as Xuthus' son (*Ion* 1589–91).

make Hellen disappear, it may be to draw Aeolians and Ionians closer together. In any case, “Greekness” is no longer an issue in the way it was when the Hellenic genealogy was created; interest has shifted to distinctions among perceived ethnic subdivisions, above all Ionians and Dorians.<sup>25</sup>

The third difference is that Dorus (along with Achaeus) is made Xuthus’ son rather than his brother (1589–94). This diminution of the status of their eponym would be most unwelcome to Dorian Greeks, including (among many others) Spartans and Corinthians, Athens’ bitter enemies at the time of the play’s first production. Worse still is that Dorus and Achaeus are to be sons of Creusa, which makes them Athenian on their mother’s side, and that their father is the mortal Xuthus, whereas their older half-brother Ion is a son of Apollo. This outrageous innovation, which almost certainly belongs to Euripides, is ignored by later authors. Some modern scholars maintain that the bitter pill is sugar-coated, in that the Euripidean genealogy offers a reminder that Athenians and Spartans are after all related, but the widely accepted Hellenic genealogy already did that on terms much more favorable to the Dorian Spartans.<sup>26</sup>

A genealogical explanation was also sought for the fact that Athens shared the names of its four pre-Cleisthenic “tribes” with divisions of the population in various Ionian cities.<sup>27</sup> Ion never achieved a place on the usual list of Attic kings.<sup>28</sup> Rather, he was usually seen as a military man summoned from elsewhere to help Athens in a time of crisis.<sup>29</sup> When specified, the crisis is the defensive war fought by the Athenians against the Eleusinians and their Thracian allies led by Poseidon’s son

<sup>25</sup> Already in antiquity Euripides was notorious for taking genealogical liberties (*Σ Hec.* 3); for examples of genealogies he gives in longer and shorter forms, cf. Harder on *Arch.* 2 Austin (= 228a Kannicht).17.

<sup>26</sup> For Athens as Ionian metropolis in *Ion*, see further §6.3.

<sup>27</sup> Jones 1987: 11–12, 295, 303–15, 320–2 (citing evidence from Erythrae, Teos, Colophon, Ephesus, and Miletus); cf. Parker 1996: 16–17, Zacharia 2003: 51.

<sup>28</sup> The list, some version of which was apparently known to Thucydides (2.15.1), is stable in the *Atthidographers* (chroniclers of Athens) and later sources; for its early history, see Fowler 2000–13: II.447–53. In *Ion*, Athena does instruct Creusa to install Ion on the Athenian throne, and the text emphasizes that he deserves to rule (1572–4, 1618).

<sup>29</sup> He is often called στρατάρχης or the like. According to [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 3.2 and fr. 1 (and some others: see Rhodes ad locc.), he was made πολέμαρχος; this title suggests the existence of a story explaining why the Athenian king did not lead his own army and giving an aetiology for the office of polemarch still held annually by one of the nine archons in classical Athens. On the transfer of Ion’s military skill to Xuthus, see 59–60n.

Eumolpus.<sup>30</sup> This war provides the context for Euripides' *Erechtheus*, in which Ion has no part.<sup>31</sup> In *Ion*, it is said to have taken place while Ion's mother Creusa was still an infant, and the Athenians are led by the autochthon Erechtheus.<sup>32</sup> It has been argued that in earlier versions, roughly from the mid-sixth to the mid-fifth century, Ion led the successful Athenian defense. In the late archaic period, such dependence on an ally with a foreign father was acceptable; later, under the influence of democratic and Periclean ideals of citizenship, Ion was seen as insufficiently Athenian to have led Athens in this defining struggle – a problem neatly solved by Apolline paternity.<sup>33</sup> After coming to Athens' aid, Ion fathered sons who gave their names to its tribes.<sup>34</sup> In *Ion*, Athena predicts the colonization of Ionia by descendants of these sons, and we are to understand that they take the tribal names with them.<sup>35</sup> Early sources do not say where Ion was when he was summoned as an ally. Achaea in the northwest Peloponnese is one obvious possibility, Phthiotic Achaea in Thessaly another. Later sources variously associate Xuthus and Ion with both of these, while cult records attest their connections with places in Attica other than Athens.<sup>36</sup>

## 2.2 *The Hero Exposed and Rescued*

As his story is developed by Euripides, Ion is one of countless children (mostly sons) born to mortal princesses impregnated by Olympian gods. In myth, such sons exist to be exposed, rescued, and raised in exile or obscurity. Eventually, they return to their native land and enter their rightful status as kings, or they go somewhere else and found new cities or cults. This story pattern, which is old and found in many cultures, is

<sup>30</sup> See Hdt. 8.44.2, Thuc. 1.3.2 and 2.15.1 (which glance at this tradition but do not name Ion), Philoch. 328 *FGrHist* F 13, Strabo 8.7.1, Paus. 1.31.3 and 7.1.2–5, *EM* 649.49 (= [Pherecyd.] 3 *FGrHist* F 176), Σ Ar. *Birds* 1527; Fowler 2000–13: 11.464–8.

<sup>31</sup> Unless he is the heir Erechtheus addresses in fr. 362 (but the heir is too young to fight); see Cropp ad loc., Sonnino 2010: 125–31.

<sup>32</sup> 277–82n.

<sup>33</sup> Sonnino 2010: 45–58; on Ion and Athenian citizenship, see §6.1.

<sup>34</sup> Hdt. 5.66.2 (cf. 5.69.1); *Ion* 1575–8, 1579–81 (nn.).

<sup>35</sup> 1581–8; cf. 74–5n.

<sup>36</sup> Marathon (*IG* 13.255 A 13; cf. Lambert 2000: 71–5), where Strabo says Xuthus settled and founded the Marathonian Tetrapolis (8.7.1); Potamoi, where Pausanias says Ion was buried (1.31.3, 7.1.5); Porthmos, where Ion received an offering from the Attic *genos* Salaminioi (*LSS* 19.86–7); and Gargettos, near which was a deme called Ionidae (Kearns 1989: 109–10, 174–5, Harding 2008: 216–17). West 1985: 57–8 suggests that Xuthus was originally at home in Euboea; in *Ion*, he has won Creusa's hand by helping Athens in a war *against* the Euboeans (59–60n.).



only sparsely attested in Greek literary sources before Attic drama.<sup>37</sup> It was apparently Sophocles and Euripides who made it a favorite subject for tragedies.<sup>38</sup> Most center on either the birth, exposure, and rescue of the newborn, or his arrival at the threshold of maturity and encounter with his birth family. *Ion* is our best surviving example of the latter type, and because it includes vivid recollections of Ion's birth, exposure, and rescue, it develops many typical motifs of the former as well.<sup>39</sup> These mostly occur in the back story, but a few are reenacted and developed within the play.

Ion's mother Creusa was raped by Apollo (motif 1.1)<sup>40</sup> and exposed their child through fear (motif 2.1),<sup>41</sup> an act she characterizes, unusually, as unjust.<sup>42</sup> In a sense, Hermes exposed Ion again when carrying out Apollo's instructions to save him (28–40). When, in the prologue, he returns to Delphi to see what will happen next (76–7), the effect is both to collapse time and to suggest that Ion is once again exposed to danger. The cave where the rape occurred and Creusa exposed Ion is significant

<sup>37</sup> Oswald 2004, Huys 1995: 62–3. The best-known examples in early poetry involve Perseus (Simon. fr. 543), Jason (Pi. P. 4.108–16), and Iamos (Pi. O. 6.29–58); in prose, Cyrus (Hdt. 1.108–17). A related pattern becomes a staple of Greek New Comedy: a baby girl is exposed, rescued, and raised; becomes the object of a young citizen male's affections; and is finally discovered to be born of citizen parents and thus marriageable (Sommerstein 2013: 30–6). That New Comedy owes a debt to tragedy and to Euripides in particular was acknowledged already in antiquity (550–4, 1431nn.; §9 below), but how often and in what circumstances infants were actually exposed by ancient Greeks is debated (references in Sommerstein on *Sam.* 132), as is the question how much the historical reality should affect our understanding of either genre, especially tragedy, where the circumstances surrounding exposure (divine parentage, royalty, oracles, etc.) invite interpretation as myth, psychological fantasy, and literary elaboration. For a psychological interpretation of *Ion* that takes the historical practice of infant exposure seriously, see Pedrick 2007, especially 31–51; cf. §5.3.

<sup>38</sup> The evidence does not reveal which of them led the way. In Aeschylus, elements of the tale type are found in Oedipus' background in the Theban trilogy, and the satyric *Diktyouloko*i dramatizes the rescue of Danae and Perseus by fishermen.

<sup>39</sup> Plays dealing with the hero's birth, exposure, and rescue include Sophocles' *Danae* (with related material possibly in *Akrisios* and *Larisaioi*) and possibly *Tyro A*; and Euripides' *Danae*, *Melanippe Sophe*, *Alope*, and *Auge*. Plays dealing with his maturity and encounter with his birth family include Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Alcadi* (and possibly *Telephos*), *Alexandros*, and *Tyro B*; and Euripides' *Ion*, *Antiope*, *Alexandros*, *Melanippe Desmotis*, and *Oedipus*. For Sophocles' *Creusa* and/or *Ion*, see n. 18 above, n. 99 below.

<sup>40</sup> For rape, see §2.3; for the identification and numbering of the motifs, Huys 1995: 40–1. Huys studies the tale type systematically in *Ion* and the eight fragmentary Euripidean plays listed in the previous note, and provides copious Greek and non-Greek parallels.

<sup>41</sup> 1497–9n.; cf. 897–8n. It is not clear whom Creusa feared (14–15n.).

<sup>42</sup> 963; cf. Huys 1995: 100 n. 46.

(motif 2.2). It is a marginal, uncivilized place, but at the same time linked with the sacred.<sup>43</sup> It represents a womb-like enclosure analogous to Ion's basket, Apollo's temple, the tent where Ion faces danger from his mother again, and Delphi itself.<sup>44</sup> When Hermes "exposed" Ion, it was likewise in a special, liminal place, just outside the entrance to the temple, which continues to be significant not only as the play's setting, but as a symbolic boundary marking Ion's transition to adulthood (§3).

Creusa exposed Ion in a special basket along with special objects (motif 2.3) whose Athenian ritual and symbolic associations are developed at length.<sup>45</sup> She exposed him as a "compromise between death and rescue" (motif 2.4); her expectation that he would die has persisted in unresolved tension with her hope that Apollo saved him.<sup>46</sup> Ion was rescued (motif 3.2) by Hermes, who conveyed him to the threshold of the temple (28–40), and by the Pythian priestess, who took him up and raised him (49).<sup>47</sup> The fact that Hermes acted on Apollo's instructions and the Priestess on an impulse caused by him shows that the divine father is looking out for the welfare of his offspring, as is typical.<sup>48</sup> The young Ion shows extraordinary ability (motif 3.3): the Delphians have entrusted him with important duties (54–5), and he has led a life of uninterrupted piety (55–6).<sup>49</sup> In the end, Ion learns that what binds him to his mother and Athens is stronger than what binds him to his father and Delphi. The princess in the tale had always represented the hero's ties to a particular clan or city, but Euripides invests the motif with extraordinary emotional force.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Cult places of Pan and possibly Apollo are nearby, as is the Athenian Acropolis (11–13n.).

<sup>44</sup> 19, 76, 1141–65nn. Etymologically, "Delphoi" means "inhabitants of the womb (δελφύς)"; γύαλα, "hollows," was a kind of nickname of Apollo's precinct (76n.). Mastronarde 2010: 253–4 notes that the association of males with interior spaces in *Ion* is a striking inversion of the norm.

<sup>45</sup> 1395–1438, 1421–3, 1427–9, 1433–6nn.; see also 26–7n., §3, Mueller 2010, 2016: 70–84.

<sup>46</sup> 18, 26–7, 965nn., Huys 1995: 246–52.

<sup>47</sup> The hero in such tales is rescued by animals, gods, humans, or some combination of these. Because they are often combined in literary elaborations, rescuing and menacing are treated together by Huys as motif 3.1. Ion is never actually menaced, but Creusa imagines him being devoured by birds and beasts, and the descriptions of this grow more vivid throughout the play (348–52, 503–6nn.), even after Creusa knows it did not happen (1494–5n.).

<sup>48</sup> Hermes' role is one he plays elsewhere (1–81, 28–40nn.). In the play, the Priestess' helpful intervention (47–8n.) is both reenacted and reversed when she brings Ion's basket back out of the temple (1320–68n.); spectators will see this and the "chance" events that foil Creusa's murder plot (1189, 1191–2, 1204–5nn.) as further saving acts by Apollo, as Athena eventually confirms (1565n.).

<sup>49</sup> 54–5, 55–6nn., §7.1.

<sup>50</sup> §§5.3, 7.1.

The “second phase” of the tale consists of “return, recognition, and rehabilitation or enthronement of the adult hero.”<sup>51</sup> Of these, *Ion*, strictly speaking, dramatizes only recognition. Ion’s return begins only in the play’s final lines, and his enthronement belongs to Athena’s instructions for the future (1571–5). Whether or not delaying return until after recognition is a literary adaptation of a more “natural” mythical or narrative sequence, throughout the play we remain aware of Hermes’ guess that Apollo plans for the true recognition to take place only later, in Athens.<sup>52</sup> Creusa, however, wants to find out within the play what happened to her exposed child. This leads us to expect that (true) recognition, emotionally the most powerful element of the “second phase,” will take place within the play.<sup>53</sup> But we must wonder whether a mortal woman striving against the god’s plan – a potential θεομάχος – can accomplish what she wants and escape punishment.<sup>54</sup>

The false recognition with Xuthus puts Ion, too, in the position of striving against the god’s plan, at least briefly, when he is reluctant to go to Athens, almost the only thing “myth” insists he must do. Despite his pious acceptance of the oracle, he remains out of sympathy with Xuthus (557–61n.), and his devotion to Apollo produces the paradox that he prefers his current humble status to what the god intends, greatness in the eyes of the world. In a further paradox, Ion’s reasoning marks him, in contemporary Athenian terms, as an elite quietist – an attitude he has acquired as a temple slave (633–45n.). Finally, his enthronement is paradoxical, even beyond the puzzlement possibly felt by spectators who know that he is not usually said to have become king. For Ion to come into his rights, nothing is really required beyond Athena’s command, but earlier scenes have made us wonder how, “realistically,” this can happen. From a mythical perspective, at least two points are relevant.<sup>55</sup> First, when Creusa offers a “realistic” explanation of Apollo’s plan (1539–45), Ion brushes it aside (1546–8), but when Athena offers the same explanation a moment later and he accepts it, he embraces his mythical destiny and leaves behind what has defined him as a dramatic character. He is like Sophocles’ Philoctetes, accepting μῦθοι from Heracles that hardly differ in substance from the λόγοι with which Neoptolemus has tried and failed to persuade him.<sup>56</sup> His position also resembles that of certain other Euripidean characters who find it difficult to believe in gods whose

<sup>51</sup> Huys 1995: 41.

<sup>52</sup> 69–73.

<sup>53</sup> But not necessarily in Delphi: see n. 99 below.

<sup>54</sup> See further §§2.3, 8.2.

<sup>55</sup> On Ion’s political identity, see further §6.1.

<sup>56</sup> *Ion* 1562, 1606–8n.; S. *Ph.* 1393–6, 1409–12, 1417, 1445–7.

immoral actions are at the root of their own “mythical” existence.<sup>57</sup> Second, by commanding Creusa to keep Ion’s true parentage secret, Athena ensures that “King Ion” will be known publicly as the non-Athenian Xuthus’ bastard son by an unknown woman. Such a status is rather more embarrassing to Athenians than the traditional story that makes him an ally, legitimate scion of a noble family. But the final paradox built into Athena’s dispensation is that no actual Athenians ever believed Ion was illegitimate, because the possibility exists only in *Ion* itself, a fiction that simultaneously reveals the “truth.”

### 2.3 *The Girl’s Tragedy*

The tale of the hero exposed and rescued begins with “illegal or unusual sexual intercourse, mostly of a god with a mortal princess.”<sup>58</sup> The princess has her own story, sometimes called “the girl’s tragedy.”<sup>59</sup> In archaic and classical Greek literature, she always belongs to a tale told by a male author, and usually it seems that not much has been imagined from her point of view. Among the few exceptions, *Ion* holds pride of place, for nowhere else do we hear so much from a princess impregnated by an Olympian god. Here we look at “mythical” aspects of her tale in relation to action, theme, and classical Athenian law.<sup>60</sup>

It is generally agreed that, as Robert Parker puts it, “such myths of sexual contact between man and god were by origin myths of a kind of grace, an ennobling contact between the perishable and the divine.”<sup>61</sup> This is because the girl’s tragedy is ultimately “a prelude to the emergence of the hero” somebody claims as a glorious ancestor or city-founder.<sup>62</sup> But the tale type was probably always amenable to complication, especially in connection with two issues: the marriageability of the unwed mother

<sup>57</sup> E.g. Heracles (*Her.* 1340–6), Iphigenia (*IT* 380–91).

<sup>58</sup> Huys 1995: 41.

<sup>59</sup> The term was coined by Burkert 1979 to describe what he calls “sentimental stories about the mothers of important heroes” (6). Burkert writes that “the agents, places, motivations and all the details vary; but there is the fixed sequence of departure, seclusion, rape, tribulation, and rescue as a prelude to the emergence of the hero” (7). On rape, see further below; in outlining a fixed sequence of “narrative functions,” Burkert follows the Russian myth theorist Vladimir Propp. For interpretation of the sequence by Burkert and others, see Bremmer and Horsfall 1987: 28–30, Csapo 2005: 199–201. On the girl’s tragedy in *Ion*, Scafuro 1990: 138–51 is fundamental; see also Murnaghan 2006, especially 108–12.

<sup>60</sup> Creusa’s experience is treated from a variety of other perspectives throughout this Introduction and the Commentary.

<sup>61</sup> Parker 2005: 143.

<sup>62</sup> Burkert 1979: 6–7.

and the child's survival, whether at birth or maturity, when threatened by someone who sees him as a stain on the family honor, a dangerous rival, or an unworthy outsider. Both issues affect the "girl" at a deep emotional level and make good material for tragedy. It is thus no wonder that, as Parker goes on to say, "the tragedians transformed [these stories]; Zeus' dear and much-travailed son Hercules, Apollo's abandoned bride Creusa, and many another god-raped maid, become in their hands living and breathing problems in theology."<sup>63</sup>

The first distinctive aspect of Euripides' handling of Creusa's mythical experience is how often and how explicitly she talks and sings about it. Tragic decorum sets limits to explicitness, but the two central accounts, in Creusa's monody and the long stichomythia that follows it, clearly present her as a victim of rape.<sup>64</sup> Creusa was unwilling (941) and called out to her mother for help or witness (893). Apollo used force, laying hold of her wrists and taking her to a lonely spot (891–5). Creusa struggled a terrible struggle (939), and both she and the "bed" were "wretched" (900–1).<sup>65</sup> She describes what happened to her on two further occasions, once earlier, while pretending that it happened to a "friend," and once later, after being reunited with her son.<sup>66</sup> Despite differing emphases, these accounts contain nothing to make us doubt that Euripides means Apollo's act to be understood as a violent sexual assault. This is no less true of the two accounts by others. Indeed the first, Hermes' unvarnished statement in his prologue-*rhesis*, is important because it is first, unambiguous, and reasonably considered authoritative.<sup>67</sup> Hermes says that "Phoebus yoked Erechtheus' daughter Creusa in (sexual) union by force."<sup>68</sup> The other

<sup>63</sup> Parker 2005: 143–4.

<sup>64</sup> 887–901, 936–49 and 954–65. For rape in ancient Greek and Roman literature, see e.g. Tomaselli and Porter 1986, Deacy and Pierce 1997, Rabinowitz 2011, Robson 2013.

<sup>65</sup> In a contemporary context, this is more than enough to warrant the label "rape." For consideration of the ancient legal context, and whether it is relevant or useful to judge a god in a myth or work of literature guilty of a crime, see further below.

<sup>66</sup> 338–54, 1474–99.

<sup>67</sup> This is not to say that prologue-speakers invariably tell the truth, or that Hermes is right about everything (cf. 69–73n.). For Hermes' voice as "Hesiodic" (genealogical, male-centered, and uninterested in female experience) and the interplay between this voice, resumed in Athena's epiphany-*rhesis*, and the tragic voices of Creusa and of Ion and the Old Man when responding to Creusa, see Stamatopoulou 2017: 167–78.

<sup>68</sup> 10–11 παῖδ' Ἐρεχθέως Φοῖβος ἔζευξεν γάμοις | βίαι Κρέουσας. Interestingly, the word translated "(sexual) union" is also an ordinary word for "marriage" (Loraux 1993: 201 n. 72, Rabinowitz 1993: 201), but the ways in which Apollo's and Creusa's union is not a marriage clearly remain important. For βία, see further below.

account, from the Chorus, describes the union as bitter (πικρῶν γάμων), the result an outrage (ὑβριν).<sup>69</sup>

The second distinctive aspect of Euripides' treatment of Creusa's experience is how insistently she blames Apollo. Her cryptic remarks at 252–4 soon give way to direct accusations (358, 384–91) and culminate in her impassioned monody (859–922), which she calls μομφά "blame."<sup>70</sup> Creusa's mistaken belief that Apollo let their child die heads the list of her complaints, but it is hardly the only one. She blames Apollo for bringing up their child alone, if that is what he did (it is), and for keeping her in the dark by blocking her private inquiry.<sup>71</sup> She describes the rape as shameless and motivated by lust.<sup>72</sup> She comments on the terrible suffering of her "friend" (342, 368) and regards Apollo's gift of a son to Xuthus as a betrayal in terms of the χάρις the god owes her.<sup>73</sup>

This leads to a third point, the inward nature of Creusa's sufferings. Many a "girl" in "the girl's tragedy" suffers imprisonment, banishment, or worse at the hands of a male relative, usually her father or uncle. Creusa's father was long dead when she was raped, and nobody punished her for becoming pregnant and giving birth while unmarried. Indeed, because nobody even knew of these events, her status was unaffected, and she was eventually married to Xuthus.<sup>74</sup> But the play dwells insistently on the pain she felt when she abandoned her child, as she felt compelled to do.<sup>75</sup> Her marriage added a new emotion to the anguish and mingled hope and fear she still felt from not knowing her child's fate. Now she became anx-

<sup>69</sup> 503–6n.

<sup>70</sup> 885–6n. Ion already referred to Creusa as λοιδοροῦσα at 429–30(n.). The claim that beauty outweighs ugliness and blame in Creusa's song (see especially Burnett 1962) is unconvincing. It is also doubtful that her description of Apollo reveals her as "susceptible" to his beauty (Wilamowitz on 887) and surprising that she has been thought to give an "ambivalent and ambiguous description" as a result of which it is "not clear that she was a victim" (Rabinowitz 1993: 195–201, at 198; reiterated at Rabinowitz 2011: 10–11).

<sup>71</sup> 358, 384–400nn.

<sup>72</sup> 894–5, 896nn.

<sup>73</sup> 879–80, 914–15nn. Her feeling that she has been betrayed moves her to call Apollo an "evil bedmate" (912 κακὸς εὐνάτωρ).

<sup>74</sup> 14–15, 57–8. Hints that Creusa feared her mother interestingly vary the usual situation (280, 1489–91nn.). Although Athena says Apollo made Creusa's delivery without complication (ἄνοσον) so that her φίλοι never knew (1595–9n.), Creusa refers to her τόκους πολυκλαύτους (869, cf. 1458), and the Old Man observed her "secretly bewailing a hidden disease (νόσος)" at some point after the rape and before the birth (944). The νόσος could be the trauma of a rape victim, a solitary pregnant girl's fears for her health and reputation, or even a ruse to escape detection (942–7n.).

<sup>75</sup> 342–4, 503–6, 897–901, 954–65, 1494–1500.

ious because her marriage to Xuthus remained childless.<sup>76</sup> These adaptations of the punishment motif allow Euripides to explore private, inner “tribulation” in ways well suited to the tragic genre.<sup>77</sup>

Next, Creusa’s feelings compel her to do something. She does not merely wait to be rescued, but has a secret plan when she comes to Delphi with her husband. When she is blocked, she becomes openly hostile, and mythically speaking, she ought to be in real danger. Even after Apollo foils Creusa’s attempt on Ion’s life, interrupts Ion’s retaliation, and brings mother and son together in the presence of recognition tokens, Creusa must actively risk her life to bring about the recognition that finally puts an end to her tribulation.<sup>78</sup>

This leads to a fifth point, that what Creusa accomplishes is good – for her, for Ion, and for us as spectators. To be sure, Apollo has to help, but Athena confirms Hermes’ guess that Apollo did not intend Creusa and Ion to recognize each other in Delphi, that is, in this play.<sup>79</sup> Euripides certainly had no intention of withholding this satisfaction from his spectators, and in this sense he is Creusa’s ally.<sup>80</sup> What Creusa gains for herself is, from one point of view, merely a matter of time, but that is no small thing in a play that invites comparison of human and divine perspectives on the girl’s tragedy. That she compels Apollo to give her the answer she demands on the day she seeks it confirms that her anxious months of pregnancy and painful years of not knowing her child’s fate matter.<sup>81</sup>

These aspects of Euripides’ treatment of the girl’s tragedy give rise to several further questions. First, does the classical Athenian legal context support labeling Apollo’s act “rape,” and does it even make sense to consider a god guilty of such a crime? It has been observed that “although Greek has several terms for assault which can be used to signify sexual assault committed with violence and without consent, nevertheless there

<sup>76</sup> Anxiety is implied by 355–6, Ion (607–20) and the Chorus (676–80) expect Xuthus’ acquisition of a son to trouble Creusa, and the Old Man plays on her fears (808–29, 836–56). In a few places where Creusa mentions her childlessness, spectators can hear a reference to the loss of her son by Apollo as well as the infertility of her marriage to Xuthus (304–7, 761–9, 790–2). Creusa’s infertility can reasonably be seen as among Apollo’s devices to secure Ion’s rights, as 67–8 may imply; see further §8.1.

<sup>77</sup> Burnett 1962 argues that the variation reveals Creusa to be weak and faithless; she moderates her view somewhat at 1971: 122–3.

<sup>78</sup> See further §8.2. For Creusa’s monody and the murder plot as responses to the Old Man’s plea to “do something womanly,” see 843–6n. and §4 below.

<sup>79</sup> 1566–8, cf. 69–73.

<sup>80</sup> For discussion of the play’s use of literary form to give spectators a stake in both its outcome and its political ideology, see Wohl 2015: 19–38. Lloyd 1986 also argues that the result Creusa forces is better than what Apollo planned.

<sup>81</sup> For other aspects of the play’s meditation on time, see Lee 1996, Segal 1999.

is no word with this specific and unique meaning.”<sup>82</sup> Still, if Creusa were a classical Athenian and her assailant a man, several legal remedies would be available to her *kyrios* (male legal guardian) after what happened to her. Importantly, one of these is clearly evoked in the play: a δίκη βιαιῶν or “private suit seeking monetary damages for violent acts.”<sup>83</sup> That legal proceedings had to be initiated by a *kyrios* reminds us of an important point about the adaptation of legal reality to drama. Whereas the law denies women standing and treats sexual crimes against them mainly in the light of family honor, a play can present rape as a crime against Creusa “personally.”<sup>84</sup> Another point is that in some contexts where the legitimacy of children is the main concern, it does not matter whether a girl or woman consents to extra-marital sex. Thus consent is rarely mentioned in Athenian forensic speeches and is largely irrelevant to Menandrian comedy.<sup>85</sup> It has been shown, however, that when illicit sex is at issue in tragedy, girls or women who can convince others that they did not consent expect better outcomes than those who cannot.<sup>86</sup>

When Ion is shocked by Creusa’s story of her “friend” and implies that the god is guilty of what contemporary Athenians recognized as a crime, the effect could be merely local, a teasing paradox comparable to Orestes’ demand that because Apollo commanded him to murder Clytemnestra, the Argives should consider Apollo ritually polluted and kill him (*Or.* 591–6). Ion himself insists that he is engaging in a thought experiment, and that a legal judgment will never be imposed on the gods (444–7n.); we too might take the main point to be that human standards simply do not apply to a god. Apart from Ion’s earnestness, however, what suggests that his admonition should be given some weight in interpretation is that Creusa too tries to hold Apollo accountable. She mostly uses the discourses of gratitude, reciprocity, and justice, within which the fact that Apollo did rescue and raise their child can perhaps be held to vindicate him.<sup>87</sup> In prominent exit lines spoken near the end of the long

<sup>82</sup> Todd 2007: 130.

<sup>83</sup> 444–7n. Ion has just used the key term βίαι, “by violence,” at 437, echoing Hermes at 11.

<sup>84</sup> It does not follow that Euripides uses Creusa’s experience to address the real-world problem of rape. This is the place to point out that there is no scholarly consensus as to whether women attended the Festival of Dionysus; see the opposing views of Henderson 1991 and Goldhill 1994; cf. Goldhill 1997: 62–6.

<sup>85</sup> Omitowaju 2002.

<sup>86</sup> Sommerstein 2006b; cf. Harris 2014. Omitowaju 2002: 186 recognizes that in *Ion*, Creusa is presented as unwilling, that is, as a rape victim, and that there is an unusual emphasis on “her feelings of anger and distress at the memory of the act of intercourse itself.”

<sup>87</sup> It is in just this sense of looking out for his progeny that the god had always been “accountable” in the old stories, even if the sons suffered (cf. 507–9n.).



Second Scene, however, Creusa urges Apollo to “make good his mistakes (ἁμαρτίας)”; if he does, she will accept as much as he wills (for he is a god), but Apollo “could not become entirely φίλος towards us” (425–8). Though not technical, the language of “making good” resembles the legal discourse Ion uses in his immediately following thought experiment. One element that will be missing from whatever restitution Apollo deigns to make is marriage. Though later by about a century, the typical New Comic scenario gives a sense of the legal background. There the goal is to secure the marriage of an eligible female; everybody sees this as the most desirable outcome, even if the man to whom she is to be married has raped her.<sup>88</sup> From a legal perspective, the impossibility of marriage in the mythical scenario lends great poignancy to Creusa’s remark that Apollo cannot be “entirely φίλος.” Euripides recasts the girl’s tragedy so that premarital sexual experience can be thought of as “ruining” her for marriage and respectability. Creusa does not suffer this fate, but only because she and the god maintain secrecy.

It may also be asked whether blame of Apollo continues to make sense once Creusa herself explicitly renounces blame. She does this because it turns out that Apollo has rescued their son and restored him to her, that is, because of the “happy ending.” Creusa’s words and behavior play an important part in guiding our response, but not necessarily in the sense that earlier blame is entirely discarded or forgotten. As spectators or critics, we can always decline proffered gestures of “closure,” so that Creusa’s earlier words remain available to anyone trying to make sense of the play as a whole. Two further points suggest that this is more than just a theoretical possibility. First, Creusa at the end displays effusive joy while overtly recalling her earlier words and actions;<sup>89</sup> however, her act in clinging “gladly” to the temple door falls rather short of the intimacy Apollo once imposed on her. Her effort to be close to the god pathetically enacts the truth that Apollo is not and can never be “entirely φίλος.”<sup>90</sup> Second, while Creusa rejoices, Ion stands by, apparently impassive and arguably disillusioned.<sup>91</sup> While Ion benefits from the relationship he now knows

<sup>88</sup> Sommerstein 2013: 30–6.

<sup>89</sup> Words: 1609 οὐκ αἰνοῦσα πρίν, encompassing all earlier blame. Actions: she addresses the temple door and the oracle as “pleasing to the sight” (1611 εὐωποί), although “earlier they were hostile” (1612 δυσμενῇ πάροιθεν ὄντα), recalling both her tears when she first saw the temple (241–6) and her aggressive approach to it during her monody (907, 911 nn., §8.2).

<sup>90</sup> Apollo has chosen not to appear, when he could have and spectators may well have expected him to. See further §§4, 8.1, 8.2.

<sup>91</sup> Just as Creusa’s words deliberately recall and revise an earlier attitude, so Ion’s response to Athena (especially καὶ πρίν “even before”) recalls what went before, in his case immediately before (1606–8n.).

he has with Apollo, his case too can be taken to illustrate the truth that Apollo is not entirely φίλος. Like Creusa, then, Ion becomes a “living and breathing problem in theology.”<sup>92</sup>

This is the place to consider, finally, whether Euripides makes anything of the fact that the particular god in Creusa’s story is Apollo. Apollo’s erotic liaisons with mortal women involve a number of unusual frustrations and even failures.<sup>93</sup> In stories earlier than Euripides, Idas rivals Apollo for the hand of Marpessa and even raises his bow against the god; given a choice by Zeus, Marpessa chooses the mortal man for fear that the god will leave her in old age.<sup>94</sup> Coronis, after being impregnated by Apollo, consents to marry the mortal Ischys without her father’s knowledge.<sup>95</sup> Cassandra tells the Chorus of Aeschylus’ *Agamemnon* that she first agreed to give herself to Apollo, but then reneged (Ag. 1208). Daphne was pursued by Apollo, but escaped when Zeus heard her prayer and transformed her into the tree that bears her name.<sup>96</sup> A short list of topics the poet of the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* considers telling in the god’s honor includes “a series of rivals, some of whom seem to have been more successful than Apollo.”<sup>97</sup> Such stories are also told of other gods, but both before and after Euripides, Apollo seems to attract more than his fair share. Apollo did of course have his way with Creusa, and their son is destined for greatness. But the play invites a response to his indifference to Creusa’s suffering after he raped her, his inability to predict the actions she takes within the play, and in a sense his loss of Ion, who passes into Athena’s hands at the end. These are themes whose potential Euripides may have glimpsed partly as a result of myths concerning Apollo’s erotic failures and frustrations.

### 3 SETTING, STAGING, AND PRODUCTION

*Ion*’s fictional setting is Delphi; the first performance took place in Athens. This is one of Euripides’ most Athenian plays: the major characters arrive from Athens and are destined to return there, the crucial events of the

<sup>92</sup> See further §7.1.

<sup>93</sup> Gantz 1993: 89–94, Kakridis 2009.

<sup>94</sup> Σ bT Hom. *Il.* 9.557, citing Simonides (fr. 563 *PMG* = °°353 Poltera); cf. Apollod. 1.7.8–9. Poltera attributes the story to Bacchylides, while others think that it may have been told by both poets (Maehler 2004: 220–1).

<sup>95</sup> Pi. *Py.* 3.8–58. In Acusilaus *FGrHist* 2 F 17 Coronis, like Marpessa, is moved by fear of the god’s scorn.

<sup>96</sup> This story, best known from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, is not certainly attested until Hellenistic times (Phylarchus *FGrHist* 81 F 32 = Parth. *amat. narr.* 15), but Gantz 1993: 90 shows how mention of Apollo’s rivalry “with Leucippus and the wife of Leucippus” at *h. Ap.* 212 “might conceivably lead us to it.”

<sup>97</sup> Kakridis 2009: 633, discussing *h. Ap.* 208–13.

play's pre-history occurred in Athens, and Athenian identity is explored on many levels. At the same time, Ion's identity as Pythian Apollo's son and servant is centrally at stake. Two places, Delphi and Athens, are compared, contrasted, and interwoven with the play's themes from start to finish.<sup>98</sup> Place also contributes dramatic tension, as Creusa hopes to accomplish in Delphi what Apollo means to put off to Athens.<sup>99</sup>

Many Athenians will have known Apollo's sanctuary at Delphi from personal experience. Euripides could evoke the setting in words and rely on their imaginations, as Greek theatrical convention for the most part demands; he did not need to strive for realism in costumes, props, or stage decoration, and he could depart from reality to serve dramatic goals. The play was first performed in the Theater of Dionysus on the southeast slope of the Athenian Acropolis adjacent to the precinct of Dionysus Eleuthereus. Several points concerning the layout of the theater in the fifth century BCE are debated, but they do not matter much for *Ion*, whose most important visual meanings can be conveyed with fairly simple resources.<sup>100</sup> The play requires a stage building (σκηνή) representing the east façade of Apollo's temple at Delphi. Despite the description of its sculptures by the entering Chorus, it need not be elaborately decorated; it only requires central doors capable of swinging open.<sup>101</sup> The performance area may be entered through these doors, by means of paths (εἴσοδοι) to the left and right of the dancing area (ὀρχήστρα), by ascending to the roof of the stage building by a ladder concealed behind it (not used in *Ion*), or on the crane (μηχανή). The playing space includes a notional acting

<sup>98</sup> E.g. 5–13, 184–9, 251, 384, 644–7, 1269–74, 1554. Somewhat different are passages that play knowingly with spectators' awareness that they are in Athens watching actors who are pretending to be in Delphi think and talk about Athens, e.g. 24, 30, 585–6. On Delphi and Athens in *Ion*, see especially Loraux 1993: 195–8, Chalkia 1986: 97–139, Kuntz 1993: 38–58, Zacharia 2003: 7–43.

<sup>99</sup> That Apollo wants the recognition of Creusa and Ion to take place in Athens is at first merely Hermes' guess (69–73n.), but Athena confirms it at the end (1566–8). Lee 1996: 86–7 wonders whether Euripides is teasing spectators with the possibility that the tension will be resolved by the unusual means of changing the scene from Delphi to Athens (as elsewhere only in A. *Eu.*, so that this is “an instance of Euripides' theatrical self-consciousness”). Dalmeyda 1915 infers from 1021–6 that Sophocles must have set his *Creusa* (or *Ion*, possibly the same play) in Athens, and that Euripides, in setting his play in Delphi, was pointedly improving on his predecessor. Colardeau 1916 seeks to strengthen the theory, and Grégoire 1923: 162 and Goossens 1962: 483–4 cautiously approve. Burnett 1971: 103–4 asserts it confidently and has tempted a few others (e.g. Torrance 2013: 66–7 and 223, cautiously), but most judge it to have little or no foundation, since the fragments are uninformative, and we do not even know whether the Creusa of *Creusa* was Ion's mother (cf. n. 18 above).

<sup>100</sup> For overviews of the theater, see e.g. Moretti 1999–2000, Rehm 2002: 37–41, Davidson 2005.

<sup>101</sup> Hourmouziades 1965: 43–57, Wiles 1997: 161–2.

area in front of the stage building and a dancing area between the acting area and the spectators, but these need not be physically distinct, and actors and Chorus move freely between them. If the acting area included a raised stage communicating with the ὀρχήστρα by means of one or more steps, then the stage in *Ion* represents the stylobate of Apollo's temple, an appropriate place for Ion to begin his sweeping and sprinkling.<sup>102</sup> But there is no need to confine Ion or any of the actors to this area, or to deny the Chorus access to any space visible to the spectators. *Ion* requires a large altar at which Creusa seeks asylum between 1255 and 1279. This altar is best situated in the middle of the ὀρχήστρα;<sup>103</sup> it is described as adorned by woolen bands (στέμματα, 1310) and carved images (ξόανα, 1403).

The different ways of entering and exiting the playing space give the playwright a chance to convey visual meanings.<sup>104</sup> Before exiting at the end of his prologue-*rhesis*, Hermes says he will go "into this laurel hollow" to learn what will become of Ion. The actor playing him, who must return in other roles, probably ducks behind a stage property, from which he can enter or get around to the back of the stage building unseen; within the fiction, we are to imagine the mischievous god staying and watching events unfold.<sup>105</sup> Next, Ion enters through the central doors, the only time he will cross this all-important threshold. Shortly after Xuthus joins

<sup>102</sup> 38, 46nn. The possible existence of a raised stage is discussed by e.g. Ar-nott 1962: 27–42, Hourmouziades 1965: 58–74, Taplin 1977: 441–2, Wiles 1997: 63–5. As Creusa and the Old Man enter, they mime ascending a steep path, as visitors to Apollo's temple at Delphi must do; a little later, the Old Man describes Apollo's χρηστήρια as steep. These passages do not prove the existence of a stage (725–7, 739–40nn.).

<sup>103</sup> Cf. 1261–81n. In favor of an altar in the middle of the ὀρχήστρα, see especially Rehm 1988, Poe 1989 (129–30 on *Ion*). If the altar is so placed, there is room for an image of Apollo Agyieus (whatever form it took) in the acting area to one side of the central doors (186–7n.). Less likely is the view that the center of the ὀρχήστρα was occupied by a permanent altar dedicated to Dionysus, and that plays requiring an altar within the fiction therefore had to use a separate stage property, usually imagined as either just to one side of or in front of the central doors; so Lee on 1255–6. Wiles 1997: 63–86 argues persuasively that the ὀρχήστρα is generally the visual and conceptual focus of tragedy, but this does not entail that it was circular (Wiles 1997: 44–52); for the view that it was trapezoidal, see e.g. Rehm 2002: 39, with references. The view that Creusa's altar scene is to be thought of as taking place inside Apollo's temple (Winnington-Ingram 1976: 497–9, followed by Wiles 1997: 80) is improbable; see e.g. Zacharia 2003: 14 n. 48.

<sup>104</sup> In *Ion*, the εἰσοδοί more or less correspond with Delphic topography (Hourmouziades 1965: 109–17, 134–5; Burnett 1970: 134).

<sup>105</sup> 1–81, 76nn. This view presupposes that Hermes speaks on the ground level used by the play's human characters; this will make him seem, appropriately, to be closer to them than Athena, who speaks from the μηχανή. Hourmouziades 1965: 157–9 believes that Hermes speaks from the roof of the σκηνή.

Ion and Creusa on stage, there are three exits within thirty lines, all in different directions: by Xuthus (after 424) through the central doors, into the temple; by Creusa (after 428), to one side, to pray to the gods “around the altars laden with bay”; and by Ion (after 451), to the other side, to fill vessels with lustral water. The unusual sequence gives striking visual expression to the characters’ disunity (401–51n.).

Xuthus’ exit into the temple represents access denied to Creusa; he passes over this boundary again when he reenters the playing space at 515–16.<sup>106</sup> Just before this, Ion has returned; the two characters’ convergence is an element of Apollo’s plan, which requires that Ion be the first person Xuthus meets (534–6n.). When Creusa enters at 1250, she knows she is being pursued; realistically, there is no reason for her to return to the playing space at all, but of course she must. It might make sense for Ion, who is pursuing her, to enter from the same side, but since the larger point is that the two now converge on Apollo’s doorstep, it would also work well to have them enter from opposite sides. In this case, when the Priestess enters from the central doors, we will have seen an inversion of the earlier sequence where Xuthus, Creusa, and Ion all exited in different directions.<sup>107</sup>

In all this, the most important boundary by far is that between the inside and the outside of Apollo’s temple, the site of oracular revelation. For one thing, Apollo’s threshold is a place where things *nearly* happen: Ion nearly shoots birds during his monody, nearly shoots Xuthus during the false recognition, nearly violates Creusa’s asylum, nearly dedicates his basket unopened, nearly executes Creusa, and nearly reenters the temple.<sup>108</sup> It is also a symbolic boundary signifying Ion’s coming of age, Apollo’s control of Xuthus and the Priestess, and the fraught relationship between the god and Creusa.

Like other Greek tragedies, *Ion* can be played with three actors, one or more of whom take on multiple roles. The play requires two actors with good singing voices, one for Ion, the other for Creusa. It is possible for the third actor to play all six remaining parts, with nearly 500 lines total,

<sup>106</sup> The only other character to pass over the threshold in both directions is the Priestess (below).

<sup>107</sup> Thematically, the Priestess’ appearance resembles a divine epiphany (1320–68n.); in terms of stagecraft, it is a surprise substitute for use of the μηχανή. (The opposite surprise occurs when Medea enters on the μηχανή instead of through the central doors at the end of *Med.*) For more on Creusa’s stage movements, see §8.2.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Taplin 1978: 136–7, who notes that Hermes’ narrative of the Priestess’ initial eagerness to cast the infant Ion beyond the boundaries of the sanctuary (43–6) sets the pattern for these other nearly occurring disasters. Close brushes with disaster are characteristic of plays of reunion and rescue from this phase of Euripides’ career and were much admired by Aristotle (*Po.* 1454a4–9).

all spoken. To make this actor's job less demanding, the role of Hermes can be taken by the actor who plays Creusa, the Old Man by the actor who plays Ion, and/or the Servant by either of these.<sup>109</sup> As for non-speaking roles, there may be a retinue with Xuthus at 392–400, and Ion is accompanied by armed men when he enters at 1257–60.<sup>110</sup>

In terms of “proxemics” (movement and timing), *Ion* employs a few noteworthy techniques. An ancient writer comments on the opportunity Ion's monody affords an actor for innovative movement.<sup>111</sup> In the Third Scene's false recognition, Ion misunderstands Xuthus' initial approach as a kind of assault (517–27n.); eventually, he accepts Xuthus as his father and embraces him (561n.). These movements are mirrored, and somewhat complicated, in the Closing Scene's true recognition: at the start, Ion tries to seize Creusa but fails; later, she tries to embrace him but fails.<sup>112</sup> Mother and son finally fall into each other's arms just before 1437–8(n.). Between the two recognition scenes, there is an unusual, stylized chase scene (1261–81n.). The sudden entrances of the Priestess and Athena are staged in ways long familiar, but nevertheless exciting, to late fifth-century spectators. Just before the end, Creusa is seen clinging to the door-rings of Apollo's temple, a gesture with no known parallel (1612–13n.).

As for costuming and props, Hermes and Athena can wear or carry items that make them easy to identify. Ion's costume need only communicate “sacred official”; he is carrying or wearing “garlands of the god” when Xuthus attempts to embrace him (522n.), and he could also be recognizable specifically as a slave. The props he uses during his monody can be placed on stage ready for him to pick up as he needs them, but he may already hold his broom and have his bow slung over his shoulder when he enters.<sup>113</sup> In the Fourth Scene, we learn that Creusa carries an important prop on her person, an heirloom bracelet containing deadly and healing drops of Gorgon's blood; later, the Priestess enters with the play's most important prop, Ion's basket, wrapped in woolen bands.<sup>114</sup> The bracelet and the basket are significant objects that need to be seen in combination with both words and actions. The bracelet's history links

<sup>109</sup> For the actor who plays Creusa to take the role of the Servant, however, would require a rather fast costume change between 1228 and 1250.

<sup>110</sup> Tragic kings were often, but not invariably, accompanied by retainers. A director who brings extras on with Xuthus will want to take them off again without distracting from the effects surrounding entrances and exits described above. The Delphians Ion addresses in 94 probably do not appear on stage (see note ad loc.).

<sup>111</sup> Demetrius, *On style* (Περὶ ἑρμηνείας) 195; cf. 154–83n.

<sup>112</sup> 1261–81, 1402–6nn. Both times Ion gives an order to his attendants that is not fully carried out.

<sup>113</sup> 79–80n. Ion uses his bow again later to threaten Xuthus (524n.), but when he threatens Creusa, it is probably with a sword (1320–1n.).

<sup>114</sup> 1001–17, 1337–9, 1380–94.

Creusa with her autochthonous forebears, Erichthonius and Erechtheus, and with her city's patron goddess, Athena. Its contents symbolize the ambivalence of autochthony, Creusa's twin capacities for good and evil (§6.2). By the time the Old Man asks Creusa whether the drops of blood are mixed or separate, we are well prepared to find thematic significance in her answer, "Separate, for good and evil do not mix."<sup>115</sup> The basket evokes the infancy of Erichthonius. As a receptacle for the infant Ion, it recalls the cave and the play's other interior spaces.<sup>116</sup> When Ion, who sees that it must be opened (1387n.), calls the basket a treasure-chest (1394 *θησαυρίσματος*), he activates a parallel with Creusa's "opening" of herself in song.<sup>117</sup> As they emerge from the basket, the recognition tokens not only establish Creusa's claims, but help shape the identity of Ion and even the Athenian spectators.<sup>118</sup>

#### 4 STRUCTURE AND DRAMATIC TECHNIQUE

The basic structural principle of Greek tragedy is the alternation of scenes spoken by actors and songs sung by a chorus; however, poets varied this structure in countless ways, and no two tragedies are exactly alike. Songs differ in number, length, internal structure, and rhythmic style (as well as other musical elements, for the most part irretrievably lost). A typical number of choral songs is four or five; a typical song consists of two or more strophic pairs (pairs of stanzas with identical metrical form), with an optional epode which, when it occurs, almost always follows the final strophic pair. A few songs, including the Second and Third Songs of *Ion*, consist of only a single triad (strophe, antistrophe, epode); a few others, including the Fifth Song of *Ion*, are astrophic (that is, contain no matching pairs of stanzas). Dialogue scenes may consist mainly or entirely of a single *rhexis* (a long speech by a single actor, for example a prologue- or "messenger"-*rhexis*), or they may use long *rheseis* within stylized structures (for example, contest scenes). Usually, actors converse in short speeches of no set length, but occasionally they exchange single lines in *stichomythia*

<sup>115</sup> 1017n.

<sup>116</sup> Above, n. 44.

<sup>117</sup> On this ambivalent act, see 923–4n., §8.2 below. Another object that acquires symbolic significance through a series of appearances and images is τόξα, "bow (and arrows)." Ion's bow signifies both Apollo's paternity and his own liminal status, as he is repeatedly shown not quite ready to use it (§2.2); compare the significance attached to stringing Odysseus' bow in the *Odyssey*, and to Hercules' bow in *S. Ph.* In another pair of passages, Creusa takes aim with a metaphorical bow, first at Apollo with hostile intent, then at Ion in quite the opposite spirit (256, 1411).

<sup>118</sup> For the role of objects in constituting spectators' identity, see Mueller 2010, 2016.

(a highly stylized form used sparingly in early tragedy, but in longer and more complex scenes in Euripides), or pairs of lines (*distichomythia*). The division of individual lines between speakers (*antilabe*), usually an interruption of or pendant to *stichomythia*, seems to quicken the pace and convey excitement.

Scenes in which actors sing or chorus-members chant or speak contribute further variety. The chorus-leader (κορυφαῖος, lit. “head-man”) regularly speaks iambic trimeters, often exactly two or three in number and bland in content, especially when they are used to mark divisions within a scene. An actor, meanwhile, may sing, either alone (“monody”) or in combination with the chorus and/or another actor who sings or speaks. In these scenes, called *amoibaia* (763–99n.), there may be a marked contrast between singing and speaking, with song indicating greater emotional intensity. Actors’ songs often combine registers of vocal delivery (see below); their lyric sections may contain pairs of stanzas (Ion at 112–43) or be astrophic (Ion at 144–83, Creusa at 881–922). Finally, choral songs, though generally uninterrupted, may have lines spoken or chanted by an actor interspersed (as by Ion at 219–36).

The usual dialogue meter in tragedy is a strict form of the iambic trimeter. It is highly stylized, and the representation of conversation remains elevated and artificial even as, over the course of his career, Euripides admits more colloquial expressions and more (and more varied) resolutions (substitutions of two light syllables for a heavy or *anceps* element). In the last decade of his career, Euripides revives the trochaic tetrameter for a few kinds of dialogue scene whose shared quality seems to be quickening of pace and heightening of emotion vis-à-vis surrounding iambs (510–65n.).

Since actors sometimes employ anapaests, either chanted (or “marching” or “recitative”) or sung (as indicated by Doric vowel coloration and other markers, 82–183n. *Meter*), it can be helpful to think of the varieties of vocal delivery as rungs on a ladder, with chanted and then sung anapaests ascending towards full lyricism (typically correlated with emotionality), as in dochmiacs (virtually confined to tragedy and always associated with strong emotion) and other categories of rhythm that are invariably sung (aeolic, dactylo-epitrite, etc.).<sup>119</sup>

From Aristotle and other ancient authors, scholars derive a set of terms traditionally used to name the parts of a Greek tragedy: *prologos* for everything preceding the entrance of the chorus; *parodos* for the chorus’

<sup>119</sup> It is not certain that this description accurately reflects fifth-century modes of performance (Hall 2006: 296–304), but the notion of a rising scale of emotion correlates well with the content of the passages in question. For an accessible introduction to Euripidean lyric, see Battezzato 2005.



entrance song; *epeisodion* for a scene between choral songs; *stasimon* for each choral song after the *parodos*; *exodos* for everything following the last choral song.<sup>120</sup> Here is an outline of *Ion*'s structure:

**Opening Scene (*prologos*) 1–183**

- (1) prologue-*rhesis* of Hermes (1–81)
- (2) Ion's monody (82–183)
  - (a) recitative anapaests (82–111)
  - (b) strophic pair (aeolic) with refrain (112–43)
  - (c) lyric anapaests (144–83)

**Entrance Song (*parodos*) of the Chorus 184–236**

two strophic pairs (aeolic and iambic), the second antistrophe with interspersed anapaests from Ion

**Second Scene (First *epeisodion*) 237–451**

- (1) dialogue of Ion and Creusa (237–400), including long *stichomythia* (264–368)
- (2) dialogue of Ion, Creusa, and Xuthus (401–51)

**Second Song (First *stasimon*) of the Chorus 452–509**

strophic pair (aeolic) and epode (aeolic, dochmiac, dactylic)

**Third Scene (Second *epeisodion*) 510–675**

- (1) dialogue of Ion and Xuthus in trochaic tetrameters (510–65), including *stichomythia* (517–29) and *antilabe* (530–62)
- (2) dialogue of Ion and Xuthus in iambic trimeters (566–675), including *epideixis* (585–64[n.])

**Third Song (Second *stasimon*) of the Chorus 676–724**

strophic pair and epode (dochmiac)

**Fourth Scene (Third *epeisodion*) 725–1047**

- (1) dialogue of Creusa and Old Man (725–62, 800–58) enclosing *amoi-baion* (763–99, Creusa in dochmiac, Old Man and Chorus-leader in spoken iambic)
- (2) Creusa's monody 859–922
  - (a) after 3 (lyric) paroemiacs (859–61), recitative anapaests (862–80)
  - (b) astrophic (mostly anapaestic) lyric (881–922)
- (3) dialogue of Creusa and Old Man (plotting scene) (923–1047), including long *stichomythia* (938–1028)

**Fourth Song (Third *stasimon*) of the Chorus 1048–1105**

two strophic pairs (enoplian and aeolic)

<sup>120</sup> See Dubischar 2017: 368–9.

**Fifth Scene (Fourth *epeisodion*) 1106–1228**

dialogue of Servant and Chorus-leader, including messenger-*rhesis* (1122–1228)

**Fifth Song (Interlude) of the Chorus 1229–49**

astrophic stanza (aeolic and ionic) (1229–43) followed by recitative anapaests (1244–9)

**Closing Scene (*exodos*) 1250–1622**

(1) Creusa, Chorus-leader, and Ion (pursuit scene) (1250–1319), first Creusa and Chorus-leader in trochaic tetrameters (1250–60, with *antilabe* 1255–8), then Ion and Creusa in iambic trimeters (1261–1319), including *stichomythia* (1284–1311)

(2) dialogue of Ion and Priestess (1320–63) (or –[68]), including *stichomythia* (1324–56)

(3) dialogue of Ion and Creusa (1369–1438), including *rhesis* of Ion (1369–94) and recognition (1395–1438)

(4) reunion duet (1439–1509) (Creusa in enoplian dochmiac, Ion in spoken iambic)

(5) dialogue of Ion and Creusa (1510–48)

(6) Ion, Creusa, and Athena (1549–1622), including Athena's epiphany-*rhesis ex machina* (1553–1605) and closing trochaic tetrameters (1606–22)

The play is framed by appearances of two deities.<sup>121</sup> There is symmetry in that both are surrogates of Apollo, and Athena confirms Hermes' guesses as to Apollo's plan (69–73n.), but asymmetry in the staging (1–81n., §3), reflecting the different nature of their involvement in the action.<sup>122</sup> The division of the Opening Scene into two parts is typical. After Hermes' prologue-*rhesis*, Ion's monody allows him to make a first, favorable impression, but it also conveys subtly that his present situation is untenable (82–183n.). He will not sing again, but his mother's sung parts all play off against this first occurrence of actor's song and likewise have an enormous impact on the play's emotional rhythm and

<sup>121</sup> The play's doubling of formal elements is often noted and admired (e.g. Conacher 1959: 20–2, Wolff 1965: 169–73, Swift 2008: 34–5).

<sup>122</sup> Apollo might well have been expected to appear at either end of the play himself (1549–1622n.). In the middle, Creusa approaches the doors of his temple and challenges him to appear immediately. Formally, an epiphany here would be most unusual; divinities appear in the middle of *Her.*, but not in response to a summons.

tone.<sup>123</sup> Creusa's reaction to the Chorus-leader's news of Apollo's oracle first takes the form of an *amoibaion* with the Old Man and the Chorus-leader in which Creusa is the only singer (763–99n.). Then, after long speeches by the Old Man, Creusa bursts forth in solo song.<sup>124</sup> Creusa's song has some formal resemblances to Ion's, but the increased use of dochmiacs marks a rise in intensity over his placid aeolics. It is an "anti-hymn" in counterpoint to his song of praise, and it represents the second emotional peak of the play.<sup>125</sup> The third is also marked by song: when mother and son have at long last recognized each other, they participate in a reunion duet (Creusa singing, Ion speaking).<sup>126</sup>

*Ion* contains the two longest scenes of *stichomythia* in surviving tragedy. The first (264–368) has much in common with "pre-recognition" scenes in other plays of reunion and rescue. It is pervaded by a teasing irony, as Creusa and Ion are instinctively drawn to one another, comment on the complementarity of their situations, and move alternately towards and away from topics that could lead quickly – too quickly, in terms of dramatic design – to recognition. They are furthest from their goal when Creusa announces her private purpose (μάντευμα κρυπτόν, 334[n.]). Her drive to learn about her lost son runs counter to Apollo's plan, but she has dramatic form on her side.

When Xuthus and Ion achieve (false) recognition through a shorter stichomythic exchange, this varies the second of four stichomythic building blocks found in similar plays. The regular sequence is pre-recognition, recognition, planning, deception.<sup>127</sup> The false recognition is in the "right" place, then, but Apollo's plan includes no further actions to take place in Delphi; it has been accomplished too easily and too soon. Like the other "romantic tragedies" *IT* and *Hel.*, *Ion* lacks a contest scene (*agon*). Just when Ion's long speech explaining his reluctance to go to Athens creates the expectation of one, Xuthus declines to play his part.

<sup>123</sup> The increased importance of actor's song is typical of later Euripides and later-fifth-century tragedy generally.

<sup>124</sup> Creusa's silence after 803 and 835 increases the force of her first lyrics; see 802–3, 836–56, 859–922nn.

<sup>125</sup> Creusa's monody comes near the play's midpoint and has several additional claims to centrality: as the climax of Creusa's first attempt to reestablish contact with Apollo (§8.2), as the most important narrative of the rape (cf. §2.3), and as the theatrical event that transforms Creusa. See e.g. Friedrich 1953: 17–19.

<sup>126</sup> 1439–1509n. The sequence solo (Ion)–solo (Creusa)–duet (Creusa and Ion) coexists with the pair of doublets consisting of monodies (Ion, Creusa) and *amoibaia* (Creusa with others, Creusa with Ion). The reunion duet completes both patterns and unites the play's two most important characters.

<sup>127</sup> Seidensticker 1971: 212–14, demonstrating the pattern in *EL*, *IT*, and (with slight variation) *Hel.*

Formally, this is convenient, since Euripidean contest scenes typically drive the antagonists further apart than they were before. Here, Xuthus simply brushes Ion's arguments aside, and Ion yields to his "father."<sup>128</sup>

After the Chorus-leader's revelations and misinformation, the Old Man's wild speculations, and Creusa's monody, the "planning" section of the second long *stichomythia* appears to resume the regular sequence, but because it is based on misunderstanding and targets an impossible victim (the would-be murderer's son, with whom she must instead be reunited), the intrigue cannot succeed.<sup>129</sup> After it fails and Ion pursues Creusa to Apollo's altar, true recognition is accomplished in a final block of (mostly) *stichomythia*, followed by the expected reunion duet. These displaced elements have become the plot's final goal and supplant the earlier false recognition and Creusa's lyric reactions to it. Formally, all is well until Ion discovers a reason to undertake an action that "cannot" happen.<sup>130</sup> This leads to a blocking epiphany and final dispensations by Athena, followed by trochaic tetrameters, here indicating closure.

Despite an unusually complex plot, *Ion* has a structure that in many respects is most easily interpreted as "closed."<sup>131</sup> Nevertheless, a strong hint of openness is provided by Apollo's failure to appear. Expectations of an epiphany of the god are raised but not fulfilled, and Athena's explanation of his absence is ambiguous.<sup>132</sup> Ion's poignant question ("Does the god prophesy truly or in vain?") goes unanswered. Finally, Creusa's ecstatic joy in response to Athena's epiphany-*rhexis* supports an open reading of Ion's formulaic acceptance, and especially his remark "this was believable even before." The wording suggests suppression of another thought, which it is up to us to supply if we wish.<sup>133</sup>

<sup>128</sup> It is ironic that the rhetorically sophisticated display of Athens' faults is delivered by its future ruler, and that it receives no rebuttal; cf. §2.2.

<sup>129</sup> On the long Fourth Scene (725–1047), see Gauger 1977. In the second long *stichomythia* (938–1028), "planning" begins at 970. Scholars call a sub-plot involving escape or revenge a *μηχάνημα*, "intrigue" (1116n.). Several plays close in date to *Ion* have both an intrigue and a recognition, but *Ion* differs from e.g. *El.*, *IT*, *Hel.*, and *Antiope* in that recognition comes after intrigue and resolves the conflicts that led to it (Solmsen 1968a, 1968b).

<sup>130</sup> Ion cannot reenter the temple and prolong his childhood, cannot ask Apollo an embarrassing question, and cannot disrupt the play's happy ending.

<sup>131</sup> On open and closed form and structural strategies, see Mastronarde 2010: 64–8.

<sup>132</sup> 1557–8n. Of course, Athena's epiphany is itself strongly closural. Very early in the play, Hermes' words imply that Apollo is present in his temple (5–6n.).

<sup>133</sup> 1606–8n; §§2.3, 8.3.

## 5 THE CHORUS AND THE CHARACTERS

5.1 *The Chorus*

The role of the Chorus exemplifies several general tendencies of later Euripidean tragedy. The proportion of their lines to total length is lower than in earlier tragedy, they are mainly subordinated to one character (Creusa), and the importance of their songs is reduced in comparison to that of actors' song.<sup>134</sup> But their leader makes one of the most consequential interventions of any Greek tragic chorus when she violates Xuthus' command to silence and misrepresents what the Chorus have heard of Apollo's oracle (666–7n.).<sup>135</sup> Also, each of their songs is closely tied to the dramatic action, in which they take a lively, partisan interest. In this respect, they differ from the kind of Euripidean chorus Aristotle probably has in mind when he remarks that the tragic chorus should “share in the dramatic contest (συναγωνίζεσθαι) not as in Euripides, but as in Sophocles.”<sup>136</sup>

The Chorus' Entrance Song begins with a hint that they are Athenian and ends by identifying them precisely as servants of the Athenian royal family, which they present as virtually inseparable from the city's patron goddess, Athena.<sup>137</sup> That their primary loyalty is to Creusa is perhaps implicit in their sex and confirmed at the latest in their response to the false recognition scene; like many Euripidean female choruses, they provide support and a sounding-board for a suffering heroine.<sup>138</sup> Their Athenian pride is often expressed in terms of Creusa's family, in particular her father.<sup>139</sup> For fifth-century spectators, Erechtheus represents the Athenian claim to autochthony and contemporary notions of democratic citizenship.<sup>140</sup> As slaves and women, the Chorus have quite low status in these terms, but “good” tragic slaves embrace the values of

<sup>134</sup> Mastronarde 2010: 88.

<sup>135</sup> Unusual features of Xuthus' command and threat could lead experienced spectators to expect the Chorus to disobey and tell Creusa what Xuthus wishes, for the moment, to conceal. In this case, they will not be surprised when 752–60 build towards a revelation, but the first thing the Chorus-leader reveals is surprising on any account. She says, falsely, that Creusa will never take children into her arms or nurse them at her breast (761–2n.). In context, Creusa and the Old Man can only take this as an authoritative report of what Apollo proclaimed through his oracle, and it becomes one of the main drivers of her murder plot.

<sup>136</sup> *Po.* 1456a25–7; discussion in Mastronarde 2010: 145–52.

<sup>137</sup> 184–236, 194–200, 235nn.; Swift 2013: 147.

<sup>138</sup> 566–8n.; cf. 469–70, 510–16n., Murnaghan 2017: 415–19.

<sup>139</sup> 721–4, 1056–60, 1069–73, 1087–9. In their identification with Creusa and her father, the Chorus prefigure the Old Man, whose views they in turn amplify. They do not, however, sing any extended praise of Athens such as *Med.* 824–45, *S. OC* 668–719.

<sup>140</sup> §§6.1, 6.2.

their owners, and tradition allows choruses to express sentiments not strictly appropriate to their dramatic role.<sup>141</sup> For example, Creusa's servants say that they are willing to forego wealth and royal chambers in favor of children and moderate possessions.<sup>142</sup> On the whole, they do not generalize much, and when they do, their thoughts remain close to the dramatic situation.<sup>143</sup> They rarely allude to myth.<sup>144</sup> Their lyrics contribute to atmosphere and divide "acts" without competing with the role of actors' song in marking the play's most important emotional peaks.<sup>145</sup> The choral voice divides into parts in the first three stanzas of the First Song, perhaps pointing programmatically to the process of discovering the meaning of works of art.<sup>146</sup>

The Second Song ends with an ominous, brooding epode. The epode of the Third Song, coming after a pair of anxious and pessimistic stanzas, turns darker still. These epodes and the third stanza of the Fourth Song all refer to ritual dancing by female choruses and thus involve "choral projection."<sup>147</sup> In each case, the Chorus misapprehend the dramatic situation, and there is a kind of irony in their evocation of ritual.<sup>148</sup> Another complex irony arises from their invocation of Athena and Artemis at the start of the Second Song. The Chorus pray for the ancient lineage of Erechtheus to flourish "by means of clear/pure (καθαροῖς) oracles." Apollo's oracle is all too clear, and false; yet the "purity" of the Athenian lineage is maintained after all, and Athena's epiphany can be seen as long-range fulfillment of the Chorus' prayer.<sup>149</sup> When they enlarge on the theme of gender rivalry at the end of their Fourth Song (1090–1105), the irony is like that at *Med.* 410–45: murdering children is no way to improve the reputation of women. Luckily, their prayer to Einodia/Hecate at the start of that same song goes unanswered, and Creusa's plot fails.

<sup>141</sup> "Good" slaves: 725–1047, 850–3nn.; cf. 1229–49n., where the Chorus expect to share in Creusa's punishment. For general discussions of the tragic chorus in terms of status and authority, see Goldhill 1996, Gould 1996, Foley 2003, Mastronarde 2010: 90–106, Gagné and Hopman 2013.

<sup>142</sup> 485–7n.

<sup>143</sup> 507–9, 1244–5nn. For the articulation of episodes by short, often sententious, speeches from the Chorus-leader, see 381–3, 1619–22nn.

<sup>144</sup> Exceptions: description of sculpted scenes involving heroes, gods, and Giants in the Entrance Song (184–236n.), allusion to the birth of Athena at the start of the Second Song (452–3, 455–7nn.). Contrast the choruses of e.g. *Ph.* and *IA*, whose songs constitute entire "cycles" of allusive myth.

<sup>145</sup> §4. In their Fourth Song, the Chorus contribute a bit of misdirection: Creusa may commit suicide if her plot fails (1061–73n.).

<sup>146</sup> 184–236, 194–200nn. Murray's proposed assignment of lines in the second stanza of the Third Song to different Chorus-members is unconvincing.

<sup>147</sup> For the term, see 461–4n.

<sup>148</sup> 492–509, 713–24, 1074–89, 1078–86nn.

<sup>149</sup> 422–4, 468–71nn.; §§7.1, 8.1.

5.2 *Minor Characters*

The most salient aspect of Xuthus' identity is "non-Athenian."<sup>150</sup> He is also noble, kind, pious, and accomplished in war,<sup>151</sup> but the play does not allow him to become a focus of serious interest or emotion. Instead, each part that he plays, whether as foil or instrument of Apollo's will, sooner or later diminishes him.<sup>152</sup> He arrives on stage after a long scene dramatizing the "natural" affinity of Creusa and Ion, which his brusque interaction with Apollo's servant underscores by contrast. His lack of rapport with Ion then plays out in the Third Scene in an inept and misunderstood approach to his "son."<sup>153</sup> While Ion labors to discover how the oracle can be true, it is clear that Xuthus would just as soon take it on faith.<sup>154</sup> He shows no interest in the identity of Ion's mother, and when Ion asks whether he was born from the earth, his dismissive reply marks him as an outsider.<sup>155</sup> When Ion explains earnestly and at length why he prefers his current life in Delphi to the future Xuthus plans for him in Athens, Xuthus is given no chance to present a contrasting world-view, as he would in a formal contest scene. Instead, in merely brushing Ion's reflections aside, he reveals his misunderstanding of Ion's pious devotion.<sup>156</sup> Xuthus himself is pious, and his kindly intention to deceive Creusa for a time is in line with Apollo's plan, but in the end it is he who remains permanently deceived.<sup>157</sup> His determination to sacrifice in thanks for Ion's "birth" leads to his exclusion first from the tent where Ion constructs his Athenian identity, and then from the rest of the play.<sup>158</sup> His last words before he exits the stage are a command and a threat that are soon disobeyed and defied.<sup>159</sup>

The Old Man, the Servant, and the Priestess are nameless figures whose "characters" are more or less entirely functions of the plot.<sup>160</sup> The

<sup>150</sup> 63, 290, 293, 702, 813, 841–2.

<sup>151</sup> Nobility: 63–4, 291–2, 392, 558–9, 1540, 1562. Kindness and piety: 401–51, 401–3, 422–4, 653, 804–7, 977, 1125–7, 1130–2nn. Military accomplishment: 61–2, 296–8, 814, 1296–9.

<sup>152</sup> Xuthus' status as Apollo's instrument is given scenic expression in his easy access to the temple (§3); for his "comic" affinities, see §9.

<sup>153</sup> 517–27n.

<sup>154</sup> 539–41n.

<sup>155</sup> No genuine Athenian would say, "the earth does not bear children" (542n., §6.2). The incorrect explanation at which Ion and Xuthus finally arrive assigns Xuthus a role not unlike that actually played by Apollo (550–4n.).

<sup>156</sup> 585–647, 650nn.

<sup>157</sup> 1601–3n.

<sup>158</sup> 651–2, 850–3, 1125–7, 1132nn.

<sup>159</sup> 666–7n.

<sup>160</sup> For the Servant, see 1106–1228, 1109–10nn.; for anonymous characters in general, Yoon 2012.

Old Man was once tutor to Erechtheus, and because of this Creusa honors him and treats him almost as a father.<sup>161</sup> At his first appearance, it is made clear that he is in complete solidarity with Creusa, whom he in turn treats like a daughter.<sup>162</sup> Like the Chorus, he proudly espouses an exclusive notion of Athenian identity despite being a slave.<sup>163</sup> His two long speeches focus on Creusa's domestic situation and are full of clever and tendentious rhetoric.<sup>164</sup> The Old Man and the Chorus make a sympathetic internal audience for Creusa's monody, and his reactions, like theirs, guide the response of the spectators.<sup>165</sup> At a moment when the plot nearly stalls, he urges Creusa to pursue revenge. Because of this, he can be described as an "instigator," whose agency mitigates Creusa's guilt.<sup>166</sup> At the same time, the scene shows her transferring to him the energy she brings to the plot.<sup>167</sup>

The Pythian priestess is presented as an instrument of Apollo's will and a surrogate mother for Ion.<sup>168</sup> Her timely entrance at a thrilling moment resembles a divine epiphany; spectators will probably suspect that it is caused by Apollo, as Athena later confirms.<sup>169</sup> After handing over the all-important basket, she exits back into the temple, notionally to the side of Apollo.

### 5.3 *Ion, Creusa, Family Dynamics*

Whereas spectators will recognize that the Chorus and minor characters mainly fulfill dramatic functions and probably will not engage in much if any imaginative identification with them, the situation is different with Ion and Creusa. To be sure, they too play parts defined by familiar structures, such as perpetrator of "intrigue," partner in "recognition," and so on, but their more complex roles invite greater emotional involvement

<sup>161</sup> 725–1047, 730, 733–4nn.

<sup>162</sup> 728, 735–7nn.

<sup>163</sup> 837, 839–42nn. For his claim that a good slave is no worse than a free man, see 854–6n.

<sup>164</sup> 808–29, 811–12, 813–16, 836–56nn.

<sup>165</sup> 923–4, 925–6nn.

<sup>166</sup> Yoon 2012: 92–6; but cf. 725–1047, 970–1047, 970nn.

<sup>167</sup> 1041–7n. This has the convenient further consequence that Creusa is removed from direct participation in the murder attempt.

<sup>168</sup> 47–8, 49–50, 319–21, 1324, 1347, 1358, [1359–60], 1363nn. Yoon 2012: 19–20 suggests that the Priestess can be thought of as Ion's "nurse" (though she did not suckle him: 318–19) and that, as a result, when Ion comes close to matricide, "as in *Choephori*, the horror . . . is mitigated by the confusion of the mother figure."

<sup>169</sup> 1320–68, 1565nn.; §§3, 4.



and prompt us to respond to them more as if they were real people. Dramatists create a unique “world” for each play and situate their characters within it; however, this world is inevitably fragmented and underdetermined, and when recreating it during a performance, spectators supplement it through the activity of their intellects, imaginations, and unconscious fantasies.<sup>170</sup> “Focal” characters stimulate such response more than others.<sup>171</sup> For many reasons, then, no attempt will be made to sketch the “characters” of Ion and Creusa; they will instead be treated partly as the sum total of the dramatic developments and themes discussed in this and the following sections, and partly as imaginative constructions made by spectators. The particular constructions made by ancient Greek spectators no doubt varied, and they are almost entirely inaccessible to us, but we are more likely to approximate them by reconstructing relevant contexts (familial, political, religious, and so on) than by examining stage figures in isolation. Discussion of “character” under a series of thematic headings has the disadvantage of separating elements that a performance of the play presents as a whole, but the advantage that individual developments can be presented sequentially, as they are experienced by spectators.

Family relationships constitute an important component of everyone’s identity. While only some spectators are citizens, for example, and even fewer are “Athenian citizens” (and therefore, in the dramatic world of *Ion*, “autochthonous”), everybody is a “child,” and while not everyone is a parent, most people have enough close-up experience of other people in the roles of “mother” or “father,” “wife” or “husband,” “brother” or “sister,” and so on – and additional experience encountering these roles in stories, songs, and plays – that they are able to engage sympathetically with dramatic figures enacting any of these roles. In this section, we examine Ion and Creusa as “son” and “mother.”

It is obviously of very great importance that Ion and Creusa begin by inhabiting these roles, but not in relation to each other, and only discover their true relationship at the end. The Ion we encounter first has constructed a fictive family with Apollo as his “father” and Apollo’s Priestess as his “mother.”<sup>172</sup> As projected, Apollo’s fatherhood is unstable and temporary; in due course, he will be replaced by different fathers, first Xuthus

<sup>170</sup> For this approach to dramatic characterization, see especially Griffith 1998 and 1999: 34–8, 58–66. For various approaches to characterization and individuality in Greek literature, see Pelling 1990, de Temmerman and van Emde Boas 2018.

<sup>171</sup> For the useful term “focal character,” see Heath 1987: 90–8.

<sup>172</sup> 136–40, 319–21; cf. 1324.

and then Apollo himself seen in a new light.<sup>173</sup> Ion's relationship with the Priestess, by contrast, is affectionate but not intense; it leaves plenty of room for him to long for his birth mother. He expresses longing for his mother overtly only after the false recognition with Xuthus, but what he says there is that he now longs to see her "more than before."<sup>174</sup> In his earlier encounter with Creusa, he expresses his ignorance of both his birth parents matter-of-factly (313, 329), but longing for his mother is evident in some of his responses to Creusa, whose thoughts turn repeatedly to the anonymous young temple servant's mother, never his father.<sup>175</sup>

Up to this point the play, like a fairy tale, allows us to fantasize about parents superior to those we actually have (Freud's "family romance") and to enjoy the irony that Ion's fantasy of Apollo as "father" coincides with this play's "truth." Seen in this light, the false recognition offers emotional dissonance as well as plot interest: Ion accepts, but cannot truly accept, Xuthus as his father.<sup>176</sup> He convinces himself that his mother was a Delphian girl impregnated by Xuthus during Dionysiac revels, a notion so unsatisfactory that he can hope a short while later that she was, instead, Athenian.<sup>177</sup> Confronting Creusa at Apollo's altar, Ion feels pity and longing for the mother he believes is absent, feelings again to the fore when his fictive mother hands him the means for searching out the woman who bore him.<sup>178</sup> After bidding the Priestess good-bye (thereby making room for Creusa to step into the maternal role), he toys briefly with the idea of suppressing knowledge he might prefer not to have.<sup>179</sup>

Ion's longing for his mother is entwined with Creusa's longing for her son and our knowledge that each is the one the other seeks. Longing to see Creusa's desire satisfied means longing to see her secret inquiry – not

<sup>173</sup> See further §7.1. Unstable elements in Ion's present situation include the tale type itself (§2.2), Hermes' guess as to Apollo's plan (69–73n.), Ion's solo paeian suggesting that he lacks a community (82–183n.), his oxymoronic self-description as "born (γενώς) without a mother and without a father" (109–11n.), his wish never to stop serving Apollo or to do so "because of a good destiny" (151–3n.), and the fact that in his current "family," Ion does not even have a name (309–11n.). For tragic fathers and sons, see Griffith 1998; for different ways of figuring fatherhood in *Ion*, Zeitlin 1996: 320–6, 335–8.

<sup>174</sup> 564. In 563–5, the emphasis on *seeing* is noteworthy: not only has Ion in fact already seen his mother without knowing it, but the sight had an immediate effect (337–40n.), and seeing is also what spectators do in the theater.

<sup>175</sup> 308, 318, 320, 324, 328, 330. After an ambiguous line in which Creusa can be heard referring to Ion's longing for his unknown mother as well as hers for him (360n.), Ion asks Creusa not to "carry me away to grief for what I had forgotten" (361–2n.).

<sup>176</sup> 557–61n., §5.2.

<sup>177</sup> 550–4, 668–75nn.

<sup>178</sup> 1275–8, 1352, 1369–77.

<sup>179</sup> 1380–4, 1385–8.

Apollo's plan, but the play's plot – succeed.<sup>180</sup> As spectators, we share her frustration when Ion blocks the inquiry and her despair when the Chorus-leader tells her she will never have children.<sup>181</sup> These feelings nearly make a murderer of her, but her original desire remains strong enough that she is willing to risk her life when she recognizes Ion's basket.<sup>182</sup>

In following the plot on its arc towards true recognition of mother and son, we have so far left out of account a further family dynamic that perhaps cannot reach such satisfactory closure. Creusa abandoned her infant soon after his birth. It has been suggested that the main function of this age-old and widespread motif is to enable a fantasy of wish-fulfillment: identification with the abandoned – and invariably rescued – child provides vicarious experience of the feeling of having superior parents. But can the horror of abandonment be written off so easily as narrative embellishment? In returning obsessively to the moment when a parent decides not to raise a child, the play may tap into something deeper. This is not just a matter of Creusa's feelings of guilt. Ion's reason for identifying Apollo as his "father," for example, also makes sense in these terms. Apollo provided the nurture denied by Ion's birth mother; he saw to it that their child was taken up and raised, just as Athena took up Ion's mythical prototype Erichthonius from Earth. As spectators, then, we engage with Creusa in the twin roles of a mother whose powerful longing finds joyous fulfillment and one who can never get over abandoning her child. In the second role, Creusa is not the mother of the young man she meets in Apollo's sanctuary, but only of that lost infant.<sup>183</sup> This role is reprised within the play as the murder plot, and Ion's retaliation represents the same conflict from the abandoned baby's point of view. The mother whose desire leads to true recognition, on the other hand, legitimates Ion's status as Athenian and autochthon.<sup>184</sup> Her bond with her son is shown to be stronger than the bonds of fatherhood, whether false (Xuthus) or true (Apollo).

<sup>180</sup> §4.

<sup>181</sup> 369–80, 761–2nn. In accepting the Chorus-leader's misinformation as authoritative, Creusa conveniently "forgets" Xuthus' report of the oracle of Trophonius (407–9n.).

<sup>182</sup> 1402–6n., §8.2.

<sup>183</sup> Pedrick 2007 theorizes a "romance of belonging" to complement (or rival?) the Freudian "family romance." In her reading of *Ion*, she emphasizes the sheer number of descriptions of the scene of abandonment, discrepancies in them that destabilize any apparently authoritative account of origins, and other traces of psychological complication and anxiety in the play's themes and imagery.

<sup>184</sup> §§6.1, 6.2. Does Creusa have a stake in Ion's status as eponym of the Ionians, as predicted by Athena (§6.3)? The fact that she never uses the name "Ion" (Loraux 1993: 188–9) could suggest that she does not. The masculine nature of the colonial project can also be seen in the fact that the text does not name or even mention the mother of Ion's children or their wives, from whom the colonists descend.

## 6 POLITICAL IDENTITY

6.1 *Citizenship*

When Ion is “recognized” as Xuthus’ son, his status seems to undergo several changes – from slave to free, anonymous to named, low-born to noble. The recognition is false, but we know from Hermes’ prologue-*rhesis* that Ion’s status “really” will change in these ways (and more). By the time Athena instructs Creusa to install Ion on the Athenian throne because he is worthy as a descendant of Erechtheus,<sup>185</sup> nobody will object. Xuthus and Creusa both have good reasons to support his claim, and there need be no complications around his status in the play’s imagined future. Along the way to this conclusion, however, Ion and others worry about his status in terms suggesting contemporary Athens. Far from being forgotten amid the play’s happy ending, such concerns are brought back to our attention in Creusa’s very last words before the epiphany of Athena, words then echoed by the goddess herself.<sup>186</sup> Examination of Ion’s status shows that Euripides takes advantage of a license always available to tragedy and extends it to an extraordinary degree.

Tragedy develops its own idiom for integrating political, legal, and social issues into its heroic setting. The useful term “heroic vagueness” has been coined to describe this phenomenon.<sup>187</sup> Heroic vagueness is not just vagueness; rather, Greek poetry had always encouraged audiences to appropriate and identify with mythical heroes and heroines in particular. Tragedy continues the practice in such a way that its principal characters can provide something for everybody and avoid dividing spectators along class lines. *Ion* arguably goes further, encouraging spectators to identify with its hero whether they are citizens, metics, or allies, legitimate or illegitimate, even free or slave. This does not mean that the play is an activist’s call for a revolution in Athenian law, politics, or social structure. But even in a play with many light touches and a happy ending, Euripides’ manipulation of “heroic vagueness” turns out to be compatible with looking critically at “official” beliefs and raising hard questions.<sup>188</sup>

To begin with the discourse of slave and free, as a temple slave Ion displays a “nobility” that can be understood in two ways, as both a manifestation

<sup>185</sup> 1573–4; cf. 1618.

<sup>186</sup> 1534–6, 1539–45, 1561–2.

<sup>187</sup> Easterling 1997a.

<sup>188</sup> For a nuanced discussion of tragedy and ideology, see Pelling 1997b, especially 224–35; also Pelling 2000: 164–88. For civic ideology considered from a variety of historical perspectives, see Boegehold and Scafuro 1994. *Ion* has been much studied in these terms. See e.g. Walsh 1978, Loraux 1993 *passim*, Saxonhouse 1986, Hoffer 1996, Lape 2010: 95–136, Kasimis 2013. For a good brief discussion of marginal identities in the play, see Ebbott 2005: 370–1.

of his true parentage and the result of his own understanding of his current situation. Sacred service exalts him, and he praises Apollo because Apollo gives him the opportunity to serve and benefits him in return.<sup>189</sup> Apollo has brought him up, and done it well, so that the lowly slave's good character seems to result from both nature and nurture.<sup>190</sup> After being falsely recognized as Xuthus' son, Ion is happy to escape servile status, but loath to end his temple service.<sup>191</sup> When the Priestess gives him the means to search for his mother, he briefly considers not doing so for fear that she may turn out to be a slave (1380–4). By this time, he seems to resent what his mother did that led to his slavery and anonymity, but only while also pitying her for having to abandon him.<sup>192</sup>

Xuthus urges Ion to leave his “homelessness” (576 ἀλητείαν) behind and come to Athens, where he will be noble and rich (576–81). So far, nothing has prompted us to wonder how, in practical terms, Ion will come to “enjoy what belongs to him” (73). In his *epideixis-rhesis*, however, Ion intermingles heroically vague terms with others that anachronistically suggest the qualifications for citizenship in fifth-century Athens (585–647n.). He worries that, as a bastard and the son of an immigrant, he will suffer two disadvantages (νόσω, 591–2n.). Since he assumes that a political career will nevertheless be open to him, he evidently conceives this “cause for reproach” (593 ὀνειδος) as a social rather than legal liability, and later in his speech he imagines his future position in quite different terms, as “tyranny” (621–32). So also Xuthus, who in dismissing Ion's worries says that he will watch for an opportunity to persuade Creusa to allow Ion to hold his (Xuthus') power (lit. “scepters,” 660).

With talk of tyranny and scepters, the play's discourse of status has returned to the heroically vague register, but given Ion's “realistic” picture of Athens, it may be asked whether Athenians would have been able to make sense of Apollo's plan, as now given slightly more concrete form by Xuthus, in terms of their own customs and laws. The plan assumes that the royal power Xuthus holds by virtue of marriage to Creusa, itself a reward for military aid, is in Creusa's gift. If we translate this into fifth-century Athenian terms as a desire to secure Ion's right to inherit what had belonged to his maternal grandfather, the challenge for Apollo is to give both Xuthus and Creusa a reason to legitimize Ion. Xuthus must believe that Ion is his natural son, and Creusa must know that he is in fact hers.<sup>193</sup>

<sup>189</sup> 121–4, 128–40, 132–3, 134–5, 137nn. Ion “belongs” to Apollo: 309–11 n.

<sup>190</sup> 109–11, 137, 138–40, 247–8nn.

<sup>191</sup> 556, 674–5nn.; 646–7n.

<sup>192</sup> 1369, 1371, 1372, 1378–9nn.

<sup>193</sup> This is in essence the explanation of Burnett 1971: 106 n. 6, but she confuses the issue by asserting that Xuthus is thought of as an adopted son of Erechtheus and implying that there was some regular means of legitimizing a bastard in classical Athens (see further below).

The challenge for spectators is to accommodate the need for Creusa's consent within some known procedure.<sup>194</sup> There was no regular procedure at Athens for legitimizing a bastard.<sup>195</sup> Like most things, however, it could be accomplished by a decree of the Assembly, and a recent instance would have been well known to Euripides' spectators. After Pericles lost his two legitimate sons, he asked for the terms of the Citizenship Law he himself had proposed in 451/450 to be relaxed on behalf of his illegitimate son by Aspasia, and the Athenians agreed.<sup>196</sup>

Some have hoped to shed further light on Ion's status in contemporary legal terms by considering Creusa's position as the daughter of a man who died without leaving a son, natural or adopted, as heir. The Athenians called such a daughter an *epikleros*, sometimes misleadingly translated "heiress." The *epikleros* does not inherit her father's estate; rather, she is "upon" it (the literal meaning of ἐπί + κληρος) in the sense that the man who marries her gets (management of) the estate, too.<sup>197</sup> When Erechtheus died, Creusa was indeed left in the position of an *epikleros*. But the intent of the law that determined who could marry an *epikleros* was that when her father's property and care of the family cults eventually passed through her to her son, that son would be as closely related to his maternal grandfather's household as possible. The law therefore offered the chance to marry an *epikleros* first to her paternal uncles, then her paternal cousins, and so on in a prescribed order called the *anchisteia*, "circle of close kin."<sup>198</sup> Creusa had no surviving male relatives, but even so the award of her hand in marriage to a foreigner went completely against the spirit of the epiclerate.<sup>199</sup> Moreover, Athena prophesies the birth of legitimate sons to Creusa and Xuthus (1589–94). One would

<sup>194</sup> Burnett 1971: 106 n. 6 asserts that "legitimization of a bastard . . . would have to be done by consent of both parties in the marriage." There is no evidence for such a procedure, and the requirement for a female's consent would be anomalous.

<sup>195</sup> Ogden 1996: 124–5.

<sup>196</sup> Plut. *Per.* 37.2–5. For discussion, see Ogden 1996: 60–1, 91–3. The son was called Pericles, at least after he was legitimized. For the law on citizenship, see further below.

<sup>197</sup> For the Athenian epiclerate, see Harrison 1968–71: 1.9–12 and 132–8, Foley 2001: 68–70.

<sup>198</sup> Harrison 1968–71: 1.143–9. The *anchisteia* includes relatives on the mother's as well as the father's side.

<sup>199</sup> Loraux 1993: 201–5. There is no evidence to support Burnett's claim that Creusa's "foreign husband would, according to custom, take on the status of an adopted son in the Erechtheid family" (1971: 106 n. 6). It is thus irrelevant that, as she correctly adds, "neither an *epikleros* nor an adopted son had testamentary power under Attic law."

think that these sons (and how ironic that one of them will be the ancestor of the Dorian Spartans!) would have a better claim to the Athenian throne than the boy who will be publicly known as the foreigner Xuthus' legitimized bastard. Presumably, amid celebration of the discovery of Erechtheus' true heir, nobody is meant to think of this.<sup>200</sup> On the surface, then, Creusa's status as an *epikleros* is irrelevant. Strikingly, however, Apollo's plan accomplishes the goal of the epiclerate supremely well, if this is understood negatively as avoiding the "dilution" of the *epikleros*' father's bloodline that would result from importing a husband from a different *oikos*.

After Xuthus declares his plan (659–60), Ion hopes that his mother will turn out to be Athenian, because in that case he will have *παρρησία*, the privilege of frank speech, *μητρόθεν* (670–2). In the contemporary Athenian context, *μητρόθεν* suggests Pericles' Citizenship Law of 451/450 which, by requiring two Athenian parents instead of just an Athenian father as a qualification for citizenship, made a mother's status matter in a way that it had not before.<sup>201</sup> The Old Man teaches Creusa to see Ion as Xuthus' lowly bastard, a usurper who will drive her from her home, but the only thing he says that may evoke Athenian law refers to a different, hypothetical son Xuthus might have wanted to adopt (839–42n.). While justifying her attempt on Ion's life, Creusa makes a distinction between an "ally" and an "inhabitant" in a context involving inheritance (1296–9, 1304–5). Then a kind of "adoption" returns in the first of Creusa's attempts to answer the question that troubles Ion near the end of the play. The two have been reunited, and Ion has heard his mother claim that Apollo is his father. When he asks her why, then, the god gave him to another father and said he was born from Xuthus, Creusa first denies that Apollo said he was "born from" Xuthus. Instead, she says, Apollo is "giving" him to Xuthus, "for a friend might well give his own son to a friend to be master of his house," that is, adopted son and heir (1534–6n.). The motive is right, but it does not quite fit the circumstances, for the house of which Apollo wants Ion to become master belongs not to his childless "friend" Xuthus, but to the child's real mother Creusa. In adoption, the fictive aspect is openly acknowledged, and the adopted son gains admission to a new house by legally severing his known ties to his

<sup>200</sup> In Herodotus' story of the sixth-century Spartan royal half-brothers Cleomenes and Dorieus (Hdt. 5.39–42), the son who has a stronger claim but is not favored seeks his fortune founding cities abroad, as Euripides' Dorus and Achaëus will do; see Ebbott 2003: 81–2.

<sup>201</sup> For recent overviews of Pericles' Citizenship Law, see Blok 2009b and 2017, Lape 2010: 19–30. Ion's word *ἄστρος* suits this context (674n.).

birth father. The child in Creusa's scenario looks supposititious rather than adopted.<sup>202</sup>

In any case, Ion takes no notice of Creusa's first explanation because he does not accept its premise, that Apollo did not say he was "born from" Xuthus. Since he is convinced otherwise, he now asks whether Apollo is truthful or prophecies in vain (1537). Creusa replies that if Ion were known as "Apollo's son," he would not be able to inherit his father's property and name, an allusion to the Athenian father's introduction of his son to the members of his phratry (1539–45n.). Apollo has no phratry and could not be expected to be present to introduce his son. In this real-world context, "Apollo's son" is not a satisfactory designation.<sup>203</sup> In sum, Ion tries on an unusual range of identities conceived in both heroic and contemporary terms and in some cases never entirely discards them. The result is probably that spectators can identify with him in any way that suits their own situations and inclinations. Even at the end, there is the paradox of his separate public and private identities, as a result of which it might almost appear that anybody can be anything.

## 6.2 *Autochthony*

By the end of the fifth century BCE, the adjective αὐτόχθων, "autochthonous," had two meanings: "indigenous, never having immigrated," and "born from the earth," the latter with the extended sense "descended (literally or metaphorically) from earthborn proto-kings."<sup>204</sup> Creusa's father

<sup>202</sup> In our sources, supposititious children are usually encountered in anxious male fantasy, when a wife is imagined to trick her husband into thinking that another woman's child (by some other man) is their own. In *Ion*, Apollo may be compared to such a wife in that he has a plan for smuggling a child into a family; Xuthus, who will be known as the child's father, will be deceived (Scafuro 2012). But the differences remain important: Xuthus will not be tricked into thinking Ion is Creusa's child (nor will she be tricked into thinking Ion is his); the family into which Apollo smuggles a child is not his own; and the child ends up in a household that belongs to one of his birth parents.

<sup>203</sup> For the right to use a patronymic as a proxy for legitimacy and the right to inherit, see Ogden 1996: 91–8. If the process with which Euripides' spectators were familiar was the same as the one attested for the fourth century by Is. 7.16, Creusa's second explanation does not quite work, for the father who introduced a child had to swear that the child, whether natural or adopted, was born from a citizen (ἐξ ἀστῆς) and legitimately (γεγονότα ὀρθῶς), and Xuthus would not be able to do this.

<sup>204</sup> LSJ II and I, respectively. See Rosivach 1987, whose argument that "indigenous" is easier to explain etymologically and probably earlier has been widely, though not universally, accepted; for a nuanced recent discussion, see Blok 2009a: 251–6. The ambiguity of the αὐτο- element proved conducive to the eventual blending of the meanings (see below). The word occurs three times in *Ion* (29, 589, 737).



Erechtheus is one of Athens' legendary autochthons; others, Erichthonius and Cecrops, have a place in the play's background and imagery.<sup>205</sup> Since the play presents Creusa as Erechtheus' only surviving child, she is the conduit for the autochthonous legacy, an essential component of Ion's identity and legitimacy. In a sense, Athenian spectators construct their own identity as they watch the play, and the concept of autochthony is a vital part of this process.<sup>206</sup>

A people's claim to be autochthonous in the sense "indigenous" implies a strong claim to rule the land they inhabit, through a foundation story lacking the violent displacement of previous inhabitants. The claim to be "descended from earthborn proto-kings" likewise implies a strong claim to the land, as well as a lineage pure of foreign elements and a closeness to the gods. In classical Athens, very few individual families claimed to be literally descended from the early kings; instead, belief in autochthony tended to confer "nobility" (εὐγένεια) equally on all citizens and discourage attention to other genealogical distinctions.<sup>207</sup> The developed ideology of autochthony is usually assigned to the period between the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars; rivalry with Dorian Peloponnesians, including the Spartans, whose foundation myths included immigration and conquest, will have played a significant part in its growth.<sup>208</sup> The fully blended notion of the entire Athenian citizenry as "indigenous because sprung from the earth" is first encountered in Euripides, in the lost *Erechtheus*<sup>209</sup> and then in *Ion*, which thus acquires

<sup>205</sup> Erechtheus: 10n. At 1056 and 1060, Ἐρεχθεῖδαι are his literal descendants, but already at 24, the designation probably includes all Athenians (23–4n.). Erichthonius: 20–1n., 265–74, 999–1007, 1427–31. Cecrops: 1163–4n.; cf. 23–4, 271–4, 936–8nn. See further §7.2 below.

<sup>206</sup> Athenian autochthony has been extensively studied. For *Ion*, Loraux 1993 [French original 1981] remains fundamental; see also Loraux 1986 and 2000, Montanari 1981, Parker 1986, Saxonhouse 1986, Zeitlin 1996: 285–338, Shapiro 1998, Zacharia 2003: 56–65, Westra 2006, Blok 2009a, Pelling 2009, Forsdyke 2012.

<sup>207</sup> Loraux 1993: 50, Connor 1993: 204–6. Significantly, there was no other tradition about the origin of the mass of Athenians (Parker 1986: 194). The illustrious priestly clan of the Eteoboutadaei did claim descent from Boutes, who had not been king but was said to be the son sometimes of Erechtheus, sometimes of Erichthonius (Blok 2009a: 266–7).

<sup>208</sup> The public funeral oration for the war dead, in which autochthony is a regular topic, is often seen as a likely site for development and diffusion of the relevant ideas (Loraux 1986, but Blok 2009a: 255 urges caution regarding the fifth-century examples). Shapiro 1998 notes that visual representations of the autochthonous proto-kings go back to the sixth century and are unlikely to lack ideological import entirely; cf. Fowler 2000–13: II.459 n. 32.

<sup>209</sup> Fr. 360.8. The play is often dated to the late 420s or even precisely to 422, though the metrical evidence points to a date a few years later (Cropp and Fick 1985: 78–80).

central importance for the whole topic. It also greatly complicates it, since the play interweaves autochthony with matters of gender, ritual, and political identity.

As a male fantasy of origins without sexual reproduction, autochthony excludes human females from what is typically seen as their most important role in real life: motherhood. Perhaps for this very reason, mythical earthborns seem to have a hard time reproducing.<sup>210</sup> This is a central problem in *Ion*, where continuation of the autochthonous line is made to depend on one of those whom the official ideology tends to exclude, a female autochthon.<sup>211</sup> Euripides heightens the paradox by representing the bond between mother and child as by far the strongest in the play.<sup>212</sup>

In *Ion*, the autochthonous legacy is not unambiguously positive. To start with, Earth (Gaia, Ge) herself is ambivalent, as a giver of good things but also the parent of many monstrous offspring. In the play, these are represented by the Giants and the Gorgon. The Giants rebelled against the Olympian gods and were crushed; the Chorus describe sculpture depicting the battle, a favorite in Greek art, in their Entrance Song (205–18n.). On the occasion of the Gigantomachy, Ge bore the Gorgon as an ally for her other children (987–1017n.). Athena killed the terrible monster and incorporated its head and snaky hair into her aegis (992–7, 997nn.). From the Gorgon's blood, she preserved two kinds of drops, poisonous and healing, and stored them in a bracelet passed down within Creusa's family; Creusa literally carries the Gorgon's potential for both harm and good on her person (1001–17n.). Similarly ambivalent are snakes, creatures that naturally have strong associations with the earth (23n.). Creusa placed two golden snakes in Ion's basket, in imitation of an Athenian custom derived from Athena's placement of two actual snakes in a vessel with earthborn Erichthonius, to watch over and protect him (18–27). Cecrops, with his snaky lower body, is depicted along with his daughters in an art object Ion places at the entrance to his tent (1163–5). These images culminate in Ion's description of Creusa herself as a viper (ἔχιδνα) or serpent

<sup>210</sup> Loraux 1993: 213–16. Cecrops produced three daughters and a son, but they all died while he was still king (Gantz 1993: 238–9). *Ion* presents Erichthonius as the grandfather (or perhaps more distant ancestor) of Creusa (267n.), but the line nearly died out when Erechtheus, who had no sons, sacrificed all his daughters except Creusa to save Athens during a crisis (277–82n.). Other daughters of Erechtheus figure in heroic genealogies (Gantz 1993: 242–7), but they are not acknowledged in *Ion*.

<sup>211</sup> After Erechtheus, the Athenian kingship usually passes to Cecrops II, then Pandion II, then Aegeus, all legitimate successors, though the sources differ as to the exact family relationships (Gantz 1993: 247–8, Zacharia 2003: 64–5).

<sup>212</sup> Loraux 1993: 184–236, Zeitlin 1996: 285–338; cf. §5.3.

(δράκων) with fiery gaze, no less dangerous than the Gorgon's drops with which she tried to kill him (1262–5n.). When Ion himself comes close to committing violence, he is at least partly assimilated to the play's other autochthons.<sup>213</sup>

If the tendency of autochthony to level distinctions while “aristocratizing” the entire *demos* is politically useful in a democracy, the play suggests that this same ideology can tend towards a harmful exclusivity.<sup>214</sup> The danger increases under a law like Pericles' Citizenship Law, which defines Athenian citizenship in “racial” terms.<sup>215</sup> In the play, it is represented most clearly by the xenophobia of the Chorus and the Old Man. The Chorus refer in their Third Song to an “influx” or “invasion” of foreigners from which the city would have good reason to protect itself, possibly adding that Erechtheus admitted enough foreigners.<sup>216</sup> In the Fourth Song, they see Ion as a usurper and inappropriately wish to exclude him from participation in the Mysteries.<sup>217</sup> The Old Man sneers at the presumed servile status of Ion's mother and Xuthus' foreign origin.<sup>218</sup> As slaves themselves, the Chorus and the Old Man might be taken to represent a crude, low-class view,<sup>219</sup> but Creusa comes to accept their view of Xuthus as a traitor and Ion as an enemy to her house.<sup>220</sup>

In acting like a Giant or a Gorgon, Creusa courts disaster, which only the benevolence of Olympian Apollo prevents.<sup>221</sup> At the same time, her very human suffering and limitations suggest that the dark side of autochthony can be read in another, more general, way, as “a symbol for conflict within the human soul,” an inevitable part of being human.<sup>222</sup> The play allows a female to play an indispensable part in transmitting autochthony, but we can expect that as a mother, Creusa will slip back into an unobtrusive domestic role. Ion, meanwhile, revives the house of Erechtheus (1463–7n.) and embodies its autochthony in a pure form, but the many ambiguities and paradoxes surrounding his identity permit a symbolic as well as literal reading in his case, too. The complex treatment of autochthony conveys conflicting messages, one of which is that official ideology is only part of the story.

<sup>213</sup> Mastronarde 2003: 305–6, Hoffer 1996.

<sup>214</sup> Walsh 1978, Saxonhouse 1986, Loraux 1993: 205–8.

<sup>215</sup> Lape 2010; cf. §6.1, Ogden 1996: 166–73.

<sup>216</sup> 721–2, 723nn.

<sup>217</sup> 1048–1105, 1074–89nn.

<sup>218</sup> 819–22, 837, 839–42nn.

<sup>219</sup> Walsh 1978: 303–5, 307–8.

<sup>220</sup> 864, 880, 978–9, 1291–1305.

<sup>221</sup> Rosivach 1977: 288–94.

<sup>222</sup> Mastronarde 2003: 307–8.

6.3 *Athens as Ionian Metropolis*

Whereas notions related to citizenship and autochthony are found throughout *Ion*, Athens is presented as the Ionian metropolis only in a brief passage of the Opening Scene and at somewhat greater length in the Closing Scene.<sup>223</sup> Nevertheless, the implications of this theme are significant. Athenians and Ionians alike could take pride in Apollo's paternity of Ion and enjoy the new inferior genealogy of Dorus and Achaëus.<sup>224</sup> Ion, relatively little known in myth, is endowed with good and likable qualities.<sup>225</sup> The play, while obviously undergirding Athenian hegemony, arguably gives Ionians palatable reasons to acquiesce in it.<sup>226</sup> Since the old Ionian tribes seem no longer to have been very important at Athens, their prominence in Athena's speech is itself a kind of compliment to Ionians who used the same names for subdivisions of their populations.<sup>227</sup> For all these reasons, *Ion* is a valuable document in the history of Athenian ethnic identity and imperial policy and propaganda.<sup>228</sup>

In his prologue-*rhesis*, Hermes says that Apollo "will arrange for [his son] to be called throughout Greece by the name Ion, founder of the Asian land" (74–5). In her epiphany-*rhesis*, Athena proclaims that descendants of Ion's sons will establish colonies that strengthen Athens and, called Ionians because of Ion, obtain glory (1581–8). These passages assert Athens' claim as metropolis. Athena instructs Creusa to install Ion on the Athenian throne (1571–3); echoing Hermes, she adds that Ion will be renowned throughout Greece (1575), and the first reason she gives for this is that his four sons will give their names to the tribes of her land (1575–8). These passages strongly imply that the Athenians themselves are "Ionian."<sup>229</sup>

Early in the sixth century, Solon called Athens "the oldest land of Ionia," probably reflecting a desire to associate Athens both with the Hellenic genealogy and with the prestige enjoyed by Ionian culture at

<sup>223</sup> 74–5, 1581–8.

<sup>224</sup> §2.1.

<sup>225</sup> §2.2.

<sup>226</sup> Zacharia 2003: 44–55; contra Walsh 1978: 310–11.

<sup>227</sup> 1575–8, 1582nn.

<sup>228</sup> See, in general, Parker 1986: 205–7, Smarczyk 1990: 360–71 and 612–18, Dougherty 1996, J. Hall 1997: 51–6, Zacharia 2003: 44–55. Unfortunately, the play's treatment of Athens as Ionian metropolis does not allow firm conclusions as to its date (§1).

<sup>229</sup> Euripides' departure from tradition in elevating Ion to the status of king strengthens the implication. J. Hall 1997 does not think the play implies that the Athenians are Ionian, and he argues that "autochthonous" is in fact offered as an alternative identity. But as Zacharia 2003: 45–6 points out, he ignores 1571–3 and 1575–8.

that time.<sup>230</sup> Over the course of the century, however, as the Ionians who lived in the eastern Aegean were first dominated by the Lydians and then subjugated by the Persians, their reputation suffered. After the Persian Wars, according to Thucydides, the Ionians put forward “kinship” (τὸ συγγενές) as a reason for the Athenians to assume leadership of the defensive alliance against Persia (Thuc. 1.95.1). The Athenians were only too happy to oblige, and over time they insisted more and more that the Ionians were colonists who owed them the duties owed to a mother city. Meanwhile, the Ionians’ reputation continued to deteriorate, at least in the eyes of non-Ionian Greeks, and by the time of the Peloponnesian War, they could be disparaged as slavish and militarily (as well as culturally) soft, a stereotype regularly opposed to the image of Dorians as disciplined and strong.<sup>231</sup>

Herodotus gives it as his opinion that most of the Ionians themselves, as well as the Athenians, were ashamed of the name “Ionian” even late in the fifth century; read carefully, the passage implies that officially, the Ionian name was being rehabilitated.<sup>232</sup> It is hard to say when such rehabilitation began and what part the figure of Ion played in it. It has been argued that inscribed boundary-markers (ὄροι) found on several islands point to propagation of Athenian cults outward to allied and subject states, possibly in the 450s, in an effort to foster unity through cultic community.<sup>233</sup> One of the ὄροι, found on Samos, marks a precinct of “Ion at Athens.”<sup>234</sup> It is more likely, however, that the boundary-markers instead “record the most abhorred of all imperial practices, appropriation of allied land for the benefit of absentee landlords, in this case the gods and heroes of Athens”; in this case, “there would have been a grim propriety

<sup>230</sup> Fr. 4a.2 West; for the Hellenic genealogy, see §2.1. For an argument that it was most likely elite Athenians who promoted the association of Athens and Ionia at this time, see Connor 1993: 198–201.

<sup>231</sup> For the stereotype in Thucydides (mostly in the mouths of Dorian speakers), see e.g. 5.9.1, 6.77.1, 7.5.4, 8.25.3. For comedy, where the emphasis is on cultural softness (a reputation of even longer standing), see (Olson on) Ar. *Peace* 932–3, (Austin and Olson on) *Thesm.* 161–3. In general, see Alty 1982, Price 2001: 151–61.

<sup>232</sup> οἱ μὲν νυν ἄλλοι Ἴωνες καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἔφυγον τὸ οὖνομα, οὐ βουλόμενοι Ἴωνες κεκληῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν φαίνονται μοι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν ἐπαισχύνεσθαι τῷ οὐνόματι (Hdt. 1.143.3). The key points are that Herodotus gives it only as his opinion (φαίνονται μοι) that the designation is a source of shame, and that ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν, “but even now,” implies something like “despite the fact that they loudly profess pride in it” (so Alty 1982: 8; cf. Zacharia 2003: 50–1). The first clause probably refers not, as often assumed, to the poor reputation of Ionians after the Persians subjugated them, but to a hazy time before the Ionian migration (Asheri *et al.* 2007: 173–4).

<sup>233</sup> Barron 1964, 1983; cf. Meiggs 1972: 295–8.

<sup>234</sup> ὁρος τεμένος Ἴονος Ἀθένεθεν (IG I<sup>3</sup>.1496).

in dedicating land that had been punitively confiscated from rebellious ‘colonists’ to the hero who symbolized their duties to the native city.”<sup>235</sup>

Beyond its insistence that Athens is the Ionian metropolis, *Ion* is flexible or vague enough to support a reading as assertive, conciliatory, or both at the same time when it comes to the shared Ionian identity of Athens and its subjects and allies.<sup>236</sup> In view of the negative stereotype, it is interesting that Ion, as Euripides presents him, starts off as both a slave and, arguably, soft. But he is a special kind of slave, exalted by religious service, and he discovers that he not only deserves to be free, but is of the highest status imaginable. Any “softness” in him can easily be seen as belonging to a phase of his youth, and the play shows him developing a capacity for decisive action. Athenians might like to see prized “Athenian” qualities in Ion: piety, inquisitiveness, fairness, and moderation. Others might just as easily choose to regard these qualities as “Ionian.” The play does nothing to rule out either option, and to at least that extent it may have been taken as “conciliatory” by Ionians who saw it performed.

## 7 RITUAL AND RELIGION

### 7.1 *Ion’s Purity and Devotion*

When Hermes says that Apollo’s child “has lived a pious (σεμνός) life up to the present moment” (56), he strikes two important notes: piety is one of Ion’s defining qualities, and his present life is one of essentially timeless routine.<sup>237</sup> Ion’s tasks, which combine the low, the high, and the

<sup>235</sup> Parker 1996: 145. Hornblower 2002: 129 nevertheless maintains that because “Ion was an obviously suitable recipient of Ionian cult . . . there may be a conciliatory aspect to the choice of dedicatee,” and he is followed by Zacharia, who suggests that for at least some Samians, Ion may have provided “a palatable and sentimental means to a harsh and financially exploitative end: conciliation combined with assertiveness” (2003: 54). Both continue to speak of a cult of Ion on Samos, but what Parker convincingly calls into question is “whether the markers in fact have anything to do with locally celebrated cults at all” (1996: 145). Parker is right to insist that confiscating land and sending the revenue it generates back to Athens is very different from exporting a supposedly unifying cult.

<sup>236</sup> Such flexibility is to be expected in tragedy. At a date probably close to the first production of *Ion*, Aristophanes puts into the mouth of his heroine Lysistrata an extended metaphor that implies the desirability of extending a kind of Athenian citizenship to the allies, loosely called πόλεις ἄποικοι, “colonies” (*Lys.* 575–86, with Henderson’s note on 582–6; cf. Smarczyk 1990: 612–15). If such a possibility was in the air, it was surely controversial, and even the comic poet proceeds cautiously and rather vaguely.

<sup>237</sup> For Ion’s contentment in his eternal present, see e.g. Burnett 1971: 104–7, Lee 1996: 87–8.

dramatically convenient, do not add up to a realistic picture of any known kind of religious official, at Delphi or elsewhere.<sup>238</sup> Dramatic significance attaches to two points in particular: his preoccupation with purity, and his enforcement of the rules governing consultation of the oracle.<sup>239</sup> Here we consider how aspects of Ion's piety, purity, and devotion not only characterize him, but develop along a trajectory that can help us make sense of the play's ending.<sup>240</sup>

Ion's devotion to Apollo has, in addition to religious and ritual aspects, an important additional dimension of fictive family relationship. Ion has no personal history. "Those who seem to know" say that he arrived at the temple as an infant (317). He has decided to regard "those who reared him" (Apollo, the Priestess, the temple itself) as his parents; he calls Apollo by the name of "father."<sup>241</sup> This conceit allows us to read into the play the tensions and expectations of a father-son relationship. In these terms, Ion begins as dutiful and obedient. He serves, praises, and wants to go on serving for ever.<sup>242</sup> He belongs to Apollo and is at home in his father's house.<sup>243</sup> At the same time, the force that creates actual family relationships, sexuality, is foreign and seemingly distasteful to him. Since he does not know who his parents are, he can describe himself as "born without a mother or a father."<sup>244</sup> The priestess he regards as his "mother" is not sexually active with his "father."<sup>245</sup> Ion himself abstains from sex, and he chases a bird away from the temple to keep it from nesting and "making children" beneath the eaves.<sup>246</sup>

Ion's fictive family relationships are replaced, first by an unsuitable and thus unstable relationship to Xuthus, then by an emotionally powerful bond with his true mother (§5.3), supplemented by the knowledge that Apollo is his father. Ion's chastity, never meant to be a permanent condition

<sup>238</sup> 54-5, 78-9nn.; Yunis 1988: 122-4.

<sup>239</sup> 219-21, 226-9, 369-80, 414-16. For Ion and purity, see Hoffer 1996: 295-9, Segal 1999: 75-6, Meinel 2015: 212-43.

<sup>240</sup> The day on which a play is set typically involves transformative change (or catastrophic failure to change), and a phrase like "up to the present moment" sets the stage for such an event.

<sup>241</sup> 110-11, 136-7, 319-21; 138-40n., §5.3.

<sup>242</sup> 128-40, 137, 151-3nn.

<sup>243</sup> 309-11, 315.

<sup>244</sup> 313, cf. 49-51; 109.

<sup>245</sup> 319-21, cf. 1324.

<sup>246</sup> 150, 171-8nn. For Ion's concern to avert "harm," from the temple and its dedications, see 106-7n. He directs the nesting bird to a sanctuary of Zeus or Poseidon, as if the impure "making of children" would be more appropriate there, but his later speech admonishing Apollo acknowledges that all three gods rape mortal women (444-7n.).

for an ancient Greek male, will come to an end.<sup>247</sup> Whether his devotion to Apollo will also cease is a question not directly addressed by the play, but certainly his service will not continue in its present form. When wishing in his monody never to stop serving Apollo, Ion adds, “or may I stop because of a good destiny.” The play confronts him with that destiny.<sup>248</sup>

Creusa’s story about sex between Apollo and her “friend” draws a sharp reaction from Ion, who first wants to hear no more about it and declares it impossible.<sup>249</sup> In refusing to help Creusa put her question to the oracle, he protects the reputation of his “father,” for the question would imply that Apollo is *κακός*.<sup>250</sup> But Ion now feels a tension between his “filial” duty and the moral beliefs that are its foundation, and when he is left on stage alone, he chastises Apollo (429–51). He knows the stories people tell about gods raping girls, but he urges Apollo to be good and set a good example.<sup>251</sup> When Ion later defends himself against Xuthus’ advances at the start of the false recognition scene, he is still preoccupied with purity and boundaries.<sup>252</sup>

After uncovering the plot against his life, Ion comes close to committing both impiety and injustice, but the Priestess enters and tells him to go to Athens *καθαρός*, in a pure state.<sup>253</sup> At issue is whether he will incur blood guilt by killing Creusa at Apollo’s altar. Given earlier uses of the word *καθαρός*, there is also a political undertone: Ion has the “pure” family background that will make him fully enfranchised in the “pure” city of Athens (but only because of sexual contact between Apollo and his mother). This is the last place where themes of purity and piety are explicit, but Ion’s responsibility for enforcing boundaries is relevant again when he resolves to ask the oracle whether Xuthus or Apollo is his father.<sup>254</sup> He now wants to cross the line he refused to cross (or help Creusa cross) earlier. But that is impossible, for reentering the temple would be tantamount to returning to childhood. The knowledge Ion seeks has moral implications, too, for just as the inquiry he blocked earlier could have revealed Apollo to be *κακός*, so the question he wants to ask now could reveal that the god prophesies *μάτην*, “in vain.” The boundary is enforced, but by Athena, not Ion.

<sup>247</sup> 150n.; at 1575–81, Athena prophesies that Ion will eventually become a father.

<sup>248</sup> For the Athenian connotations of Ion’s phrase “because of a good destiny,” see 151–3n.

<sup>249</sup> 338–9, 340–1nn.

<sup>250</sup> 370–2n., Yunis 1988: 128–9.

<sup>251</sup> 439–51, 450–1nn.

<sup>252</sup> 517–27, 522nn.

<sup>253</sup> 1312–19n., 1333–4.

<sup>254</sup> 1546–8.



In the end, Ion's fictive family is dissolved and replaced, his service ceases, and he enters the messy world of adulthood. In gaining knowledge, he may become disillusioned or disappointed, but only "because of a good destiny."<sup>255</sup>

### 7.2 *Erichthonius, the Daughters of Cecrops, Arrhephoria*

When she exposed Ion, Creusa followed a custom said to derive from the infancy of Erichthonius: just as Athena gave Erichthonius, watched over by two snakes, to the daughters of Cecrops to protect, so Creusa placed a necklace adorned with golden snakes in the basket with Ion (18–27, 1427–31). The basket itself was of a special type Athenian spectators probably associated with Erichthonius.<sup>256</sup> When the Pythian Priestess picked up and raised baby Ion (49), she repeated what Athena did when she took Erichthonius up from Earth into her virgin hands (260–70). Ion knows from paintings that Cecrops' daughters received the baby in a sealed vessel οὐχ ὁρώμενον, "not (to be) seen" (271–2), and he has heard that they opened the basket and paid for their disobedience with a bloody death on the slopes of the Acropolis (273–4).<sup>257</sup> This punishment finds an echo in Ion's threat to have Creusa hurled down Mt. Parnassus (1266–8). Creusa has tried to murder Ion with poison she stores in a family heirloom, a bracelet handed down from Athena to Erichthonius to her father Erechtheus and finally to her.<sup>258</sup> In certain respects, then, Ion's story is made to follow Erichthonius', and Creusa's that of Cecrops' daughters. In Ion's case, the better-known story adds religiously inflected depth to the one that may be largely invented by Euripides, burnishes the hero's autochthonous credentials, and prepares for his passage into Athena's protection at the end. In Creusa's case, the effects are more complex, for reasons having to do with both ritual and dramatic metaphor.

<sup>255</sup> Invoking one of the meanings of κάθαρσις, Whitman 1974: 91–4 argues that the knowledge Ion gains about his origins draws out a connotation of καθαρός in 1354. In defending Whitman's argument and extending it to the spectators (who experience κάθαρσις in the form of clarification of their Athenian identity), Meinel 2015: 237–43 points out that the notion does not have to be seen only as Aristotelian (and therefore anachronistic), but develops the implications of the "pure/clear oracles" at 470–1.

<sup>256</sup> 19, 23–4nn.

<sup>257</sup> In other accounts, not all the daughters disobey (271–4n.). In early depictions in visual art, it is not clear that the girls are punished with death (Shapiro 1995: 44).

<sup>258</sup> 1001–17n. The daughters also show up in the epode of the Second Song (495–8n.) and alongside Cecrops at the entrance to Ion's tent (1163–4n.).

The story of Cecrops' daughters is generally agreed to be an aetiological myth related to the ritual performed in Athens by two young girls called Arrhephoroi.<sup>259</sup> According to Pausanias 1.27.3, our only source for the ritual,

two maidens known by the Athenians as *arrhephoroi* dwell not far from the temple of Athena Polias. For a period they live with the goddess, and when the festival comes they do the following at night. They place on their heads objects which the priestess of Athena gives them to carry; neither she who gives it knows what kind of thing she is giving, nor do those who carry it understand. There is an enclosure in the city [*or* "on the acropolis"] not far from the so-called Aphrodite in Gardens, and through it a natural underground passage downwards. The maidens descend by this. They leave below what they were carrying and bring back another covered object which they get there. Then they are dismissed and other maidens are brought to the acropolis in their place.<sup>260</sup>

Much is obscure, but the main points relevant to interpreting *Ion* are that the girls are not allowed to know what they carry and that they complete an upward return journey with a different concealed object. The first point means that they pass a test which the daughters of Cecrops fail. From this follows the second point, that the community's relations with the city-goddess Athena are renewed and maintained by the successful round trip, which includes an element of continued secrecy.

With regard to concealment, Creusa has been compared to both the mythical and the real girls. She literally opens the chamber of her bracelet containing poison, and in her monody, she metaphorically opens herself and reveals the secret she has kept for so long.<sup>261</sup> She therefore fails the test, like the mythical girls, but remains on good terms with Athena, like the real girls. Indeed, in achieving a twofold resolution of her childlessness (by recovering Ion and by giving birth to children by Xuthus in the future), she completes the transition that the Arrhephoroi were supposed

<sup>259</sup> Since no ancient source links the ritual to the myth, the myth is not an *aition* in the full sense of the term (Redfield 2003: 120). In modern scholarship, Burkert 2001: 44 n. 14 traces the connection to F. G. Welcker, writing in 1862. On the whole topic, Burkert's article, first published in 1966, remains fundamental. See also Robertson 1983, Redfield 2003: 118–27, Goff 2004: 98–105, Parker 2005: 219–23, Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 43–6, 298–300.

<sup>260</sup> The translation is from Parker 2005: 221, who discusses different identifications of the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Gardens.

<sup>261</sup> 923–4n.

to make on behalf of all the παρθένοι of Athens.<sup>262</sup> This can be explained either by finding a significant difference in her repetition of the mythical girls' disobedience, or by simply imputing her salvation to Apollo's grace.<sup>263</sup> Alternatively, one could maintain that the mythico-ritual connections are not robustly explanatory, but rather provide semantically rich points of departure for drama, creating expectations that can be met, frustrated, or transformed.<sup>264</sup> Since the daughters of Cecrops disobey Athena and die, they do not complete a return journey, but Creusa will, when she returns with Ion to her home on the Acropolis. Just as the Arrhephoroi are dismissed and replaced, so the resolution of *Ion* "dismisses" Creusa by returning her to a traditional domestic role, in a way silencing and effacing her. Perhaps most suggestively of all, just as Creusa left home with a secret, so she returns with another, the truth about Ion's birth.<sup>265</sup>

## 8 REVELATION AND DECEPTION

### 8.1 *Apollo's Plan*

The Apollo of *Ion* has been faulted for many things, including his rape of Creusa, his indifference to her suffering, and his failure to foresee her reaction to his plan. At the same time, Hermes and Athena emphasize that he has taken care of Ion from the start and has a plan for the long-term welfare of the Athenian royal family; when the plan nearly goes off the rails, he intervenes to avert catastrophe. In the play and its contexts in myth, tragedy, and religious thought and practice, material can be found to support extreme views of Apollo, but neither simple praise nor

<sup>262</sup> Redfield 2003: 123 links the real girls' success to their age: they were seven to eleven years old and thus too young really to represent παρθένοι (unmarried but marriageable girls). For Creusa as a παρθένος (paradoxically, since she has given birth), see 26–7n., Loraux 1993: 224–34.

<sup>263</sup> Zacharia 2003: 86–8 sees Creusa's revelation of her secret as an act of disobedience caused by lack of self-control (*akrasia*). In her view, Creusa escapes the fate of Cecrops' daughters because she invokes Zeus and Athena at the start of her monody.

<sup>264</sup> Such processes could draw on further mythical and ritual elements; cf. Loraux 1993: 228–30 and Zeitlin 1996: 304–13 on the paradigm of Demeter and Kore, and Zeitlin 1996: 300–4 on the mysteries of Dionysus.

<sup>265</sup> Goff 2004: 101–2 notes that although Pausanias says that neither the priestess nor the girls knew what they carried, he may not have been fully informed; Athenian girls and women may have known what the girls carried, or thought they did. What must remain a suggestive possibility for the cult is manifestly true for the play. Creusa and her maidservants (and Ion) are in the know; Xuthus, the representative of masculine authority, is not.

simple blame is ultimately convincing, in part because the play, while placing the god at its center, figures him as a mysterious absence and silence. He never appears, and the oracle he gives to Xuthus is never reported verbatim. Absence and silence suggest unknowability and lend themselves to differing interpretations. Before turning to Apollo's apparent use of his oracle to deceive, it is worth reminding ourselves that the play's take on all things Apolline depends on characters who are not Apollo. When they describe his oracle and attribute plans and motives to him, the unstable foundation of these acts of interpretation has consequences for our own.<sup>266</sup>

In his prologue-*rhexis*, Hermes guesses that Apollo will give Ion to Xuthus and say that Ion is Xuthus' son.<sup>267</sup> When Xuthus exits the oracle and the first person he meets is Ion, he concludes that Apollo has done exactly what we heard Hermes predict, but Ion says Xuthus heard a riddle and misinterpreted it (533a). Xuthus brushes the suggestion aside, but his claim that if he is wrong, then he does not "hear straight" (533b) does not rule out an error of interpretation.<sup>268</sup> Ion presses for clarification: what did Phoebus say? "That the one who meets me as I exit this house of the god is (πεφυκέναι) my son," replies Xuthus (534–6).<sup>269</sup> Ion: "Your natural-born son (σὸν γεγῶτ'), or a gift of others?" (537a). Xuthus: "A gift, but being from me (ὄντα δ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ)" (537b).

One view of this exchange is that σὸν γεγῶτ' and ὄντα δ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ are carefully chosen to disambiguate πεφυκέναι and commit Apollo, on Xuthus' account (which matches Hermes' guess), to the falsehood that Ion is Xuthus' natural son. A strength of this view is that it can easily accommodate three further passages that refer to the oracle. At 1345, the Priestess says to Ion that Apollo "proclaimed (κκατεῖπών) your father." Later, when Ion asks Creusa why Apollo gave him to Xuthus and says that he is Xuthus' son (1532–3), and Creusa replies that Apollo does not say he is (πεφυκέναι) Xuthus' son but is giving him up for a kind of

<sup>266</sup> For blame of Apollo, see e.g. Murray 1913: 117–24, Rosenmeyer 1963: 105–52, Leimbach 1971; defenders include Wassermann 1940, Spira 1960: 33–82, Burnett 1962. For more balanced discussions of Apollo, religion, and Apolline ideology in *Ion*, see e.g. Erbse 1975, Yunis 1988: 121–38, Zacharia 2003: 103–49, Swift 2008: 36–50, Hunter 2011; cf. Parker 1999, especially 21–2.

<sup>267</sup> 69–73n. It is reasonable to expect most of what Hermes guesses to be on target even if, like him, we are not sure how Apollo will pull it off. *Ion*'s pervasive irony (§9) depends on this expectation, but that does not rule out unforeseen twists and turns.

<sup>268</sup> Given the overall presentation of Xuthus (§5.3), we may even expect him to be wrong, but if so, there is tension with Hermes' guess, whose accuracy the false recognition generally confirms.

<sup>269</sup> Xuthus answers in indirect discourse, but nothing suggests that he introduces inaccuracy or ambiguity.

adoption (1534–6), Ion’s question (“Does the god prophesy truly or in vain?” 1537) implies that he rejects Creusa’s answer and believes that the god does say he is Xuthus’ (natural) son. Soon afterwards, Athena says to Ion that Apollo “gives you to those to whom he gave you, not because they fathered you, but in order that you may be conveyed into a most noble house.”<sup>270</sup>

Another view is that Xuthus mistakenly embraces just one meaning of an ambiguous utterance.<sup>271</sup> If so, we are not given the chance either here or later to see where he went wrong, as we are in the case of the oracle of Trophonius, which makes for an instructive comparison. Xuthus tells Creusa that Trophonius prophesied “that neither I nor you will return home from the oracle(s) childless” (408–9). He and Creusa take this to foretell an end to their infertility, while spectators relying on Hermes’ guess can work out the pleasingly complex meaning that Xuthus will return home *thinking wrongly* that he has a child, while Creusa will *truly have* a child but not yet know it.<sup>272</sup> By the end of the play, these interpretations will require adjustment, first when Creusa learns in Delphi (not later in Athens, as Hermes guessed) that Ion is actually hers, and then when Athena proclaims that Creusa’s marriage with Xuthus will be fertile after all (1589).<sup>273</sup>

Of Trophonius’ response, then, someone could eventually say (though nobody does), “Now I see what the oracle meant!”<sup>274</sup> By contrast, we are given no vantage point from which to say that what Apollo prophesied to Xuthus turned out to be true in any ordinary way. It is possible that

<sup>270</sup> 1561–2n. For the way in which Ion will be “conveyed into a most noble house,” see §6.1.

<sup>271</sup> Whether or not the Delphic oracle actually gave ambiguous responses, the trope is established in fifth-century literature and anticipated in *Ion* when Ion says, “you heard a riddle and misinterpreted it” (533; cf. 429–30n.). On the other hand, Ion may simply be wrong, as he was when he said Creusa’s “friend” was lying about intercourse with Apollo (341). Some imagine or even compose an oracle in which we can see the mistake Xuthus makes (Owen 1939: xx; cf. 69–73n.), but this is unsound and unconvincing.

<sup>272</sup> In making a meaning not understood by the characters easily accessible to spectators, Trophonius’ response resembles the one given to Croesus by Apollo and Amphiaraus, that if he attacks the Persians, he will destroy a great empire (Hdt. 1.53.3, 1.90–1).

<sup>273</sup> Trophonius may have achieved these results without even answering the question put to him. We are not told what Xuthus asked him, but Creusa’s question at 406 suggests that it was (meant to be), “How can my seed and Creusa’s be mixed so as to produce children?” If we knew that Xuthus had asked Apollo a similar question, we could say that Apollo too gave an apparently unresponsive response, as he did to Oedipus (S. *OT* 788–9). Like ambiguity, such a mismatch between question and response is a literary trope suggesting that an oracle’s wisdom and truth are beyond mortal ken.

<sup>274</sup> For a tragic example of this oracular motif, see S. *Tr.* 1159–73.

(some) spectators assumed that it was nevertheless true, perhaps in an extraordinary way. They might believe, for example, that the usual categories of truth and falsity do not apply to oracles or, to put it another way, that mortals fail to grasp (some part of) the truth of oracles because of our limited perspective, our need or habit of committing to a single, reductive meaning. This approach goes beyond denying that Apollo lied in this one instance to suggest that it is actually impossible for (oracular) gods to lie, insofar as their language is conceived as separate from ours and full of (partly) inaccessible truth.<sup>275</sup>

What happens as the false recognition unfolds undoubtedly dramatizes flawed human reasoning (544–54), which continues in the Chorus-leader's misrepresentation, the Old Man's malicious inferences, Creusa's misguided murder plot, and Ion's attempted retaliation. The idea that mortal error stands opposed to Apollo's divine truth and needs his saving grace is well grounded in Greek beliefs and not seriously undermined by what Hermes and the human characters say. The trouble with seeing Apollo's oracle as ambiguous in this special sense arises from what Athena says. Unlike Hermes, she does not guess, but purports to convey Apollo's own words about things that have now happened (1559), and she confirms without evident ambiguity that Apollo's oracle "is giving" Ion to Xuthus (1561). The reported motive ("so that you may be conveyed into a most noble house," 1562) and the instruction to keep Xuthus in the dark commit her – and us, unless we judge her unreliable – to the view that Apollo intended his oracle to be taken, as it was, as having one meaning in the ordinary human way. It follows that the near-disasters of the play's second half result not just from human limitations and frailty, but from striving to cope with deliberate deception.

It does not follow that we are meant to be scandalized that Apollo told a lie or to lose faith in oracles. Hermes, Creusa (at the end), and Athena all present Apollo as taking care of Ion and ultimately benefitting the Athenian royal family. When Athena relates Ion's destiny, spectators caught up in the happy ending may not be troubled, as Ion was a moment before, by the question whether Apollo prophesies truly or in vain. If they are, they may see Apollo's deception as something Ion must accept in order to become an adult Athenian ruler. If, finally, they perceive Ion as disillusioned or disappointed, they may count this as another insight into the human condition, that god can be good without being entirely accessible or comprehensible.

<sup>275</sup> For approaches along these lines, see Kindt 2007, Hunter 2011: 35–6, Kindt 2016: 55–86.

8.2 *Creusa's Secret Inquiry*

Every arriving character confronts the stage building and what it represents to some degree, but this is especially true of Creusa, as we see from her movements throughout the play and several peculiarities in the way she maintains, or fails to maintain, dialogue contact with other characters.<sup>276</sup> She arrives alone, and instead of addressing the already present Ion, as would be usual, she is addressed by him in words indicating that she has burst into tears (241–6). After explaining that the sight of the temple has recalled an old memory and distracted her (249–51), she voices an obscure complaint, neither addressed to Ion nor truly “aside,” which Ion calls “unexplained.”<sup>277</sup> Creusa tells him not to worry, for she has “let her arrow fly” (256), but she continues to hint at an unhappy secret, drawing attention to her distractedness.<sup>278</sup> A sense of shame (αἰδώς) delays revelation of the “secret inquiry” (μάντευμα κρυπτόν) that is Creusa’s reason for arriving alone, ahead of her husband (330–6), and when she does reveal it, she disguises her experience as that of a “friend” (338).

Creusa’s stage movements during this scene are not clearly indicated, but they should reflect that she approaches Apollo’s temple hesitantly and fitfully until she is blocked by his servant, one of whose reasons is that “one must not consult the oracle in matters opposed to the god.”<sup>279</sup> Indeed, in her next speech, aimed directly at Apollo, Creusa says, “I am blocked.”<sup>280</sup> The point is reinforced by Xuthus’ brisk, untroubled entrance on the stage and exit into the temple immediately afterwards. After Creusa too exits by an *eisodos*, Ion remarks that her words are not only cryptic and riddling, but insulting (429–30n.). She has come into Apollo’s precinct and accused him of injustice (384) and “mistakes” (426 ἀμαρτίας).

In Greek myth and literature, there is not just one way of opposing divinity (θεομαχεῖν), but a spectrum of possibility, which Euripides exploits

<sup>276</sup> For the conventions of dialogue contact in Greek tragedy, see Mastronarde 1979.

<sup>277</sup> ἀνερμήνευτα (255n.). True asides are rare in Greek tragedy (Bain 1977, 36–9 on *Ion*).

<sup>278</sup> That Ion ignores Creusa’s hints after 256–7, 264, 268, 284 and 288 makes them all the more noticeable.

<sup>279</sup> 373. The dramatic importance of Ion’s reasons (369–80n.) is such that if women were prohibited from consulting the oracle in the fifth century, as some conclude from Plut. *Mor.* 385c (the only ancient source to mention such a prohibition), Euripides might well have wished to suppress the fact. Some think he alludes to their exclusion from (some part of) the sanctuary at 220–2 (the Chorus ask if it is θέμις for them to cross the threshold of the γύαλα “with white foot,” and Ion replies that it is not), but this is unlikely in view of 226–9; see 220–1, 226–9nn., Amandry 1950: 111 n. 4, Fontenrose 1978: 217 n. 26; contra Cole 2004: 144–5.

<sup>280</sup> 384 ὦ Φοῖβε, 391 κωλυόμεσθα. Creusa resumes contact with Ion at 392.

here to create dramatic tension.<sup>281</sup> Creusa's behavior is nothing like the Giants' direct, violent assault on the Olympians described by the Chorus in their Entrance Song (205–18n.), but the availability of this paradigm suggests that she is already at risk.<sup>282</sup> Later, during and after her plot to murder Ion (an indirect attack on Apollo), the implications of comparing her to earthborn and earthbound creatures (Gorgon, viper, fiery-eyed serpent) are clear. As the plotting begins, however, she actually rejects the Old Man's suggestion of a Giant-like attempt to burn Apollo's temple,<sup>283</sup> and it is instructive to compare her to other, less arrogant, transgressors. In complaining of injustice, for example, she may resemble Euripides' Bellerophon, whose journey to Olympus on the winged horse Pegasus, a spectacular (but apparently non-violent) "approach to divinity," ended badly for the hero.<sup>284</sup> In *Andromache*, Euripides produces a sophisticated variation of what spectators had probably seen in Sophocles' *Hermione*: as the play begins, Neoptolemus has gone to Delphi a second time to make amends for his first, failed attempt to demand justice from Apollo for killing his father Achilles; later in the play, he is killed, with Apollo's help.<sup>285</sup> In Euripides' *Phaethon*, we would hardly call Phaethon a θεομάχος when he approaches his father's house, but his desire to drive the sun-chariot, arising from a need to be assured that Apollo is his father, is transgressive and leads to his destruction.<sup>286</sup>

<sup>281</sup> For opposition to divinity in Greek tragedy, see e.g. Kamerbeek 1948, Mikalson 1991: 147–51, 158–62 (who would restrict the term θεομάχος to the most extreme and persistent opponents). For Creusa in this light, see Burnett 1962: 90, 97 (cf. 1971: 122), Rosivach 1977: 290–2, Zacharia 2003: 96–8.

<sup>282</sup> Some see opposition to Apollo in actions Creusa takes before the play begins, for example, her return to the cave where she was raped to expose her baby, in effect a challenge to the god to save him (Huys 1995: 166, 170), or even her resistance to the rape itself (Rosivach 1977: 291).

<sup>283</sup> 972–5. Neoptolemus may have tried to do exactly this in S. *Hermione* (cf. 974n.), and a similar intention is falsely imputed to him by Orestes at E. *An.* 1095. In *Ion*, Creusa accuses Ion of a direct, incendiary assault on the house of Erechtheus (1293).

<sup>284</sup> Bellerophon's motive is inferred from the despairing tone of fr. 285–6 and Asclepiades' description of him as ἐπαρθέντα ἐφ' οἷς ἔπραξε, "roused to action by his sufferings" (*FGrHist* 12 F 13, quoted at *TrGF* v.1.351); see Collard 1995: 98, Olson 1998: xxxii–xxxiv.

<sup>285</sup> E. *An.* 49–55, 1085–1165. For S. *Hermione*, see Sommerstein 2006a: 11–13. Neoptolemus' motive in Sophocles' play finds precedents in Hom. *Il.* 22.15–20 (Achilles would punish Apollo for deceiving him if he could) and A. fr. 350 (Thetis blames Apollo for killing Achilles despite having prophesied long and prosperous life for her offspring).

<sup>286</sup> E. *Pha.* fr. 773.1–9, 17–18; 779; 786; cf. the papyrus *hypothesis* (test. ii), 4–9. Semele's comparable wish to see her lover Zeus as Hera sees him, an overbold desire that leads to her incineration, lies behind Ba. 7–9; see Gantz 1993: 473–7.



Such comparisons suggest that merely arriving in Delphi with a private inquiry, and then adding accusations and insults, exposes Creusa to risk. After returning to the stage with the Old Man, she eventually responds to his command to “do something womanly” in two ways that increase the danger.<sup>287</sup> The second, the murder plot, is made possible and convincing by the first, her monody, which represents the peak of her opposition to Apollo. With Ion no longer present to block her, and her inhibition removed by the belief that Xuthus has betrayed her (862–3n.), Creusa approaches the door of Apollo’s temple and literally calls him out.<sup>288</sup> Her outburst is described in telling metaphors. In saying that “a great treasure-chest of evils is being opened,” the Chorus assimilate Creusa’s song to the disobedience of the daughters of Cecrops, a mythical crime varied again when the Old Man opens Creusa’s bracelet to release the poison it contains.<sup>289</sup> The Old Man’s response, meanwhile, is to be carried away as by a torrent. The energy Creusa’s initially inhibited and now aggressive “approach to divinity” brings to the plot is thereby transferred to him.<sup>290</sup>

Mindful of Hermes’ prologue-*rhesis* (and perhaps already familiar with Ion’s story), spectators will not expect Creusa’s plot to succeed, but it is another question how definite their ideas are about what could happen to her.<sup>291</sup> In the Closing Scene, her stage movements yield further insight into her still changing relationship to Apollo. First, desperate to escape punishment, she enters his precinct for the third time and gives her body to him to hold and protect.<sup>292</sup> This surrender looks promising, but it nearly fails, and Apollo has to intervene through his priestess to

<sup>287</sup> 843 δέῃ σε δὴ γυναικεῖόν τι δρᾶν. At the start of the scene, Creusa tells the Old Man to “raise himself towards (or against) the oracle” (727 ἔπαιρε σαυτόν πρὸς θεοῦ χρηστήρια), a line that looks programmatic in retrospect. The Old Man is indeed invigorated and rejuvenated by the plotting (1041–7n.).

<sup>288</sup> 907n. Hermes implies that Apollo is “at home” (5–7), and we may wonder whether he will answer Creusa’s summons (cf. n. 122 above). In A. *Eu.*, Apollo does enter from his temple onto the stage, possibly in answer to Orestes’ prayer (85–7, 64, with Sommerstein’s notes).

<sup>289</sup> 271–4, 923–4nn., §7.2.

<sup>290</sup> 927–8, 929–30nn. This and other details call for qualification of the idea that the Old Man is the main mover of the murder plot, which is better seen as a collaboration (970–1047n., §5.2).

<sup>291</sup> The Chorus predict that she will commit suicide if her plot fails (1061–73n.).

<sup>292</sup> 1285n. In rejecting the idea that Apollo’s altar is to be thought of as “inside” (cf. n. 103 above), Zacharia 2003: 14 n. 48 notes “the dramatic importance of having Kreousa remain outside the temple throughout the course of the play, so as to stage in physical terms her clash with Apollo”; she also mentions Creusa’s movements at 1401 and 1609–13.

keep Ion from killing Creusa at his altar.<sup>293</sup> As Ion unwraps the basket, Creusa makes a risky move *away* from Apollo. Ion's description of her as divinely inspired (θεομανής) hints at Apollo's beneficence while recalling the death-leap of Cecrops' daughters (1402–3n.). This time, the reward for Creusa's action is reunion with her son, a human and physical connection.<sup>294</sup> Two stage movements remain. After Athena's epiphany-*rhesis*, Creusa approaches Apollo's temple door yet again, this time in gratitude, and suspends herself gladly from its rings (1612–13n.). Joy replaces sadness as former blame is recanted, but the tableau nevertheless conveys Creusa's exclusion from the intimacy Apollo once forced on her. Apollo remains absent, and Creusa finally detaches herself and moves off towards Athens in the company of Ion, Athena, and the Chorus.

### 8.3 *Athena's Dispensation*

Like the formal device of epiphany itself, the correspondence of Athena's message with most of the play's still-open questions produces a strongly closural effect. She confirms Hermes' guess as to Apollo's plan point for point (1561–2, 1566–8 ~ 69–73), attributes to Apollo a motive consistent with Creusa's speculations (1561–2 ~ 1534–6, 1539–45), and states (what spectators will have guessed) that Apollo foiled Creusa's attempt to murder Ion and Ion's attempted retaliation (1563–5). But Athena appears a mere dozen lines after Ion's question "Does the god prophesy truly or in vain?" (1537), and the fact that Ion (and we) can only infer the answer from Athena's reply to the related question Ion is not allowed to put directly to Apollo ("Am I the son of a mortal father or of Apollo?," 1548) is anti-closural. The same is true of her ambiguous explanation of Apollo's non-appearance: the god foresaw (more) blame for past events should he face Ion and Creusa.<sup>295</sup> Athena perhaps protests too much when she says that "Apollo accomplished everything well," listing Creusa's uncomplicated (and thus undetected) pregnancy and delivery, and Apollo's rescue and rearing of Ion (1595–1600). This

<sup>293</sup> At this point, the potential θεομάχος is Ion, the play's other autochthonous Athenian. Later, when he considers dedicating his basket unopened, he "wars with" Apollo's will (πολεμῶ, 1385–6n.), but soon realizes that he cannot "overstep what is fated" (1388n.).

<sup>294</sup> To this movement from the divine to the human, we might compare the touching scene between Hippolytus and Theseus after Artemis leaves her dying companion at the end of *Hippolytus* (1440–61).

<sup>295</sup> 1557–8n. It is unclear whether a sense of dignity or of shame motivated Apollo to stay away.

may be “everything” in the divine perspective, but it is hardly everything that matters to Creusa and Ion.

When tragic characters accept the dispensations made by a god or goddess *ex machina*, as they always do, the effect can be to mark the end of their existence as dramatic figures and return to the register of “myth.” From this point of view, there is nothing amiss in Ion’s formulaic acceptance.<sup>296</sup> When Athena proclaims him worthy to rule and predicts his future renown (1573–5), earlier worries about the social disadvantages he will suffer as Xuthus’ bastard are swept away (§6.1). Athena’s instruction to Creusa to conceal from Xuthus that Ion is her child furthers Apollo’s plan and adds emotional nuance: Xuthus is to be gripped by a pleasant illusion, and Creusa is to go in possession of what is good for her (her good reputation and the good outcome).<sup>297</sup> It is hard to see what is gained by speculating that “the secret will out.”<sup>298</sup> It is more suggestive to infer that the secret has been kept – until the very occasion of *Ion*’s performance. In this case, Athena’s command hints cleverly at Euripides’ originality.<sup>299</sup>

## 9 GENRE AND TONE

At times, *Ion* is light-spirited and even funny. The play’s main characters achieve their hearts’ desire, and nobody dies. Individual characters, scenes, plot-turns, and indeed the play as a whole seem to belong to a dramatic universe radically different from that of, say, *Medea* or Sophocles’

<sup>296</sup> Unless it is not purely formulaic, but contains an anti-closural reminder of the question to which Ion received no reply (1606–8n.), and unless the contrast between Creusa’s effusiveness and Ion’s impassivity produces a similar effect; see above, end of §4.

<sup>297</sup> 1601–3n. Significantly, it was failure to take Creusa’s emotions into account that derailed Apollo’s plan. That Creusa is to “go in possession of” (ἐχούσ᾽ ἡνίς) rather than simply “have” what is good for her suggests the pilgrim’s happy return from oracular consultation, a pleasure Apollo’s plan would have denied her, a surprisingly positive outcome of her latently hostile outward journey (§8.2; for a possible ritual undertone, see §7.2).

<sup>298</sup> Owen 1939: xxx.

<sup>299</sup> Cole 1997: 90, Cropp 2003: 130 n. 4. As early as Homer, Poseidon wants his role in Tyro’s “girl’s tragedy” to remain secret (*Od.* 11.251), but does not say why. In the *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite*, Aphrodite is ashamed of her liaison with Anchises (247–55) and warns him not to boast of it (286–8); a story in which he disobeyed and was punished was probably already known (Gantz 1993: 102). In *Ion*, Apollo’s desire for secrecy is underdetermined at the start (72–3n.), but Athena’s suggestion that it is necessary in order for Creusa to possess “what is good for her” is consistent with Ion’s “realistic” suggestion in two places that a mortal woman’s claim in such a case is not to be trusted (340–1, 1523–7nn.). For a perceptive study of sexual secrets in Greek literature, see Murnaghan 2014.

*Oedipus Tyrannus*. The question arises whether it is useful to think of these differences in terms of literary genre.<sup>300</sup> *Ion* is certainly not comedy as Euripides and his spectators understood the term. To mention only the most obvious differences, contemporary (“Old”) comedy occupied a separate place in the festival program; its actors wore grotesque costumes, used coarse language, and cracked jokes; and its plots and characters stood in a relationship to contemporary social and political life altogether different from tragedy’s. But there is much in *Ion* that emerges as characteristic of the later Greek New Comedy and is eventually adapted within “the main tradition of modern European comedy from Shakespeare to Oscar Wilde.”<sup>301</sup> A second and related question, then, is what is gained – and more importantly what risks being lost – by looking at *Ion* from the perspective of this later tradition.

It is useful to begin with a summary of features that have been seen as having some relationship to comedy. First comes Hermes’ proud introduction of himself as “servant of the gods” (4n.). As this prologue-speaker, so different from Aphrodite in *Hippolytus* or Poseidon and Athena in *Trojan Women*, continues, we sense playful rivalry with his brother Apollo, and there is a hint of mischief in his staying to watch what happens from a hiding place.<sup>302</sup> Hermes notes Apollo’s care for his son and predicts a happy ending for Creusa and Ion (69–73), and this must affect our response to later events even if we know that prologists are sometimes mistaken.<sup>303</sup> Next come Ion’s business with his lovingly described broom and the lowly tasks of sweeping, tamping down dust with holy water, and shooing troublesome birds away from Apollo’s temple.<sup>304</sup> The list continues with the

<sup>300</sup> On *Ion*’s genre and tone, see Knox 1979: 250–74, Seidensticker 1982: 211–41, Zacharia 1995 (cf. 2003: 150–5), Lee 1996 (cf. 1997: 37–8); on Euripides and genre criticism more broadly, Mastronarde 1999–2000 and 2010: 44–62, Wright 2005: 6–43, Allan 2008: 66–72. Despite obvious differences, there are intriguing comparisons to be made between *Ion* and *Oedipus*, foundlings whose search for identity is bound up with Apollo and his oracle; see e.g. Conacher 1969, Bushnell 1988: 109–10, 117–19, Segal 1999: 100–1, Bowlby 2007: 194–6.

<sup>301</sup> Knox 1979: 251; cf. Seidensticker 1982: 235–41. New Comedy’s debt to Euripides was recognized in antiquity (Satyrus fr. 39, col. 7); cf. 550–4n., Hunter 1985: 114–36 (especially 130–6), Sommerstein 2013: 36–40.

<sup>302</sup> Rivalry: 67–8, 80–1nn.; mischief: 76, 77nn. In comparing Hermes with other divine prologists, Knox 1979: 258–9 acknowledges that the god has a serious side, but draws a sharp distinction between the openings of *Ion* and Aeschylus’ *Choephoroi*. In both plays, Hermes presides over a young man’s transition at a crucial stage of life (1–81, 28–40nn.).

<sup>303</sup> Hermes does prove to be wrong on an important point: above, §§2.2, 3.

<sup>304</sup> 112–43 (cf. 78–9), 154–83.

Chorus' carefree sightseeing, Xuthus' misunderstood attempt to embrace Ion, and the slow, "doddering" entrance of the Old Man.<sup>305</sup>

Long before the false recognition and the Old Man's entrance, decidedly darker notes have been struck. Thus, while the opening sequence of *Ion* may be uniquely light-hearted, an even more difficult challenge arises from the alternation or blending of tones that begins, at the latest, with Creusa's entrance; it is not simply a matter of "comic" elements enclosing "tragic" ones.<sup>306</sup> This is important because *Ion*'s opening sequence and the ultimate direction of its change of fortune have been invoked to deny all seriousness to its characters, scenes, and themes, a denial often encapsulated in a generic label meant to disparage the play as a deficient (type of) tragedy.<sup>307</sup> It must be insisted, however, that *Ion*'s characters meet the "high" or "serious" (σπουδαῖον) standards of social status, speech, and ethical behavior that audiences of archaic and classical Greek poetry habitually distinguished from the "low" and "non-serious" (φαῦλον or γελοῖον); this is "the fundamental dichotomy that Aristotle sees as essential to the understanding of the development and nature of tragedy and comedy."<sup>308</sup>

To be sure, it makes a difference that the Second Scene is played by a mother and son destined to find each other. Euripides' spectators knew they were watching a type-scene, "pre-recognition." Such a scene occurs in diverse plays, some featuring brutal revenge killing (*Antiope*) or the accidental death of a child (*Hypsipyle*), others with a much closer overall resemblance to *Ion*, in particular *Iphigenia among the Taurians*, *Helen*,

<sup>305</sup> 184–236, 517–27, 725–1047nn. The Old Man's labored entrance is the weakest of these candidates for comic effect (cf. 1041–7n.). The Servant later reports that his business with drinking cups provoked great laughter (1172–3n.), but in the context of the Servant's speech, the effect is sinister rather than comic. Seidensticker's suggestion (1982: 233) that the death of the pigeon that drinks the poison meant for Ion is entertaining is answered by Lee 1996: 99. More promising are possibilities associated with Xuthus, who has been seen as a swaggering soldier and "straight man" (cf. §5.2); Apollo's use of him as quasi-cuckold supports a view of the god himself as scheming adulterer, another popular type in later comedy. While these possibilities arise near the light-hearted beginning, they follow Creusa's tearful first encounter with Ion, and Xuthus' words and actions (at least until the failed embrace) fall well within tragic norms.

<sup>306</sup> For the Chorus as a foil for Creusa, see 231–3, 236, 237–46nn.

<sup>307</sup> For example, "tragi-comedy" as understood by Kitto 1961: 311–29 (e.g. 320: "absence of a tragic theme, avoidance even of an intellectual theme such as would demand serious advocacy, . . . reducing the tragic to the pathetic"); "melodrama" (cf. Burnett 1971: 1); or "theological romance" (Rosenmeyer 1963: 120). On labels, see Mastronarde 2010: 58–62, who concludes that "melodrama," originally a name for a modern French theatrical style, merely leads to confusion when applied to Greek tragedy; on "tragi-comedy" and "romantic tragedy," see further below.

<sup>308</sup> Mastronarde 2010: 51, citing Arist. *Po.* 4.1448b24–49a6.

and the lost *Andromeda*. These “escape tragedies,” or “plays of (re)union and rescue,” represent a distinct phase of Euripides’ dramatic production.<sup>309</sup> In them, pre-recognition scenes typically develop several varieties of irony. In *Ion*, the prevalent kind begins with Creusa’s comment on Ion’s mother’s good fortune at 308: she unknowingly refers to herself, and we savor our superior knowledge.<sup>310</sup> Irony is the perfect medium for the doubleness of vision that characterizes *Ion* as a whole, but it is often complex. For example, when Ion asks Creusa whether she is childless and she responds, “Phoebus knows my childlessness” (306), we hear a meaning accessible to Ion and intended by Creusa (in effect, a strong affirmation that she is childless), a second meaning intended by Creusa but not accessible to Ion (Apollo knows because he made her childless by letting their son die), and a third meaning inaccessible to both characters (Apollo alone knows how things really stand). Another complex irony is introduced even before Creusa’s entrance. In his monody, Ion wishes never to stop serving Apollo, or to stop only because of a “good destiny.” We have a comfortable sense that Ion’s service will in fact end, and with it his childhood.<sup>311</sup> But Ion’s “good destiny” brings the end of youthful innocence, and the irony of his wish is complicated through integration with the themes of religious devotion and morality, whose presentation bears every mark of seriousness (§7.1). Similarly, the notion that outward appearance may conflict with inner reality is conveyed by Ion’s comment on Creusa’s noble bearing and hers on his good upbringing, passages that exploit still another kind of irony.<sup>312</sup> Each will learn that there are multiple

<sup>309</sup> For a detailed study, see Wright 2005. With appropriate qualification, one may speak of both Ion and Creusa as needing “rescue” (cf. §§2.2, 2.3). Another element common to these plays is exotic settings (the land of the Taurians, Egypt, Ethiopia). For Greeks, Delphi is central rather than peripheral, but in *Ion* it has comparable fairy-tale-like qualities. Homer’s *Odyssey* has long been recognized as an important source of inspiration for these tragedies.

<sup>310</sup> Similar examples occur at 311, 324, 325, 354, 359, 360, 433–4. A relatively simple disparity between ignorance and knowledge informs many of the passages where characters speak of τύχη, “chance, (good or bad) fortune,” while spectators know or suspect the involvement of Apollo. Some passages on τύχη, however, go beyond covert allusion to divine agency, instead expressing an “ambiguous and elusive trade-off between agency (divine or human) and contingency . . . [In *Ion*,] Apollo’s plan is fundamental, but its realisation is conditioned and its outcome significantly modified by human responses and *Tyche*” (Giannopoulou 1999–2000: 268–9; cf. 41–51, 67–8, 536, 748–9, 1456–7, 1502–9, 1512–15nn.). For τύχη in *Ion* and other plays of reunion and rescue, see also Spira 1960: 132–8, Solmsen 1968a and 1968b, Burnett 1970: 150–3, Zacharia 2003: 143–4, Wright 2005: 374–9.

<sup>311</sup> 151–3n. Awareness of Ion’s “liminality” colors response to his desire to remain in Delphi and his rhetorical demonstration of Athens’ flaws (cf. §§2.2, 4, 7.1).

<sup>312</sup> 237–40, 247–8. For Ion’s upbringing, see also 357–8, 820–2, 953.

sides to the other's character, that (as Ion puts it at 585–6) things look different when they are far away and when they are seen close at hand.

No part of *Ion* and none of its major themes is untouched by the interplay of appearance and truth, ignorance and knowledge, concealment and revelation. This pervasive doubleness is the appropriate lens through which to view not only the play's ironies, but also its intermingled dark and light elements.<sup>313</sup> For heuristic purposes, it may be useful to call these "tragic" and "comic," and their unusual blending "tragicomic," always keeping in mind that "comic" in these formulations is prospective (that is, points to later Greek New Comedy),<sup>314</sup> and that the modern bias in favor of a particular (calamitous, pessimistic) kind of tragedy was not firmly established and did not define the tragic genre in the fifth century. Tragic art was expansive by nature. The rest of the Greek poetic tradition, in which irony and questioning had long had a place, and the circumstances of the dramatic festival – especially competition, directly with other tragic poets, and indirectly with comic ones – encouraged tragedians to innovate continuously and strive for new effects.<sup>315</sup> Heroic legend was much more diverse than proponents of *Ion* as "comedy" tend to allow, and from the "temporally embedded" perspective of Euripides' first spectators, it is unlikely that anything in the play would have been perceived as a violation of generic norms. The effects achieved in *Ion* are hard for us to pin down and may well have been so for the first spectators, but acknowledging them as tragic is ultimately more instructive than dismissing the play as insufficiently serious or seeing it merely as the harbinger of later genres.<sup>316</sup>

## 10 TRANSMISSION OF THE TEXT

When writing *Ion*, Euripides presumably produced a complete text for his own use; partial texts may have been distributed to actors, chorus-trainer, *aulos*-player, and so on. It is the author's complete text that editors would

<sup>313</sup> So Zacharia 1995 and 2003: 150–85, who assimilates this doubleness to Bakhtinian polyphony and dialogism. As she notes (2003: 153–4), this goes beyond Seidensticker's general notion of "reciprocal intensification," but his particular view of *Ion* is closer to hers than she acknowledges; see e.g. Seidensticker 1982: 224, 241.

<sup>314</sup> Similarly, "romantic" in the label "romantic tragedy" looks ahead to the ideal Greek novel, surviving examples of which belong to the Roman imperial period.

<sup>315</sup> To late-fifth-century spectators, it will sometimes have seemed that tragedy and comedy were experimenting with and competing for territory not (yet) claimed by either. For a case study involving erotic attachment, see Gibert 1999–2000.

<sup>316</sup> Several points in this paragraph and the term "temporally embedded perspective" are indebted to Mastronarde 1999–2000: 25–9, 2010: 47–52.

ideally like to establish, but the project faces formidable challenges.<sup>317</sup> It is usually assumed that family members and other associates who succeeded Euripides (and Aeschylus and Sophocles) in the business of writing and producing tragedies were important early custodians of the text. At some point, texts became commercially available for the (small) reading public. In the first few generations after Euripides' death, his plays were often reperformed; actors and directors adapted the scripts to contemporary taste, in particular by the addition of newly composed or borrowed passages they felt heightened pathos, rhetoric, or suspense. Many such "interpolations" have found their way into the wider tradition, but *Ion* seems to have suffered less interference than most plays.<sup>318</sup> Other sources of corruption were errors made by copyists, parallel passages and notes written by readers in the margins of their texts and later incorporated accidentally, and deliberate changes meant to clarify or complete the transmitted text. Corruption of these kinds remained possible long after the danger of actors' interpolation diminished, as it may have done, in Athens at least, after about 330 BCE, when the Athenians, at the urging of Lycurgus, passed a law requiring that official copies of the plays of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides be made and kept safe by the state, and that future performances of their plays in the Athenian competitions conform to these texts.<sup>319</sup>

This official copy (perhaps) and others (certainly) made their way to Alexandria in Egypt, where scholars working between about 250 and 150 BCE made critical editions.<sup>320</sup> Over time, the interest of readers, scholars, producers, translators, and adaptors gravitated towards some plays more than others. More copies of popular plays were made and circulated, and scholars were more likely to produce commentaries on them. Of the nineteen plays transmitted as the work of Euripides, ten (*Hec.*, *Or.*, *Ph.*, *Hipp.*,

<sup>317</sup> See, in general, Barrett 1964: 45–57, Zuntz 1965: 249–61, Kovacs 2005: 379–87, Mastronarde 2017: 11–26.

<sup>318</sup> Page 1934: 72 calls it "strangely free from histrionic interpolation." One might consider actors or producers responsible for 830–1, 1117, and 1364–8 (all of which this edition joins most others in deleting), and possibly also 578–81, 616–17, 844–58, 1004–5, 1035, 1275–8, and 1357–62 (all of which this edition retains, except for deletion of 847–9 and 1359–60).

<sup>319</sup> Plut. *Mor.* 841f = Euripides T 218.

<sup>320</sup> According to Galen (*in Hp. Epid.* 3 *comm.* 2.4 = Sophocles T 157), a Ptolemy (III?) requested permission to have a copy made of the official Athenian text and offered 15 talents as surety for its safe return. After having a sumptuous copy made, he sent it to Athens, forfeited the surety, and kept the original in Alexandria. For a skeptical reading of this anecdote, see Battezzato 2003, who notes that the supposedly authoritative Athenian text was in any case not the only one used by Alexandrian editors, and that reliance on multiple copies undoubtedly improved their editions.



*Med.*, *Alc.*, *An.*, *Rh.*, *Tro.*, *Ba.*) survive in multiple medieval copies made independently of one another and equipped with scholia (marginal annotations, including the remnants of ancient exegesis after a long process of reduction, expansion, and rearrangement).<sup>321</sup> These are known as the “select” plays; their survival may depend on one or more deliberate acts of selection, the effects of chance on the survival of individual plays extant in widely differing numbers of copies, or (most likely) both. After about 250 CE, few authors show acquaintance with complete texts of Euripidean plays other than these ten; a separate anthology tradition preserves quotations from many others.<sup>322</sup> In Byzantine times, a further selection of three occurred, the so-called Byzantine triad (*Hec.*, *Or.*, *Ph.*). These survive in numbers of independently made copies ranging from around 130 (*Ph.*) to 200 (*Hec.*).<sup>323</sup>

Nine other plays of Euripides (*Hel.*, *El.*, *Her.*, *Hcld.*, *Su.*, *Ion*, *IT*, *IA*, *Cy.*) survive only in copies descended from a single extant manuscript, L. Because their Greek titles all begin with the letters epsilon, eta, iota, and kappa, the natural inference is that L’s source for these plays derived from a collection of Euripides’ works arranged or stored alphabetically by title.<sup>324</sup> The fact that no deliberate process has eliminated plays that were less popular in antiquity and the Middle Ages from this group lends it incalculable importance in discussions of the range of Euripides’ dramatic interests and technique. For example, *Hel.* and *IT*, the surviving plays most like *Ion*, are also alphabetic plays, and it is hard to exaggerate how different our view of the penultimate phase of Euripides’ career would be without them.<sup>325</sup>

The nine surviving alphabetic plays seem to represent part of a complete ancient edition of Euripides, probably stored in two roll-cases of five papyrus rolls each. One will have contained the “select” play *Hec.* along with *Hel.*, *El.*, *Her.*, and *Hcld.*; the other *Ion*, *Su.* (Ἰκέτιδες), *IT*, *IA*, and *Cy.* (Κύκλωψ). A lost intervening case will have contained the two plays whose titles begin with theta (*Theseus*, *Thyestes*) and others beginning with iota.<sup>326</sup> The texts were writ-

<sup>321</sup> Actually, *Ba.* is transmitted only in L and P, the two MSS. that also preserve the non-select plays. L has lines 1–755 only, P has one or more gaps near the end of the play, and neither has scholia. Nevertheless, there are good reasons to count *Ba.* among the “select” plays (Mastronarde 2017: 19).

<sup>322</sup> For *Ion*, the secondary tradition (quotation in anthologies, lexica, and other authors) is fairly sparse. In this edition, see the apparatus and notes on 434–9, 453, 605, 621–5, 732, and 856. Diggle’s apparatus records some fifteen further instances. For Eustathius, see n. 327 below.

<sup>323</sup> Matthiessen 2010: 75.

<sup>324</sup> Alphabetical order (respecting initial letter only) is used in ancient lists of Euripides’ plays included in *TrGF* v.1 as T 6–8.

<sup>325</sup> There is relatively plentiful evidence that *IT* was widely performed and read in antiquity, but it did not survive in the “selection.”

<sup>326</sup> Snell 1935.

ten in majuscule script, with only a few ancient variants and glosses between lines or in the margin, no scholia, and colometry (that is, line-division of lyric parts) essentially reflecting that of Aristophanes of Byzantium (c. 200 BCE). Whatever the exact appearance of these copies, they were descended from texts that made considerable demands on the reader and exposed the text to further corruption during copying. The evidence of papyri suggests that from their beginnings through at least the Hellenistic period, dramatic texts generally lacked word division and punctuation, offered no stage directions, and assigned lines to different speakers not (or at least not consistently) by naming them, but merely by inserting a horizontal line (*paragraphos*) to indicate a *change* of speaker (or a dicolon, when the change occurred in mid-line). Lyric parts were probably originally written as prose, with divisions indicated only between stanzas. Punctuation, stage directions, speaker assignments, and colometry are accordingly open to debate.

The papyrus rolls were eventually copied into a single codex. This or a related manuscript was known to a few Byzantine authors, including Eustathius, archbishop of Thessalonica (12th cent. CE), who shows pride in his ability to quote from *Ion*, a play apparently not known to others.<sup>327</sup> This manuscript then became the source for the alphabetic plays in L or L's immediate predecessor, made in the circle of Demetrius Triclinius in Thessalonica early in the fourteenth century CE.<sup>328</sup> L was Triclinius' personal working copy, and he immediately made changes in an effort to ensure as accurate a copy of L's source text as possible; next, P was copied from L.<sup>329</sup> It is important that P was copied at this point, because further rounds of correction by Triclinius in L sometimes obscure L's original reading. In these places (and a few others where L has suffered damage for other reasons), P becomes an important witness to the text. In the text of *Ion*, L is only sparsely equipped with supralinear variants (some two dozen, about a quarter of them superior to the text *in linea*<sup>330</sup>) and marginal glosses/scholia (about a dozen, none helpful).

<sup>327</sup> Zuntz 1955: 148–51, Magnelli 2003. Eustathius quotes *Ion* 5–6, 59–60, and 74, and he describes the alphabetic play *Cy.* as recently discovered.

<sup>328</sup> L contains all the surviving plays of Euripides except *Tro.* and the second half of *Ba.* Zuntz 1965: 185–6 posits an immediate predecessor (Λ) for several reasons: Triclinius would want to make preliminary improvements to a copy intended to serve as the basis for further copies; some errors in L are both mechanical and of a type likely to have occurred while copying a similar hand, not one from more than a century earlier; and other non-mechanical errors in L betray Triclinius' style.

<sup>329</sup> P has become separated into two parts, one (which includes *Ion*) in the Vatican Library in Rome (Palatinus gr. 287), the other in the Laurentian Library in Florence (Conv. soppressi 172). The relationship of L and P was long disputed, but Zuntz 1965 demonstrated to the satisfaction of most scholars that in the alphabetic plays, P was copied from L.

<sup>330</sup> Parker 2016: cii.

## A NOTE ON TEXT AND ABBREVIATIONS

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The *apparatus criticus* for this edition is selective and depends heavily on the superb edition of James Diggle, to which readers are referred for full information about manuscript readings and testimonia.<sup>1</sup>

### SYMBOLS USED IN TEXT AND APPARATUS

< >	encloses word(s) added by modern scholars
[ ]	encloses word(s) transmitted in the manuscript but considered inauthentic by the editor
† †	encloses word(s) that cannot have been intended by the author in the form transmitted, but for which no convincing emendation has been found

### ABBREVIATIONS INDICATING THE READINGS OF MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY EDITORS OR EDITIONS

L	Laurentianus plut. 32.2, c. 1300–20
P	Palatinus graecus 287, c. 1320–5
Tr <sup>1</sup>	reading in L introduced by Demetrius Triclinius in his first round of corrections and alterations
Tr <sup>2</sup>	reading in L introduced by Demetrius Triclinius in his second or third round of corrections and alterations
<L>	reading of L inferred from P
<L?>	reading of L inferred from P, but not beyond doubt
[L]	L is illegible at the place in question
L <sup>ac</sup>	L before correction
L <sup>pc</sup>	L after correction
L <sup>sl</sup>	reading written above the line in L
*	erased or illegible letter
p	reading introduced by Italian corrector of P in the late fifteenth century
Ald.	“Aldine” edition by M. Musurus (Venice, 1503)
Hervag. <sup>2</sup>	second “Hervagian” edition by I. Oporinus (Basel, 1544)

<sup>1</sup> Diggle 1981–94 (Oxford Classical Text); *Ion* is in vol. II (1981). A few corrections and additions have been incorporated from Diggle 1994 (especially 522–3) and the work of other editors and scholars. Fuller information about testimonia may be found in Biehl 1979 and Martin 2018. No papyri preserving the text of *Ion* have been found. A small scrap of a hypothesis closely resembling the one transmitted in L has recently been published (Meccariello 2016).

The text adopted here differs from the Oxford Classical Text of Diggle in the following places: 1 Ἄτλας ὁ νῶτοις χαλκέοισιν οὐρανόν, 86 Παρνασσιάδες, 155 Παρνασσοῦ, 156 θριγκοῦς, 168 αἰμάξεις, 206–7 τύποι–|σι, 321 προφήτις, 379 ἄκοντα, 458–9 ~ 478–9 colometry, 481 ἀλκά, 487 τροφαὶ not obelized, 498 <θ'>, 500 ὕμνουσ', 528 κλυεῖν, 578–81 lines retained, 594 <καὐτὸς τὸ> μηδὲν κοῦδένων, 601 φόβου, 602 αὖ not obelized, 609 τὰς συμφοράς, 677 †ἄλλας γε†, 692 ἔχει, 711 δειπνῶν, 712 νέων, 713 Παρνασσοῦ, 751 χαράν, 756 εἶέν, 844–58 lines retained except 847–9, 877 κακοβουλευθεῖς, 902–6 colometry, 902 μοι deleted, 904 σός, 905 δ' <ἀει>, 992–3 lines retained in transmitted place, 1002 μέλλον not obelized, 1063–4 ὦν νιν ἐλπίς ἔφερ–|βεν, 1239 σκοτίων μυχῶν, 1267 Παρνασσοῦ, 1275–8 lines retained, 1276 †ὁ σὸς ἔμοι κρείσσων πάρα†, 1304 ἡμῖν δέ γ' ἅμα <τῶι> πατρὶ, 1359–60 lines deleted, 1426 μόνωι τῶιδ', 1427 δράκοντες, ἀρχαίωι τι πάγχρυσον γένει, 1475–6 ὑμέναιος ἐμός σὸν ἔτικτε κάρα, τέκνον, 1480–3 colometry, 1480 ἐλαιοφυᾶ, 1481 < × – >, 1486–7 colometry, 1489 ματέρος not obelized, 1500–1 <|ων> ἔκτεινας ἄκουσ' (as Diggle in apparatus), 1530 οὔτις. There are differences in punctuation at 1, 2, 287, 321, 718, 843, 947, 1302, 1427.

ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΩΝ



## ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ

ΕΡΜΗΣ  
ΙΩΝ  
ΧΟΡΟΣ  
ΚΡΕΟΥΣΑ  
ΖΟΥΘΟΣ  
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΣ  
ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ  
ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΣ  
ΑΘΗΝΑ

# ΕΥΡΙΠΙΔΟΥ ΙΩΝ

## ΕΡΜΗΣ

Ἄτλας ὁ νώτοις χαλκέοισιν οὐρανόν,  
 θεῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον, ἐκτρίβων θεῶν  
 μιᾶς ἔφυσε Μαΐαν, ἣ 'μ' ἐγείνατο  
 Ἑρμῆν μεγίστῳ Ζηνί, δαιμόνων λάτριν.  
 ἦκω δὲ Δελφῶν τήνδε γῆν, ἵν' ὀμφαλὸν 5  
 μέσον καθίζων Φοῖβος ὑμνωδεῖ βροτοῖς  
 τά τ' ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα θεσπίζων αἰεὶ.  
 ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ἄσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις,  
 τῆς χρυσολόγχου Παλλάδος κεκλημένη,  
 οὐ παῖδ' Ἑρεχθέως Φοῖβος ἔζευξεν γάμοις 10  
 βίαι Κρέουσαν, ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας  
 Παλλάδος ὑπ' ὄχθῳ τῆς Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς  
 Μακρὰς καλοῦσι γῆς ἄνακτες Ἀτθίδος.  
 ἀγνώως δὲ πατρί (τῷ θεῷ γὰρ ἦν φίλον)  
 γαστρὸς διήνεγκ' ὄγκον. ὥς δ' ἦλθεν χρόνος, 15  
 τεκοῦσ' ἐν οἴκοις παῖδ' ἀπήνεγκεν βρέφος  
 ἐς ταῦτόν ἄντρον οὐπὲρ ἡνύασθη θεῷ  
 Κρέουσα, κακτίθησιν ὥς θανούμενον  
 κοίλῃς ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ,  
 προγόνων νόμον σώιζουσα τοῦ τε γηγενοῦς 20  
 Ἑριχθονίου. κείνῳ γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη  
 φρουρῶ παραζεύξασα φύλακε σώματος  
 δισσὴν δράκοντε, παρθένους Ἀγλαυρίσιν  
 δίδωσι σώζειν· ὅθεν Ἑρεχθείδαις ἐκεῖ  
 νόμος τις ἔστιν ὄφεσιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις 25  
 τρέφειν τέκν'. ἀλλ' ἦν εἶχε παρθένος χλιδὴν  
 τέκνῳ προσάψασ' ἔλιπεν ὥς θανουμένῳ.  
 καὶ μ' ὦν ἀδελφὸς Φοῖβος αἰτεῖται τάδε·  
 "ὦ σύγγον', ἐλθὼν λαὸν εἰς αὐτόχθονα  
 κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν (οἶσθα γὰρ θεᾶς πόλιν) 30

1 νώτοις χαλκέοισιν Elmsley: χαλκέοισι νώτοις L      9 χρυσολόγχου p: χρυσολόχου L  
 11 προσβόρρους πέτρας Livineius: προσβόρους πέτρας L<sup>sl</sup>: προσβόροις πέτραις L  
 15 ὄγκον Hervag.<sup>2</sup>: οἶκον L      22 φύλακε Porson: φυλακάς L



λαβὼν βρέφος νεογνὸν ἐκ κοίλης πέτρας  
 αὐτῷ σὺν ἄγγει σπαργάνοισί θ' οἷς ἔχει  
 ἔνεγκε Δελφῶν τὰμὰ πρὸς χρηστήρια  
 καὶ θεὸς πρὸς αὐταῖς εἰσόδοις δόμων ἐμῶν.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' (ἐμὸς γάρ ἐστιν, ὡς εἰδῆις, ὁ παῖς) 35  
 ἡμῖν μελήσει." Λοξίαι δ' ἐγὼ χάριν  
 πράσσω· ἀδελφῷ πλεκτὸν ἐξάρας κύτος  
 ἦνεγκα καὶ τὸν παῖδα κρηπίδων ἔπι  
 τίθημι ναοῦ τοῦδ', ἀναπτύξας κύτος  
 ἐλικτὸν ἀντίπηγος, ὡς ὀρῶιθ' ὁ παῖς. 40  
 κυρεῖ δ' ἄμ' ἱππεύοντος ἡλίου κύκλωι  
 προφῆτις ἐσβαίνουσα μαντεῖον θεοῦ·  
 ὄψιν δὲ προσβαλοῦσα παιδὶ νηπίωι  
 ἐθαύμασ' εἴ τις Δελφίδων τλαίη κόρη  
 λαθραῖον ὠδῖν' ἐς θεοῦ ῥῖψαι δόμον, 45  
 ὑπέρ τε θυμέλας διορίσαι πρόθυμος ἦν·  
 οἴκτωι δ' ἀφῆκεν ὠμότητα, καὶ θεὸς  
 συνεργὸς ἦν τῷ παιδὶ μὴ 'κπεσεῖν δόμων·  
 τρέφει δὲ νιν λαβοῦσα, τὸν σπείραντα δὲ  
 οὐκ οἶδε Φοῖβον οὐδὲ μητέρ' ἧς ἔφυ, 50  
 ὁ παῖς τε τοὺς τεκόντας οὐκ ἐπίσταται.  
 νέος μὲν οὖν ὢν ἀμφὶ βωμίους τροφὰς  
 ἡλᾷτ' ἀθύρων· ὡς δ' ἀπηνδρώθη δέμας,  
 Δελφοί σφ' ἔθεντο χρυσοφύλακα τοῦ θεοῦ  
 ταμίαν τε πάντων πιστόν, ἐν δ' ἀνακτόροις 55  
 θεοῦ καταζῆι δεῦρ' αἰεὶ σεμνὸν βίον.  
 Κρέουσα δ' ἡ τεκοῦσα τὸν νεανίαν  
 Ζούθωι γαμεῖται συμφορᾶς τοιαῆσδ' ὕπο·  
 ἦν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τοῖς τε Χαλκωδοντίδαϊς,  
 οἱ γῆν ἔχουσ' Εὐβοῖδα, πολέμιος κλύδων· 60  
 ὃν συμπονήσας καὶ συνεξελὼν δορὶ  
 γάμων Κρεούσης ἀξίωμ' ἐδέξατο,  
 οὐκ ἐγγενὴς ὢν, Αἰόλου δὲ τοῦ Διὸς  
 γεγὼς Ἀχαιός. χρόνια δὲ σπείρας λέχη  
 ἄτεκνός ἐστι καὶ Κρέουσ'· ὢν οὖνεκα 65  
 ἦκουσι πρὸς μαντεῖ' Ἀπόλλωνος τάδε

33 ἔνεγκε Δελφῶν Reiske: ἔνεγκ' ἀδελφῷ L 37 κύτος P: σκύτος L 39 κύτος  
 Stephanus: σκύτος L 40 ὀρῶιθ' Canter: ὀρᾶθ' L 41 ἄμ' ἱππεύοντος Musgrave:  
 ἀνιππεύοντος L 46 τε Kirchhoff: δὲ L

ἔρωτι παίδων. Λοξίας δὲ τὴν τύχην  
 ἐς τοῦτ' ἐλαύνει, κοῦ λέληθεν, ὥς δοκεῖ  
 δώσει γὰρ εἰσελθόντι μαντεῖον τόδε  
 Ζούθωι τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα καὶ πεφυκέναι 70  
 κείνου σφε φήσει, μητρὸς ὥς ἐλθὼν δόμους  
 γνωσθῇ Κρεούση καὶ γάμοι τε Λοξίου  
 κρυπτοὶ γένωνται παῖς τ' ἔχηι τὰ πρόσφορα.  
 Ἴωνα δ' αὐτόν, κτίστορ' Ἀσιάδος χθονός,  
 ὄνομα κεκληῖσθαι θήσεται καθ' Ἑλλάδα. 75  
 ἀλλ' ἐς δαφνώδη γύαλα βήσομαι τάδε,  
 τὸ κρανθὲν ὥς ἂν ἐκμάθω παιδὸς πέρι.  
 ὀρῶ γὰρ ἐκβαίνοντα Λοξίου γόνον  
 τόνδ', ὥς πρὸ ναοῦ λαμπρὰ θῇι πυλώματα  
 δάφνης κλάδοισιν. ὄνομα δ', οὗ μέλλει τυχεῖν, 80  
 Ἴων' ἐγὼ <νιν> πρῶτος ὀνομάζω θεῶν.

## ΙΩΝ

ἄρματα μὲν τάδε λαμπρὰ τεθρίππων·  
 Ἥλιος ἤδη λάμπει κατὰ γῆν,  
 ἄστρα δὲ φεύγει πυρὶ τῶιδ' αἰθέρος  
 ἐς νύχθ' ἱεράν· 85  
 Παρνασσιάδες δ' ἄβατοι κορυφαί  
 καταλαμπόμεναι τὴν ἡμερίαν  
 ἀψίδα βροτοῖσι δέχονται.  
 σμύρνης δ' ἀνύδρου καπνὸς εἰς ὀρόφους  
 Φοίβου πέτεται. 90  
 θάσσει δὲ γυνὴ τρίποδα ζάθεον  
 Δελφίς, αἰίδουσ' Ἑλλησι βοάς,  
 ὅς ἂν Ἀπόλλων κελαδήσῃ.  
 ἀλλ', ὦ Φοίβου Δελφοὶ θέραπες,  
 τὰς Κασταλίας ἀργυροειδεῖς 95  
 βαίνετε δῖνας, καθαραῖς δὲ δρόσοις  
 ἀφυδρανάμενοι στείχετε ναοῦς·  
 στόμα τ' εὖφημοι φρουρεῖτ' ἀγαθόν,  
 φήμας ἀγαθὰς

81 <νιν> Scaliger, <σφε> L. Dindorf    87 ἡμερίαν Canter: ἡμέραν L    90 πέτεται  
 Musgrave: πέταται L    98 εὖφημοι Camper: εὖφημον L    99 φήμας Hermann:  
 φήμας τ' L

- τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν μαντεύεσθαι 100  
 γλώσσης ἰδίας ἀποφαίνειν.  
 ἡμεῖς δέ, πόνους οὖς ἐκ παιδὸς  
 μοχθοῦμεν ἀεὶ, πτόρθοισι δάφνης  
 στέφεσιν θ' ἱεροῖς ἐσόδους Φοίβου  
 καθαρὰς θήσομεν ὑγραῖς τε πέδον 105  
 ῥανίσιν νοτερόν· πτηνῶν τ' ἀγέλας,  
 αἷ βλάπτουσιν σέμν' ἀναθήματα,  
 τόξοισιν ἑμοῖς φυγάδας θήσομεν·  
 ὥς γὰρ ἀμήτωρ ἀπάτωρ τε γεγώς  
 τοὺς θρέψαντας 110  
 Φοίβου ναοὺς θεραπεύω.
- ἄγ', ὦ νηθαλὲς ὦ (στρ.  
 καλλίστας προπόλευμα δάφ-  
 νας, ἃ τὰν Φοίβου θυμέλαν  
 σαίρεις ὑπὸ ναοῖς, 115  
 κάπων ἐξ ἀθανάτων,  
 ἵνα δρόσοι τέγγουσ' ἱεραί,  
 †τὰν† ἀέναον  
 παγὰν ἐκπροϊῆσαι,  
 μυρσίνας ἱερὰν φόβαν· 120  
 αἶ σαίρω δάπεδον θεοῦ  
 παναμέριος ἅμ' ἀλίου πτέρυγι θοᾷ  
 λατρεύων τὸ κατ' ἥμαρ. 122-3
- ὦ Παιὰν ὦ Παιάν, 125  
 εὐαίων εὐαίων  
 εἵης, ὦ Λατοῦς παῖ.
- καλὸν γε τὸν πόνον, ὦ (ἀντ.  
 Φοῖβε, σοὶ πρὸ δόμων λατρεύ-  
 ω, τιμῶν μαντεῖον ἔδραν· 130  
 κλεινὸς δ' ὁ πόνος μοι  
 θεοῖσιν δούλαν χέρ' ἔχειν,  
 οὐ θνατοῖς ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοισ·  
 εὐφάμους δὲ πόνους

118 γαίας Diggle, πετρᾶν Wecklein  
 πόνους L

134 εὐφάμους ... πόνους Porson: εὐφάμοις ...

μοχθεῖν οὐκ ἀποκάμνω. 135  
 Φοῖβός μοι γενέτωρ πατήρ·  
 τὸν βόσκοντα γὰρ εὐλογῶ,  
 τὸν δ' ὠφέλιμον ἔμοι πατέρος ὄνομα λέγω 138–9  
 Φοῖβον τὸν κατὰ ναόν. 140

ὦ Παιάν ὦ Παιάν,  
 εὐαίων εὐαίων  
 εἴης, ὦ Λατοῦς παῖ.

ἀλλ' ἐκπαύσω γὰρ μόχθους 145  
 δάφνας ὀλκοῖς,  
 χρυσέων δ' ἐκ τευχέων ρίψω  
 γαίας παγάν, 146bis  
 ἄν ἀποχεύονται  
 Κασταλίας δῖναι,  
 νοτερόν ὕδωρ βάλλων,  
 ὅσιος ἀπ' εὐνᾶς ὦν. 150  
 εἴθ' οὕτως αἰεὶ Φοίβωι  
 λατρεύων μὴ παυσαίμαν,  
 ἧ παυσαίμαν ἀγαθᾶι μοίραι.  
 ἔα ἔα·  
 φοιτῶσ' ἤδη λείπουσιν τε  
 πτανοὶ Παρνασσοῦ κοίτας. 155  
 αὐδῶ μὴ χρίμπτειν θριγκοὺς  
 μηδ' ἐς χρυσήρεις οἴκους.  
 μάρψω σ' αὖ τόξοις, ὦ Ζηνὸς  
 κῆρυξ, ὀρνίθων γαμφηλαῖς  
 ἰσχὺν νικῶν. 160  
 ὅδε πρὸς θυμέλας ἄλλος ἐρέσσει  
 κύκνος· οὐκ ἄλλαι φοινικοφαῖ  
 πόδα κινήσεις;  
 οὐδέν σ' ἄ φόρμιγξ ἄ Φοίβου  
 σύμμολπος τόξων ρύσαιτ' ἄν. 165  
 πάραγε πτέρυγας·

140 Φοῖβον τὸν Heath: Φοῖβου τοῦ L 156 θριγκοὺς Wilamowitz: θριγκοῖς Ald.:  
 θριγγοῖς L 161 πρὸς Canter: πρὸ L 162 κύκνος Victorius (also Brodaeus):  
 κύκλος L 166 πάραγε Scaliger: παρὰ τε L

λίμνας ἐπίβα τᾶς Δηλιάδος·  
αἰμάξεις, εἰ μὴ πείσῃ,  
τὰς καλλιφθόγγους ὠιδάς.  
ἔα ἔα·

170

τίς ὄδ' ὀρνίθων καινὸς προσέβα;  
μῶν ὑπὸ θριγκοὺς εὐναίας  
καρφυρὰς θήσων τέκνοις;  
ψαλμοὶ σ' εἵρξουσιν τόξων.  
οὐ πείσῃ; χωρῶν δίνας

τὰς Ἀλφειοῦ παιδούργει  
ἢ νάπος Ἰσθμιον,

175

ὥς ἀναθήματα μὴ βλάπτηται  
ναοὶ θ' οἱ Φοίβου < >.

κτείνειν δ' ὑμᾶς αἰδοῦμαι  
τοὺς θεῶν ἀγγέλλοντας φήμας  
θνατοῖς· οἷς δ' ἔγκειμαι μόχθοις  
Φοίβωι δουλεύσω κοῦ λήξω  
τοὺς βόσκοντας θεραπεύων.

180

## ΧΟΡΟΣ

— οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ζαθέαις Ἀθά-  
ναις εὐκίονες ἦσαν αὐ-  
λαὶ θεῶν μόνον οὐδ' ἄγυι-  
άτιδες θεραπεῖαι·  
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Λοξίαι  
τῷ Λατοῦς διδύμων προσώ-  
πων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς.

(στρ. α  
185

— ἰδού, τᾶιδ' ἄθρησον·  
Λερναῖον ὕδραν ἐναίρει  
χρυσέαις ἄρπαις ὁ Διὸς παῖς·  
φίλα, πρόσιδ' ὄσσοις.

190

— ὀρώ. καὶ πέλας ἄλλος αὐ-  
τοῦ πανὸν πυρίφλεκτον αἶ-  
ρει τις· ἄρ' ὅς ἐμαῖσι μυ-

(ἀντ. α  
195

173 καρφυρὰς Arnaud: καρφηρὰς L 174-5 δίνας τὰς Badham: δίναις ταῖς L  
178 <μαντεῖοι> Hartung, <λαμπροὶ> Fix, σεμνοὶ οἱ χρυσήρεις Lee, ναοὶ τ' <εὐθριγκ>οι  
Diggle 189 καλλιβλέφαρον Brodaeus: καλλιφαρον L 190 τᾶιδ' Dobree: τάνδ' L  
195 πανὸν Pierson: πτανὸν L

- θεύεται παρὰ πήναις,  
 ἀσπιστὰς Ἰόλαος, ὃς  
 κοινοὺς αἰρόμενος πόνους  
 Δίωι παιδὶ συναντλεῖ; 200
- καὶ μὰν τόνδ' ἄθρησον  
 πτεροῦντος ἔφεδρον ἵππου·  
 τὰν πῦρ πνέουσαν ἐναίρει  
 τρισώματον ἀλκάν.
- πάνται τοι βλέφαρον διώ- (στρ. β  
 κω. σκέψαι κλόνον ἐν τύποι- 206  
 σι λαῖνοισι Γιγάντων.
- †ῶδε δερκόμεσθ', ὦ φίλοι.†
- λεύσσεις οὔν ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδωι  
 γοργωπὸν πάλλουσιν ἵπυν . . . ; 210
- λεύσσω Παλλάδ', ἐμὰν θεόν.
- τί γάρ; κεραυνὸν ἀμφίπυρον  
 ὄβριμον ἐν Διὸς  
 ἐκηβόλοισι χερσίν; 213bis
- ὀρῶ· τὸν δάιον  
 Μίμαντα πυρὶ καταιθαλοῖ. 215
- καὶ Βρόμιος ἄλλον ἀπολέμοι-  
 σι κισσίνοισι βάκτροις  
 ἐναίρει Γᾶς τέκνων ὁ Βακχεύς.
- σέ τοι, τὸν παρὰ ναὸν αὐ- (ἀντ. β  
 δῶ· θέμις γυάλων ὑπερ- 220  
 βῆναι λευκῶι ποδὶ γ' <οὐδόν>;
- Ιων οὐ θέμις, ὦ ξέναι. 221bis
- Χο. †οὐδ' ἂν ἐκ σέθεν ἂν πυθοίμαν αὐδάν;†
- Ιων τίνα τήνδε θέλεις; 222bis
- Χο. ἄρ' ὄντως μέσον ὀμφαλὸν  
 γᾶς Φοίβου κατέχει δόμος; 223bis

203 πῦρ Reiske: πυρὶ L 205 πάνται Musgrave: πάντα L 206–7 τύποισι L.  
 Dindorf: τείχεσι L 208 ὦ φίλοι, ὦδε δερκόμεσθα Murray 212 ὄβριμον p:  
 ὄμβριμον L 213 ἐκηβόλοισι p: ἐκηβόλης L 218 τέκνων Elmsley: τέκνον L  
 221 <οὐδόν> Lindau 221bis ξέναι Tr<sup>a</sup>: ξένοι L 222 ἐκ σέθεν ἂν πυθοίμεθ'  
 αὐδάν; L. Dindorf (with οὐδ' ἂν deleted) and Paley 222bis τήνδε Musgrave: δὲ L

- Ιων στέμμασί γ' ἐνδυτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ Γοργόνες.  
 Χο. οὕτω καὶ φάτις αὐδᾷ. 225
- Ιων εἰ μὲν ἐθύσατε πελανὸν πρὸ δόμων  
 καὶ τι πυθέσθαι χρήζετε Φοίβου,  
 πάριτ' ἐς θυμέλας· ἐπὶ δ' ἄσφάκτοις  
 μήλοισι δόμων μὴ πάριτ' ἐς μυχόν.  
 Χο. ἔχω μαθοῦσα· θεοῦ δὲ νόμον 230  
 οὐ παραβαίνομεν,  
 ἃ δ' ἐκτὸς ὄμμα τέρψει. 231 bis
- Ιων πάντα θεᾶσθ', ὅτι καὶ θέμις, ὄμμασι.  
 Χο. μεθεῖσαν δεσπότην  
 με θεοῦ γύαλα τάδ' εἰσιδεῖν. 233 bis
- Ιων δμωαὶ δὲ τίνων κλήιζεσθε δόμων;  
 Χο. Παλλάδι σύνοικα τρόφιμα μέλα- 235  
 θρα τῶν ἐμῶν τυράννων·  
 παρούσας δ' ἀμφὶ τᾶσδ' ἐρωτᾷς. 235 bis
- Ιων < >  
 γενναιότης σοι καὶ τρόπων τεκμήριον  
 τὸ σχῆμ' ἔχεις τόδ', ἥτις εἶ ποτ', ὦ γύναι.  
 γνοίη δ' ἂν ὡς τὰ πολλά γ' ἀνθρώπου πέρι  
 τὸ σχῆμ' ἰδὼν τις εἰ πέφυκεν εὐγενής. 240  
 ἔα·  
 ἀλλ' ἐξέπληξάς μ', ὄμμα συγκλήισα σὸν  
 δακρύοις θ' ὑγράνας· εὐγενῇ παρηίδα,  
 ὡς εἶδες ἀγνὰ Λοξίου χρηστήρια.  
 τί ποτε μερίμνης ἐς τόδ' ἦλθες, ὦ γύναι;  
 οὐ πάντες ἄλλοι γύαλα λεύσσοντες θεοῦ  
 χαίρουσιν, ἐνταῦθ' ὄμμα σὸν δακρυρροεῖ; 245

## ΚΡΕΟΥΣΑ

ὦ ξένε, τὸ μὲν σὸν οὐκ ἀπαιδεύτως ἔχει  
 ἐς θαύματ' ἐλθεῖν δακρύων ἐμῶν πέρι·

224 ἐνδυτόν Musgrave: ἐνδυτός L      226 ἐθύσατε Stephanus: ἐδύσατε L: ἐλύσατε L<sup>sl</sup>  
 233 με θεοῦ Hermann: θεοῦ με L      235 Παλλάδι σύνοικα Badham: Παλλάδος  
 ἔνοικα L      237 Lloyd-Jones indicates a lacuna before this verse      γενναιότης σοι  
 L: γενναιότητος Bothe      245 οὐ Pierson: ὃ L

- ἐγὼ δ' ἰδοῦσα τούσδ' Ἀπόλλωνος δόμους  
 μνήμην παλαιὰν ἀνεμετρησάμην τινά· 250  
 ἐκεῖσε τὸν νοῦν ἔσχον ἐνθάδ' οὔσά περ.  
 ὦ τλήμονες γυναῖκες· ὦ τολμήματα  
 θεῶν. τί δῆτα; ποῖ δίκην ἀνοίσομεν,  
 εἰ τῶν κρατούντων ἀδικίαις ὀλούμεθα;  
 Ἰων τί χρῆμ' ἀνερμήνευτα δυσθυμῇ, γύναι; 255  
 Κρ. οὐδέν· μεθῆκα τόξα· τάπ'ι τῷιδε δέ  
 ἐγὼ τε σιγῶ καὶ σὺ μὴ φρόντιζ' ἔτι.  
 Ἰων τίς δ' εἶ; πόθεν γῆς ἦλθες; ἐκ ποίας πάτρας  
 πέφυκας; ὄνομα τί σε καλεῖν ἡμᾶς χρεών;  
 Κρ. Κρέουσα μέν μοι τοῦνομ', ἐκ δ' Ἐρεχθέως 260  
 πέφυκα, πατρίς γῆ δ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.  
 Ἰων ὦ κλεινὸν οἴκοῦσ' ἄστ'υ γενναίων τ' ἄπο  
 τραφεῖσα πατέρων, ὥς σε θαυμάζω, γύναι.  
 Κρ. τοσαῦτα κεῦτυχοῦμεν, ὦ ξέν', οὐ πέρα.  
 Ἰων πρὸς θεῶν, ἀληθῶς, ὥς μεμύθευται βροτοῖς . . . 265  
 Κρ. τί χρῆμ' ἐρωτᾷς, ὦ ξέν', ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων;  
 Ἰων ἐκ γῆς πατρός σου πρόγονος ἔβλασται πατήρ;  
 Κρ. Ἐριχθόνιός γε· τὸ δὲ γένος μ' οὐκ ὠφελεῖ.  
 Ἰων ἦ καὶ σφ' Ἀθάνᾳ γῆθεν ἐξανείλετο;  
 Κρ. ἐς παρθένους γε χεῖρας, οὐ τεκοῦσά νιν. 270  
 Ἰων δίδωσι δ', ὥσπερ ἐν γραφῇ νομίζεται . . .  
 Κρ. Κέκροπός γε σώζειν παισὶν οὐχ ὀρώμενον.  
 Ἰων ἦκουσα λῦσαι παρθένους τεῦχος θεᾶς.  
 Κρ. τοιγὰρ θανοῦσαι σκόπελον ἦιμαξαν πέτρας.  
 Ἰων εἶέν·  
 τί δαὶ τόδ'; ἄρ' ἀληθὲς ἡ μάτην λόγος; 275  
 Κρ. τί χρῆμ' ἐρωτᾷς; καὶ γὰρ οὐ κάμνω σχολῇ.  
 Ἰων πατήρ Ἐρεχθεὺς σὰς ἔθυσσε συγγόνους;  
 Κρ. ἔτλη πρὸ γαίας σφάγια παρθένους κτανεῖν.  
 Ἰων σὺ δ' ἐξεσώθης πῶς κασιγνήτων μόνη;  
 Κρ. βρέφος νεογνὸν μητρός ἦν ἐν ἀγκάλαις. 280  
 Ἰων πατέρα δ' ἀληθῶς χάσμα σὸν κρύπτει χθονός;

251 ἐκεῖσε Owen: οἴκοι δὲ L ἔσχον Stephanus: ἔσχομεν L περ Dobree, Hermann:  
 που L 253 ἀνοίσομεν Musgrave: ἀνήσομεν L 254 ὀλούμεθα Hülsemann:  
 ὀλοίμεθα L 255 ἀνερμήνευτα Wakefield: ἀνερεύνητα L 266 θέλων Badham:  
 θέλω L



- Κρ. πληγαὶ τριαίνης ποντίου σφ' ἀπώλεσαν.  
 Ιων Μακραὶ δὲ χῶρός ἐστ' ἐκεῖ κεκλημένοις;  
 Κρ. τί δ' ἱστορεῖς τόδ'; ὥς μ' ἀνέμνησάς τινος.  
 Ιων τιμαῖ σφε †Πύθιος† ἀστραπαὶ τε Πύθιαι. 285  
 Κρ. †τιμαῖ τιμαῖ† ὥς μήποτ' ὠφελόν σφ' ἰδεῖν.  
 Ιων τί δὲ στυγεῖς σὺ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ φίλτατα;  
 Κρ. οὐδέν· ξύνοιδ' ἄντροισιν αἰσχύνην τινά.  
 Ιων πόσις δὲ τίς σ' ἔγημ' Ἀθηναίων, γύναι;  
 Κρ. οὐκ ἀστὸς ἀλλ' ἐπακτὸς ἐξ ἄλλης χθονός. 290  
 Ιων τίς; εὐγενῇ νιν δεῖ πεφυκέναι τινά.  
 Κρ. Ζοῦθος, πεφυκῶς Αἰόλου Διὸς τ' ἄπο.  
 Ιων καὶ πῶς ξένος σ' ὦν ἔσχεν οὔσαν ἐγγενῇ;  
 Κρ. Εὐβοί' Ἀθήναις ἔστι τις γείτων πόλις.  
 Ιων ὄροις ὑγροῖσιν, ὥς λέγουσ', ὠρισμένη. 295  
 Κρ. ταύτην ἔπερσε Κεκροπίδαις κοινῶι δορί.  
 Ιων ἐπίκουρος ἐλθών; κᾶϊτα σὸν γαμεῖ λέχος;  
 Κρ. φερνάς γε πολέμου καὶ δορὸς λαβὼν γέρας.  
 Ιων σὺν ἀνδρὶ δ' ἦκεις ἢ μόνη χρηστήρια;  
 Κρ. σὺν ἀνδρὶ· σηκοῖς δ' ὑστερεῖ Τροφωνίου. 300  
 Ιων πότερα θεατῆς ἢ χάριν μαντευμάτων;  
 Κρ. κείνου τε Φοίβου θ' ἐν θέλων μαθεῖν ἔπος.  
 Ιων καρποῦ δ' ὕπερ γῆς ἦκετ' ἢ παίδων πέρι;  
 Κρ. ἄπαιδές ἐσμεν, χρόνι' ἔχοντ' εὐνήματα.  
 Ιων οὐδ' ἔτεκες οὐδὲν πώποτ' ἀλλ' ἄτεκνος εἶ; 305  
 Κρ. ὁ Φοῖβος οἶδε τὴν ἐμήν ἀπαιδίαν.  
 Ιων ὦ τλήμον, ὥς τᾶλλ' εὐτυχοῦς· οὐκ εὐτυχεῖς.  
 Κρ. σὺ δ' εἶ τίς; ὥς σου τὴν τεκοῦσαν ὦλβισα.  
 Ιων τοῦ θεοῦ καλοῦμαι δοῦλος, εἰμί τ', ὦ γύναι.  
 Κρ. ἀνάθημα πόλεως ἢ τινος πραθεῖς ὕπο; 310  
 Ιων οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἔν' Λοξίου κεκλήμεθα.  
 Κρ. ἡμεῖς σ' ἄρ' αὖθις, ὦ ξέν', ἀντοικτίρομεν.  
 Ιων ὥς μὴ εἰδόθ' ἦτις μ' ἔτεκεν ἐξ ὅτου τ' ἔφυν.  
 Κρ. ναοῖσι δ' οἰκεῖς τοισίδ' ἢ κατὰ στέγας;  
 Ιων ἅπαν θεοῦ μοι δῶμ', ἴν' ἂν λάβῃ μ' ὕπνος. 315

285 τιμαῖ κεραυνός σφ' Diggle 286 τιμαῖ; τί τιμαῖ; Hermann, with ὥς deleted σφ' Scaliger: σ' L 288 ξύνοιδ' Tyrwhitt: ξέν' οἶδ' L 300 σηκοῖς Scaliger: σηκούς L ὑστερεῖ Badham: εὐ στρέφει L

- Κρ. παῖς δ' ὦν ἀφίκου ναὸν ἢ νεανίας;  
 Ιων βρέφος λέγουσιν οἱ δοκοῦντες εἰδέναι.  
 Κρ. καὶ τίς γάλακτί σ' ἐξέθρεψε Δελφίδων;  
 Ιων οὐπώποτ' ἔγνων μαστόν' ἢ δ' ἔθρεψέ με . . .  
 Κρ. τίς, ὦ ταλαίπωρ'; ὡς νοσοῦσ' ἡῦρον νόσους. 320  
 Ιων Φοίβου προφήτις, μητέρ' ὡς νομίζομεν.  
 Κρ. ἐς δ' ἄνδρ' ἀφίκου τίνα τροφήν κεκτημένος;  
 Ιων βωμοί μ' ἔφερβον οὐπιών τ' ἀεὶ ξένος. 323  
 Κρ. ἔχεις δὲ βίοτον· εὖ γὰρ ἥσκησαι πέπλοις. 326  
 Ιων τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κοσμούμεθ' ὦ δουλεύομεν.  
 Κρ. οὐδ' ἦιξας εἰς ἔρευναν ἐξευρεῖν γονάς;  
 Ιων ἔχω γὰρ οὐδέν, ὦ γύναι, τεκμήριον. 329  
 Κρ. τάλαινά σ' ἢ τεκοῦσ' ἄρ', ἥτις ἦν ποτε. 324  
 Ιων ἀδίκημά του γυναικὸς ἐγενόμην ἴσως. 325  
 Κρ. φεῦ·  
 πέπονθέ τις σῇ μητρὶ ταῦτ' ἄλλη γυνή. 330  
 Ιων τίς; εἰ πόνου μοι ξυλλάβοι, χαίροισιν ἄν.  
 Κρ. ἥς οὐνεκ' ἦλθον δεῦρο πρὶν πόσιν μολεῖν.  
 Ιων ποῖόν τι χρήζουσ'; ὡς ὑπουργήσω, γύναι.  
 Κρ. μάντευμα κρυπτὸν δεομένη Φοίβου μαθεῖν.  
 Ιων λέγοις ἄν' ἡμεῖς τᾶλλα προξενήσομεν. 335  
 Κρ. ἄκουε δὴ τὸν μῦθον· ἄλλ' αἰδούμεθα.  
 Ιων οὐ τᾶρα πράξεις οὐδέν· ἀργὸς ἢ θεός.  
 Κρ. Φοίβωι μιγῆναί φησί τις φίλων ἐμῶν.  
 Ιων Φοίβωι γυνή γεγῶσα; μὴ λέγ', ὦ ξένη.  
 Κρ. καὶ παῖδά γ' ἔτεκε τῷ θεῷ λάθραι πατρός. 340  
 Ιων οὐκ ἔστιν· ἀνδρὸς ἀδικίαν αἰσχύνεται.  
 Κρ. οὐ φησιν αὐτὴ· καὶ πέπονθεν ἄθλια.  
 Ιων τί χρῆμα δράσασ', εἰ θεῷ συνεζύγη;  
 Κρ. τὸν παῖδ' ὃν ἔτεκεν ἐξέθηκε δωμάτων.  
 Ιων ὁ δ' ἐκτεθεὶς παῖς ποῦ 'στιν; εἰσορᾷ φάος; 345  
 Κρ. οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς· ταῦτα καὶ μαντεύομαι.  
 Ιων εἰ δ' οὐκέτ' ἔστι, τίνι τρόπῳ διεφθάρη;  
 Κρ. θῆράς σφε τὸν δύστηνον ἐλπίζει κτανεῖν.  
 Ιων ποίῳ τόδ' ἔγνω χρωμένη τεκμηρίῳ;

319 ἢ δ' Musgrave: ἦδε L 324-5 verses moved after 329 by Herwerden, C. Jacoby 324 τεκοῦσ' ἄρ', ἥτις ἦν ποτε Porson: τεκοῦσ' ἢ τίς ποτ' ἦν ἄρα L 331 τίς; εἰ πόνου μοι ξυλλάβοι Yxem: τίς εἶπον εἴ μοι ξυλλάβη L 340 πατρός Stephanus: πάρος L 342 οὐ Seager: ὁ L 349 ἔγνω Brodaeus: ἔγνωσ L

- Κρ. ἐλθοῦς ἵν' αὐτὸν ἐξέθηκ' οὐχ ἡῦρ' ἔτι. 350  
 Ιω. ἦν δὲ σταλαγμὸς ἐν στίβῳ τις αἵματος;  
 Κρ. οὐ φησι· καίτοι πόλλ' ἐπεστράφη πέδον.  
 Ιων χρόνος δὲ τίς τῷ παιδί διαπεπραγμένῳ;  
 Κρ. σοὶ ταῦτόν ἦβης, εἴπερ ἦν, εἶχ' ἄν μέτρον. 354  
 Ιων τί δ' εἰ λάθραι νιν Φοῖβος ἐκτρέφει λαβών; 357  
 Κρ. τὰ κοινὰ χαίρων οὐ δίκαια δρᾷ μόνος. 358  
 Ιων ἀδικεῖ νυν ὁ θεός, ἡ τεκοῦσα δ' ἀθλία. 355  
 Κρ. οὐκ οὖν ἔτ' ἄλλον <γ> ὕστερον τίκτει γόνον. 356  
 Ιων οἴμοι· προσωιδὸς ἡ τύχη τῶμῳ πάθει. 359  
 Κρ. καὶ σ', ὦ ξέν', οἶμαι μητέρ' ἀθλίαν ποθεῖν. 360  
 Ιων ἃ μὴ μ' ἐπ' οἶκτον ἔξαγ' οὐ ἔλεήσμεθα.  
 Κρ. σιγῶ· πέραινε δ' ὦν σ' ἀνιστορῶ πέρι.  
 Ιων οἶσθ' οὖν ὁ κάμνει τοῦ λόγου μάλιστά σοι;  
 Κρ. τί δ' οὐκ ἐκείνῃ τῇ τάλαιπώρῳ νοσεῖ;  
 Ιων πῶς ὁ θεὸς ὁ λαθεῖν βούλεται μαντεύσεται; 365  
 Κρ. εἴπερ καθίζει τρίποδα κοινὸν Ἑλλάδος.  
 Ιων αἰσχύνεται τὸ πρᾶγμα· μὴ ἔξελεγχέ νιν.  
 Κρ. ἀλγύνεται δέ γ' ἡ παθοῦσα τῇ τύχῃ.  
 Ιων οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις σοι προφητεύσει τάδε.  
 ἐν τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῦ δώμασιν κακὸς φανεῖς 370  
 Φοῖβος δικαίως τὸν θεμιστεύοντά σοι  
 δράσειεν ἄν τι πῆμ'. ἀπαλλάσσου, γύναι·  
 τῷ γὰρ θεῷ τάναντί' οὐ μαντευτέον.  
 [ἐς γὰρ τοσοῦτον ἀμαθίας ἔλθοιμεν ἄν,  
 εἰ τοὺς θεοὺς ἄκοντας ἐκπονήσομεν 375  
 φράζειν ἃ μὴ θέλουσιν, ἢ προβωμίῳις  
 σφαγαῖσι μήλων ἢ δι' οἰωνῶν πτεροῖς.]  
 ἄν γὰρ βίαι σπεύδωμεν ἀκόντων θεῶν,  
 ἄκοντα κεκτήμεσθα τὰγάθ', ὦ γύναι·  
 ἃ δ' ἄν διδῶσ' ἐκόντες, ὠφελούμεθα. 380  
 Χο. πολλάι γε πολλοῖς εἰσι συμφοραὶ βροτῶν,  
 μορφαὶ δὲ διαφέρουσιν· ἓνα δ' ἄν εὐτυχῇ  
 μόλις ποτ' ἐξεύροι τις ἀνθρώπων βίον.

355–6 verses moved after 358 by Diggle 355 νυν Page: νιν L 356 <γ>  
 Badham 361 ἃ μὴ μ' ἐπ' οἶκτον Nauck (μὴ μὴ κτλ. already Boissonade): καὶ  
 μὴ γ' ἐπ' οἶκτόν μ' L 374–7 deleted by Holthoefer 375 ἄκοντας Brodaeus:  
 ἐκόντας L 379 ἄκοντα L: ἀνόνητα Stephanus 382 ἓνα δ' ἄν εὐτυχῇ Heath:  
 ἐν δ' ἄν εὐτυχῆς L

- Κρ. ὦ Φοῖβε, κάκεϊ κἀνθάδ' οὐ δίκαιος εἶ  
 ἐς τὴν ἀποῦσαν, ἧς πάρεισιν οἱ λόγοι· 385  
 ὅς γ' οὔτ' ἔσωσας τὸν σὸν ὃν σῶσαί σ' ἐχρῆν  
 οὔθ' ἱστορούσῃ μητρὶ μάντις ὦν ἐρεῖς,  
 ὥς, εἰ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἔστιν, ὀγκωθῇ τάφῳ,  
 εἰ δ' ἔστιν, ἔλθῃ μητρός εἰς ὄψιν ποτέ.  
 †ἀλλ' ἔαν χρή τάδ'†, εἰ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ 390  
 κωλυόμεσθα μὴ μαθεῖν ἅ βούλομαι.  
 ἄλλ', ὦ ξέν', εἰσορῶ γὰρ εὐγενῇ πόσιν  
 Ζοῦθον πέλας δὴ τόνδε, τὰς Τροφωνίου  
 λιπόντα θαλάμας, τοὺς λελεγμένους λόγους  
 σίγα πρὸς ἄνδρα, μὴ τιν' αἰσχύνῃ λάβω 395  
 διακονοῦσα κρυπτά, καὶ προβῇ λόγος  
 οὐχ ἥπερ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐξειλίσσομεν.  
 τὰ γὰρ γυναικῶν δυσχερῇ πρὸς ἄρσενας,  
 κὰν ταῖς κακαῖσιν ἀγαθαὶ μεμειγμένοι  
 μισούμεθ'· οὔτω δυστυχεῖς πεφύκαμεν. 400

## ΖΟΥΘΟΣ

- πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεὸς τῶν ἐμῶν προσφθεγμάτων  
 λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς χαιρέτω, σύ τ', ὦ γύναι.  
 μῶν χρόνιος ἐλθὼν σ' ἐξέπληξ' ὀρρωδίαι;  
 Κρ. οὐδέν γ'· ἀφίγμην δ' ἐς μέριμναν. ἀλλὰ μοι 405  
 λέξον, τί θέσπισμ' ἐκ Τροφωνίου φέρεις,  
 παίδων ὅπως νῶιν σπέρμα συγκραθήσεται;  
 Ζο. οὐκ ἠξίωσε τοῦ θεοῦ προλαμβάνειν  
 μαντεύμαθ'· ἐν δ' οὖν εἶπεν· οὐκ ἄπαιδά με  
 πρὸς οἶκον ἦξιν οὐδὲ σ' ἐκ χρηστηρίων.  
 Κρ. ὦ πότνια Φοίβου μήτερ, εἰ γὰρ αἰσίως 410  
 ἔλθοιμεν, ἅ τε νῶιν συμβόλαια πρόσθεν ἦν  
 ἐς παῖδα τὸν σὸν μεταπέσοι βελτίονα.  
 Ζο. ἔσται τάδ'· ἀλλὰ τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ;  
 Ἰων ἡμεῖς τά γ' ἔξω, τῶν ἔσω δ' ἄλλοις μέλει,  
 οἳ πλησίον θάσσουσι τρίποδος, ὦ ξένε, 415  
 Δελφῶν ἀριστῆς, οὓς ἐκλήρωσεν πάλος.

386 ὅς γ' οὔτ' Dobree: σ\* γ' οὐκ L<sup>pc</sup>: \* γ' οὐκ L<sup>ac</sup>: σύ γ' οὐκ Tr<sup>i</sup> 404 ἀφίγμην Badham:  
 ἀφίκου L 406 συγκραθήσεται Wakefield: συγκαθήσεται L 408 μαντεύμαθ'  
 Milton: μάντευμ' L δ' οὖν Seager: γοῦν L 416 πάλος Tr<sup>2</sup>: πάρος L

- Ζο. καλῶς ἔχω δὴ πάνθ' ὅσων ἐχρήζομεν.  
 στείχοιμ' ἂν εἴσω· καὶ γάρ, ὡς ἐγὼ κλύω,  
 χρηστήριον πέπτωκε τοῖς ἐπήλυσιν  
 κοινὸν πρὸ ναοῦ· βούλομαι δ' ἐν ἡμέραι 420  
 τῇιδ' (αἰσία γάρ) θεοῦ λαβεῖν μαντεύματα.  
 σὺ δ' ἄμφι βωμούς, ὦ γύναι, δαφνηφόρους  
 λαβοῦσα κλῶνας, εὐτέκνους εὐχου θεοῖς  
 χρησμούς μ' ἐνεγκεῖν ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος δόμων.  
 Κρ. ἔσται τάδ', ἔσται. Λοξίας δ', ἐὰν θέλη 425  
 νῦν ἀλλὰ τὰς πρὶν ἀναλαβεῖν ἀμαρτίας,  
 ἅπας μὲν οὐ γένοιτ' ἂν εἰς ἡμᾶς φίλος,  
 ὅσον δὲ χρήζει (θεὸς γάρ ἐστι) δέξομαι.
- Ιων τί ποτε λόγοισιν ἢ ξένη πρὸς τὸν θεὸν  
 κρυπτοῖσιν αἰεὶ λοιδοροῦσ' αἰνίσσεται; 430  
 ἦτοι φιλοῦσά γ' ἥς ὕπερ μαντεύεται,  
 ἦ καὶ τι σιγῶσ' ὧν σιωπᾶσθαι χρεών;  
 ἀτὰρ θυγατρὸς τῆς Ἑρεχθέως τί μοι  
 μέλει; προσήκει γ' οὐδέν. ἀλλὰ χρυσέαις  
 πρόχοισιν ἐλθὼν εἰς ἀπορραντήρια 435  
 δρόσον καθήσω. νουθετητέος δέ μοι  
 Φοῖβος, τί πάσχει· παρθένους βίαι γαμῶν  
 προδίδωσι; παῖδας ἐκτεκνούμενος λάθραι  
 θνήσκοντας ἀμελεῖ; μὴ σὺ γ' ἄλλ', ἐπεὶ κρατεῖς,  
 ἀρετὰς δίωκε. καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἂν βροτῶν 440  
 κακὸς πεφύκη, ζημιοῦσιν οἱ θεοί.  
 πῶς οὖν δίκαιον τοὺς νόμους ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς  
 γράψαντας αὐτοὺς ἀνομίαν ὀφλισκάνειν;  
 εἰ δ' (οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρήσομαι)  
 δίκας βιαίων δώσεται ἄνθρώποις γάμων 445  
 σὺ καὶ Ποσειδῶν Ζεὺς θ' ὅς οὐρανοῦ κρατεῖ,  
 ναοὺς τίνοντες ἀδικίας κενώσετε.  
 τὰς ἡδονὰς γὰρ τῆς προμηθείας πέρα  
 σπεύδοντες ἀδικεῖτ'. οὐκέτ' ἀνθρώπους κακοῦς

431 γ' ἥς ὕπερ μαντεύεται Victorius: γῆς ὕπερμαντεύεται L 434 προσήκει γ' οὐδέν  
 Reiske: προσήκει τοῦδ' L: προσήκε μ' οὐθέν ps.-Justin. *De mon.* 5 435 πρόχοισιν  
 p: πρόχουσιν L 438 ἐκτεκνούμενος ps.-Justin.: τεκνούμενος L 439 ἀμελεῖ  
 Barnes: ἀμέλει L and ps.-Justin. 440 ἂν ps.-Justin. and Stob. 1.3.5: ὧν L  
 441 πεφύκη ps.-Justin.: πεφύκει L: πέφυκε Stob. 443 ἀνομίαν L: ἀδικίας  
 ps.-Justin. and Clem. Alex. 444 λόγῳ ps.-Justin. and Clem. Alex.: λοιπῶ L  
 448 πέρα Conington: πέρας ps.-Justin.: πάρος L 449 κακοῦς ps.-Justin.: κακῶς L

- λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλὰ 450  
μιμούμεθ', ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδάσκοντας τάδε.
- Χο. σὲ τὰν ὠδίνων λοχιᾶν (στρ.  
ἀνειλείθουαν, ἐμὰν  
Ἀθάναν, ἱκετεύω,  
Προμηθεῖ Τιτᾶνι λοχευ- 455  
θεῖσαν κατ' ἀκροτάτας  
κορυφᾶς Διός, ὧ τμάκαιρα† Νίκα,  
μόλε Πύθιον οἶκον, Οὐ-  
λύμπου χρυσέων θαλάμων  
πταμένα πρὸς ἀγυιάς, 460  
Φοιβήιος ἔνθα γᾶς  
μεσόμφαλος ἐστία  
παρὰ χορευομένωι τρίποδι  
μαντεύματα κραίνει,  
σὺ καὶ παῖς ἅ Λατογενής, 465  
δύο θεαὶ δύο παρθένοι,  
κασίγνηται †σεμναὶ Φοίβου†.  
ἱκετεύσατε δ', ὧ κόραι,  
τὸ παλαιὸν Ἐρεχθέως  
γένος εὐτεκνίας χρονίου καθαροῖς 470  
μαντεύμασι κῦρσαι.
- ὑπερβαλλούσας γὰρ ἔχει (ἀντ.  
θνατοῖς εὐδαιμονίας  
ἀκίνητον ἀφορμάν,  
τέκνων οἷς ἂν καρποφόροι 475  
λάμπωσιν ἐν θαλάμοις  
πατρίοισι νεάνιδες ἦβαι,  
διαδέκτορα πλοῦτον ὥς  
ἔξοντες ἐκ πατέρων  
έτέροις ἐπὶ τέκνοις. 480  
ἀλκά τε γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς  
σύν τ' εὐτυχίαις φίλον

453 ἀνειλείθουαν Musgrave, from Hesychius: εἰλείθουαν L 457 πότνα Tr<sup>2</sup>, μόλε  
Page, Diggle 458-9 Οὐλύμπου Badham: Ὀλύμπου L 461 γᾶς Reiske: γᾶ L  
467 σεμνόταται Diggle, after Fritzsche (σεμνόταται) and Nauck (deleting Φοίβου)  
475 καρποφόροι Diggle: καρποτρόφοι L

δορί τε γᾶι πατρίαι φέρει  
 σωτήριον ἄλκάν.  
 ἔμοι μὲν πλούτου τε πάρος 485  
 βασιλικῶν τ' εἶεν θαλάμων  
 τροφαὶ κήδειοι κεδνῶν γε τέκνων†.  
 τὸν ἄπαιδα δ' ἀποστυγῶ  
 βίον, ᾧ τε δοκεῖ ψέγω·  
 μετὰ δὲ κτεάνων μετρίων βιοτᾶς 490  
 εὖπαιδος ἐχοίμαν.

ᾧ Πανὸς θακήματα καὶ (ἐπωιδ.  
 παραυλίζουσα πέτρα  
 μυχώδεσι Μακραῖς,  
 ἵνα χοροὺς στείβουσι ποδοῖν 495  
 Ἀγλαύρου κόραι τρίγονοι  
 στάδια χλοερὰ πρὸ Παλλάδος  
 ναῶν συρίγγων <θ'>  
 ὑπ' αἰόλας ἰαχᾶς  
 ὕμνοῦσ' ὅτ' ἀναλίοις 500  
 συρίζεις, ᾧ Πάν,  
 τοῖσι σοῖς ἐν ἄντροις,  
 ἵνα τεκοῦσά τις  
 παρθένος μελέα βρέφος 503bis  
 Φοίβωι πτανοῖς ἐξόρισεν  
 θοίναν θηρσί τε φοινίαν 505  
 δαῖτα, πικρῶν γάμων ὕβριν.  
 οὐτ' ἐπὶ κερκίσιν οὔτε λόγων φάτιν  
 ἄιον εὐτυχίας μετέχειν θεόθεν τέκνα θνατοῖς.

Ιων πρόσπολοι γυναῖκες, αἱ τῶνδ' ἀμφὶ κρηπίδας δόμων 510  
 θυοδόκων φρούρημ' ἔχουσαι δεσπότην φυλάσσετε,  
 ἐκλέλοιπ' ἤδη τὸν ἱερὸν τρίποδα καὶ χρηστήριον  
 Ζοῦθος ἧ μίμνει κατ' οἶκον ἱστορῶν ἀπαιδίαν;

484 ἄλκάν L: αἴγλαν Herwerden 487 κηδείων (or κήδειοι) τεκέων, with  
 κεδνῶν γε deleted, Diggle, after Fritzsche (κηδείων τεκέων) and Tr<sup>2</sup> (deleting  
 γε) 494 μυχώδεσι Tyrwhitt: μυχοὶ δαισι L 498 <θ'> Page 500 ὕμνοῦσ'  
 Page: ὕμνων L 500–1 ὅτ' ἀναλίοις συρίζεις Herwerden: ὅταν αὐλίοις συρίζης L  
 507 λόγων Badham: λόγοις L 511 ἔχουσαι Stephanus: ἔχοντα L δεσπότην  
 Richards: δεσπότην L

- Χο. ἐν δόμοις ἔστ', ὦ ξέν'· οὐπω δῶμ' ὑπερβαίνει τόδε.  
ὥς δ' ἐπ' ἐξόδοισιν ὄντος, τῶνδ' ἀκούομεν πυλῶν 515  
δοῦπον, ἐξιόντα τ' ἤδη δεσπότην ὄραν πάρα.
- Ζο. ὦ τέκνον, χαῖρ'· ἡ γὰρ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λόγου πρέπουσά μοι.  
Ιων χαίρομεν· σὺ δ' εὖ φρόνει γε, καὶ δὴ δ' ὄντ' εὖ πράξομεν.  
Ζο. δὸς χερὸς φίλημά μοι σῆς σώματός τ' ἀμφιπτυχάς.  
Ιων εὖ φρονεῖς μέν; ἢ σ' ἔμηνεν θεοῦ τις, ὦ ξέने, βλάβη; 520  
Ζο. οὐ φρονῶ, τὰ φίλταθ' εὐρῶν εἰ φιλεῖν ἐφίεμαι;  
Ιων παῦε, μὴ ψαύσας τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα ῥήξῃς χερί.  
Ζο. ἄψομαι· κοῦ ῥυσιάζω, τὰμὰ δ' εὐρίσκω φίλα.  
Ιων οὐκ ἀπαλλάξῃ, πρὶν εἴσω τόξα πλευμόνων λαβεῖν;  
Ζο. ὥς τί δὴ φεύγεις με σαυτοῦ γνωρίσαι τὰ φίλτατα; 525  
Ιων οὐ φιλῶ φρενοῦν ἀμούσους καὶ μεμνηότας ξένους.  
Ζο. κτεῖνε καὶ πίμπρη· πατρός γάρ, ἦν κτάνης, ἔσῃ φονεύς.  
Ιων ποῦ δέ μοι πατήρ σύ; ταῦτ' οὖν οὐ γέλως κλυεῖν ἐμοί;  
Ζο. οὐ· τρέχων ὁ μῦθος ἄν σοι τὰμὰ σημῆνειεν ἄν.  
Ιων καὶ τί μοι λέξεις; Ζο. πατήρ σός εἰμι καὶ σὺ παῖς ἐμός. 530  
Ιων τίς λέγει τὰδ'; Ζο. ὅς σ' ἔθρεπεν ὄντα Λοξίας ἐμόν.  
Ιων μαρτυρεῖς σαυτῶι. Ζο. τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γ' ἐκμαθὼν χρηστήρια.  
Ιων ἐσφάλῃς αἴνιγμ' ἀκούσας. Ζο. οὐκ ἄρ' ὄρθ' ἀκούομεν.  
Ιων ὁ δὲ λόγος τίς ἐστι Φοίβου; Ζο. τὸν συναντήσαντά μοι . . .  
Ιων τίνα συνάντησιν; Ζο. δόμων τῶνδ' ἐξιόντι τοῦ θεοῦ . . . 535  
Ιων συμφορᾶς τίνος κυρῆσαι; Ζο. παῖδ' ἐμόν πεφυκέναι.  
Ιων σὸν γεγῶτ' ἢ δῶρον ἄλλων; Ζο. δῶρον, ὄντα δ' ἐξ ἐμοῦ.  
Ιων πρῶτα δῆτ' ἐμοὶ ξυνάπτεις πόδα σόν; Ζο. οὐκ ἄλλωι, τέκνον.  
Ιων ἢ τύχη πόθεν ποθ' ἦκει; Ζο. δύο μίαν θαυμάζομεν.  
Ιων ἐκ τίνος δέ σοι πέφυκα μητρός; Ζο. οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι. 540  
Ιων οὐδὲ Φοῖβος εἶπε; Ζο. τερφθεῖς τοῦτο, κεῖν' οὐκ ἡρόμην.  
Ιων γῆς ἄρ' ἐκπέφυκα μητρός; Ζο. οὐ πέδον τίκτει τέκνα.  
Ιων πῶς ἄν οὖν εἶην σός; Ζο. οὐκ οἶδ', ἀναφέρω δ' ἐς τὸν θεόν.  
Ιων φέρε λόγων ἀψώμεθ' ἄλλων. Ζο. τοῦτ' ἄμεινον, ὦ τέκνον.  
Ιων ἦλθες ἐς νόθον τι λέκτρον; Ζο. μωρίαι γε τοῦ νέου. 545  
Ιων πρὶν κόρην λαβεῖν Ἐρεχθέως; Ζο. οὐ γὰρ ὕστερόν γε πω.

521 οὐ φρονῶ Jacobs: σωφρονῶ L φιλεῖν Tr<sup>2</sup>: φυγεῖν L 525 γνωρίσαι Page:  
γνωρίσας L 528 ἐμοί L<sup>sl</sup>: ἐμοῦ L 537 ἄλλων Seager: ἄλλως L δ' Musgrave:  
τ' L<sup>ac</sup>, apparently: σ' L<sup>pc</sup> 540 ἐκ Bothe: ἔα L 544 τοῦτ' Herwerden: ταῦτ' L



- Ιων ἄρα δῆτ' ἐκεῖ μ' ἔφυσας; Ζο. τῶι χρόνῳ γε συντρέχει.  
 Ιων κᾶϊτα πῶς ἀφικόμεσθα δεῦρο . . . Ζο. τοῦτ' ἀμηχανῶ.  
 Ιων διὰ μακρᾶς ἐλθὼν κελεύθου; Ζο. τοῦτο κᾶμ' ἀπαιολᾷ.  
 Ιων Πυθίαν δ' ἦλθες πέτραν πρίν; Ζο. ἐς φανάς γε Βακχίου. 550  
 Ιων προξένων δ' ἔν του κατέσχε; Ζο. ὅς με Δελφίσιν κόραις  
 Ιων ἐθιάσευσ', ἥ πῶς τάδ' αὐδᾷς; Ζο. Μαινάσιν γε Βακχίου.  
 Ιων ἔμφρον' ἥ κάτοινον ὄντα; Ζο. Βακχίου πρὸς ἡδοναῖς.  
 Ιων τοῦτ' ἐκεῖν'· ἴν' ἐσπάρημεν . . . Ζο. ὁ πότμος ἐξηῦρεν, τέκνον.  
 Ιων πῶς δ' ἀφικόμεσθα ναοὺς; Ζο. ἔκβολον κόρης ἴσως. 555  
 Ιων ἐκπεφεύγαμεν τὸ δοῦλον. Ζο. πατέρα νυν δέχου, τέκνον.  
 Ιων τῶι θεῷ γοῦν οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός. Ζο. εὖ φρονεῖς ἄρα.  
 Ιων καὶ τί βουλόμεσθά γ' ἄλλο . . . Ζο. νῦν ὁρᾷς ἅ χρή σ' ὁρᾶν.  
 Ιων ἡ Διὸς παιδὸς γενέσθαι παῖς; Ζο. ὁ σοί γε γίγνεται.  
 Ιων ἡ θίγω δῆθ' ὅς μ' ἔφυσας; Ζο. πιθόμενός γε τῶι θεῷ. 560  
 Ιων χαῖρέ μοι, πάτερ Ζο. φίλον γε φθέγμ' ἐδεξάμην τόδε.  
 Ιων ἡμέρα θ' ἡ νῦν παροῦσα. Ζο. μακάριόν γ' ἔθηκέ με.  
 Ιων ὦ φίλη μῆτερ, πότ' ἄρα καὶ σὸν ὄψομαι δέμας;  
 νῦν ποθῶ σε μᾶλλον ἢ πρίν, ἥτις εἴ ποτ', εἰσιδεῖν.  
 ἀλλ' ἴσως τέθνηκας, ἡμεῖς δ' οὐδ' ὄναρ δυναίμεθ' ἄν. 565  
 Χο. κοιναὶ μὲν ἡμῖν δωμάτων εὐπραξίαι·  
 ὅμως δὲ καὶ δέσποιναν ἐς τέκν' εὐτυχεῖν  
 ἐβουλόμην ἂν τοὺς τ' Ἐρεχθέως δόμους.  
 Ζο. ὦ τέκνον, ἐς μὲν σὴν ἀνεύρεσιν θεὸς  
 ὀρθῶς ἔκρανε, καὶ συνῆψ' ἐμοί τε σὲ 570  
 σύ τ' αὖ τὰ φίλταθ' ἡῦρες οὐκ εἰδὼς πάρος.  
 οἱ δ' ἥϊξας ὀρθῶς, τοῦτο κᾶμ' ἔχει πόθος,  
 ὅπως σύ τ', ὦ παῖ, μητέρ' εὐρήσεις σέθεν  
 ἐγὼ θ' ὁποίας μοι γυναικὸς ἐξέφυς.  
 χρόνῳ δὲ δόντες ταῦτ' ἴσως εὔροιμεν ἄν. 575  
 ἀλλ' ἐκλιπὼν θεοῦ δάπεδ' ἀλητείαν τε σὴν  
 ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας στεῖχε κοινόφρων πατρί  
 οὐ σ' ὄλβιον μὲν σκῆπτρον ἀναμένει πατρός,  
 πολὺς δὲ πλοῦτος· οὐδὲ θάτερον νοσῶν

548 τοῦτ' Hermann: ταῦτ' L 549 ἀπαιολᾷ Musgrave: ἀπαιολεῖ L 551 του  
 L. Dindorf: τῶ L 552 γε Musgrave: τε L 553 κάτοινον Hervag.<sup>2</sup>: κάτοικον L  
 554 ἐκεῖν' ἴν' Elmsley: ἐκεῖ νῦν L πότμος Scaliger: πότμος σ' L verse punctuated  
 by Dobree 559 ὁ Scaliger: ἡ L 560 ὅς μ' ἔφυσας Bothe: οἱ μ' ἔφυσαν L  
 565 οὐδ' ὄναρ δυναίμεθ' ἄν Harry, Parmentier: οὐδὲν ἄρ δυναίμεθα L 572 οἱ  
 Herwerden: ὁ L

δυοῖν κεκλήσῃ δυσγενὴς πένης θ' ἅμα, 580  
 ἀλλ' εὐγενὴς τε καὶ πολυκτῆμων βίου.  
 σιγαῖς; τί πρὸς γῆν ὄμμα σὸν βαλὼν ἔχεις  
 ἐς φροντίδας τ' ἀπῆλθες, ἐκ δὲ χαρμονῆς  
 πάλιν μεταστὰς δεῖμα προσβάλλεις πατρί;  
 ἰων οὐ ταῦτόν εἶδος φαίνεται τῶν πραγμάτων 585  
 πρόσωθεν ὄντων ἐγγύθεν θ' ὀρωμένων.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν συμφορὰν ἀσπάζομαι,  
 πατέρα σ' ἀνευρών' ὦν δὲ γιγνώσκω, πάτερ,  
 ἄκουσον. εἶναί φασι τὰς αὐτόχθονας  
 κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας οὐκ ἐπείσακτον γένος, 590  
 ἵν' ἐσπεσοῦμαι δύο νόσω κεκτημένος,  
 πατρός τ' ἐπακτοῦ καὐτὸς ὦν νοθαγενής.  
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἔχων τοῦνιδος ἀσθενὴς μένων  
 <καὐτὸς τὸ> μηδὲν κοῦδένων κεκλήσομαι.  
 ἦν δ' ἐς τὸ πρῶτον πόλεος ὀρμηθεῖς ζυγὸν 595  
 ζητῶ τις εἶναι, τῶν μὲν ἀδυνάτων ὑπο  
 μισησόμεσθα· λυπρὰ γὰρ τὰ κρείσσονα.  
 ὅσοι δέ, χρηστοὶ δυνάμενοί τ', ὄντες σοφοί,  
 σιγῶσι κοῦ σπεύδουσιν ἐς τὰ πράγματα,  
 γέλωτ' ἐν αὐτοῖς μωρίαν τε λήψομαι 600  
 οὐχ ἡσυχάζων ἐν πόλει φόβου πλέαι.  
 τῶν δ' αὖ †λογίων τε† χρωμένων τε τῇ πόλει  
 ἐς ἀξίωμα βὰς πλεον φρουρήσομαι  
 ψήφοισιν. οὕτω γὰρ τάδ', ὦ πάτερ, φιλεῖ·  
 οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἔχουσι κάξιώματα 605  
 τοῖς ἀνθαμίλλοις εἰσὶ πολεμιώτατοι.  
 ἐλθὼν δ' ἐς οἶκον ἀλλότριον ἔπηλυσ ὦν  
 γυναικὰ θ' ὥς ἄτεκνον, ἥ κοινουμένη  
 τὰς συμφοράς σοι πρόσθεν ἀπολαχοῦσα νῦν  
 αὐτὴ καθ' αὐτὴν τὴν τύχην οἴσει πικρῶς, 610  
 πῶς οὐχ ὑπ' αὐτῆς εἰκότως μισήσομαι,  
 ὅταν παραστῶ σοὶ μὲν ἐγγύθεν ποδός,  
 ἥ δ' οὔσ' ἄτεκνος τὰ σὰ φίλ' εἰσορᾷ πικρῶς,

583 τ' Dindorf: δ' L    585 ταῦτόν εἶδος Scaliger: ταῦτ' (τὸ αὐτὸ L<sup>sl</sup>) ὄνειδος L  
 588 πάτερ Dobree: πέρι L    593 μένων Musgrave: μὲν ὦν L    594 <καὐτὸς τὸ>  
 μηδὲν κοῦδένων Seidler (αὐτὸς Badham, τὸ already Scaliger): μηδὲν καὶ οὐδὲν ὦν  
 L    598 ὄντες Herwerden: εἶναι L    602 λεγόντων Schaefer    605 οἱ . . .  
 ἔχουσι κάξιώματα L: οἱ . . . ἔχοντες ἀξιώμα τε Stob. 4.4.4    610 αὐτὴ Ald.: αὐτὴν L  
 611 πῶς Canter: πῶς δ' L

καῖτ' ἢ προδοὺς σύ μ' ἐς δάμαρτα σὴν βλέπῃς  
 ἢ τὰμὰ τιμῶν δῶμα συγχέας ἔχῃς; 615  
 ὅσας σφαγὰς δὴ φαρμάκων <τε> θανασίμων  
 γυναιῖκες ἡῦρον ἀνδράσιν διαφθοράς.  
 ἄλλως τε τὴν σὴν ἄλοχον οἰκτίρω, πάτερ,  
 ἄπαιδα γηράσκουσιν· οὐ γὰρ ἀξία  
 πατέρων ἀπ' ἐσθλῶν οὔσ' ἀπαιδίαι νοσεῖν. 620  
 τυραννίδος δὲ τῆς μάτην αἰνουμένης  
 τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον ἡδύ, τὰν δόμοισι δὲ  
 λυπηρά· τίς γὰρ μακάριος, τίς εὐτυχής,  
 ὅστις δεδοικῶς καὶ περιβλέπων βίαν  
 αἰῶνα τείνει; δημότης ἂν εὐτυχής 625  
 ζῆν ἂν θέλοιμι μᾶλλον ἢ τύραννος ὦν,  
 ὦι τοὺς πονηροὺς ἡδονὴ φίλους ἔχειν,  
 ἐσθλοὺς δὲ μισεῖ κατθανεῖν φοβούμενος.  
 εἴποισ ἂν ὥς ὁ χρυσὸς ἐκνικᾷ τάδε,  
 πλουτεῖν τε τερπνόν· οὐ φιλῶ ψόγους κλύειν 630  
 ἐν χερσὶ σῶιζων ὄλβον οὐδ' ἔχειν πόνους·  
 εἴη γ' ἐμοὶ <μὲν> μέτρια μὴ λυπουμενῶι.  
 ἃ δ' ἐνθάδ' εἶχον ἀγάθ' ἄκουσόν μου, πάτερ·  
 τὴν φιλτάτην μὲν πρῶτον ἀνθρώποις σχολὴν  
 ὄχλον τε μέτριον, οὐδέ μ' ἐξέπληξ' ὁδοῦ 635  
 πονηρὸς οὐδεῖς· κεῖνο δ' οὐκ ἀνασχετόν,  
 εἴκειν ὁδοῦ χαλῶντα τοῖς κακίοισιν.  
 θεῶν δ' ἐν εὐχαῖς ἢ λόγοισιν ἢ βροτῶν  
 ὑπηρετῶν χαίρουσιν οὐ γοωμένοις.  
 καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐξέπεμπον, οἱ δ' ἦκον ξένοι, 640  
 ὥσθ' ἡδὺς αἰεὶ καινὸς ἐν καινοῖσιν ἦ.  
 ὃ δ' εὐκτὸν ἀνθρώποισι, κἂν ἄκουσιν ἦι,  
 δίκαιον εἶναί μ' ὁ νόμος ἢ φύσις θ' ἅμα  
 παρεῖχε τῶι θεῶι. ταῦτα συννοούμενος  
 κρείσσω νομίζω τὰνθάδ' ἢ τὰκεῖ, πάτερ. 645  
 ἕα δέ μ' αὐτοῦ ζῆν· ἴση γὰρ ἡ χάρις

616 <τε> Heath, Tyrwhitt    621 μάτην αἰνουμένης L: πάλαι θρυλουμένης Stob.  
 4.8.2    624 περιβλέπων Stob.: παραβλέπων L βίαν Stephanus: βιον L and  
 Stob.    625 δημότης Stob.: δημότης δ' L    630 ψόγους mentioned by Brodaeus:  
 ψόφους L    632 <μὲν> Brubachius    634 ἀνθρώποις Dobree: ἀνθρώπων L  
 638 λόγοισιν ἢ Musgrave: γόοισιν ἢ L    641 ἐν Scaliger: ὦν L    646 δέ μ'  
 αὐτοῦ Badham: δ' ἐμαυτῶ L

- μεγάλοισι χαίρειν σμικρά θ' ἡδέως ἔχειν.
- Χο. καλῶς ἔλεξας, εἵπερ οὐς ἐγὼ φιλῶ  
ἐν τοῖσι σοῖσιν εὐτυχήσουσιν φίλοις.
- Ξο. παῦσαι λόγων τῶνδ', εὐτυχεῖν δ' ἐπίστασο· 650  
θέλω γὰρ οὐπὲρ σ' ἡῦρον ἄρξασθαι, τέκνον,  
κοινῆς τραπέζης, δαῖτα πρὸς κοινὴν πεσών,  
θῦσαι θ' ἅ σου πρὶν γενέθλι' οὐκ ἐθύσαμεν.  
καὶ νῦν μὲν ὥς δὴ ξένον ἄγων σ' ἐφέστιον  
δείπνοισι τέρψω, τῆς δ' Ἀθηναίων χθονὸς 655  
ἄξω θεατὴν δῆθεν, οὐχ ὥς ὄντ' ἐμόν.  
καὶ γὰρ γυναῖκα τὴν ἐμήν οὐ βούλομαι  
λυπεῖν ἄτεκνον οὔσαν αὐτὸς εὐτυχῶν.  
χρόνῳ δὲ καιρὸν λαμβάνων προσάξομαι  
δάμαρτ' ἔαν σε σκῆπτρα τᾶμ' ἔχειν χθονός. 660  
Ἴωνα δ' ὀνομάζω σε τῇ τύχῃ πρέπον,  
όθούνεκ' ἀδύτων ἐξιόντι μοι θεοῦ  
ἶχνος συνῆψας πρῶτος. ἀλλὰ τῶν φίλων  
πλήρωμ' ἀθροίσας βουθύτῳ σὺν ἡδονῇ  
πρόσειπε, μέλλων Δελφίδ' ἐκλιπεῖν πόλιν. 665  
ὕμιν δὲ σιγᾶν, δμῳίδες, λέγω τάδε,  
ἢ θάνατον εἰπούσαισι πρὸς δάμαρτ' ἐμήν.
- Ιων στεῖχοιμ' ἄν. ἐν δὲ τῆς τύχης ἄπεστί μοι·  
εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦτις μ' ἔτεκεν εὐρήσω, πάτερ,  
ἀβίωτον ἡμῖν. εἰ δ' ἐπεύξασθαι χρεών, 670  
ἐκ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν μ' ἡ τεκοῦσ' εἴη γυνή,  
ὥς μοι γένηται μητρόθεν παρρησία.  
καθαρὰν γὰρ ἦν τις ἐς πόλιν πέσῃ ξένος,  
κἂν τοῖς λόγοισιν ἄστὸς ᾦ, τό γε στόμα  
δοῦλον πέπαται κούκ ἔχει παρρησίαν. 675
- Χο. ὀρῶ δάκρυα καὶ πενθίμους (στρ.  
† ἄλλας γε† στεναγμάτων τ' ἐσβολάς,  
ὅταν ἐμὰ τύραννος εὐπαιδίαν  
πόσιν ἔχοντ' εἰδῇ,  
αὐτὴ δ' ἄπαις ᾗ καὶ λελειμμένη τέκνων. 680

656 οὐχ ὥς Badham: ὥς οὐκ L    677 ἄλλας γε Tr<sup>a</sup> (deleting τ' later in the verse): [L]: ἀλαλαγὰς Hermann: perhaps αὐτὰς, ὀδυρμοὺς, or ἰυγμοὺς στεναγμάτων Musgrave: στεναγμῶν L    679 εἰδῇ Wakefield: ἦδη L

- τίν', ὦ παῖ πρόμαντι Λατοῦς, ἔχρη-  
 σας ὕμνωιδίαν;  
 πόθεν ὁ παῖς ὅδ' ἀμφὶ ναοὺς σέθεν  
 τρόφιμος ἐξέβα; γυναικῶν τίνος;  
 οὐ γάρ με σαίνει θέσφατα μή τιν' ἔχῃ δόλον. 685-7  
 δειμαίνω συμφοράν,  
 ἐφ' ὅ<τι> ποτὲ βάσεται.  
 ἄτοπος ἄτοπα γὰρ παραδίδωσί μοι 690  
 τάδε θεοῦ φήμα.  
 ἔχει δόλον τέχνην θ' ὁ παῖς  
 ἄλλων τραφεῖς ἐξ αἱμάτων.  
 τίς οὐ τάδε ξυνοίσεται;
- φίλοι, πότερ' ἐμᾶι δεσποῖναι (ἀντ.  
 τάδε τορῶς ἐς οὓς γεγωνήσομεν 696  
 †πόσιν ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντ' ἔχουσ' ἐλπίδων  
 μέτοχος ἦν τλάμων†;  
 νῦν δ' ἡ μὲν ἔρρει συμφοραῖς, ὁ δ' εὐτυχεῖ,  
 πολὺν ἐσπεσοῦσα γῆρας, πόσις δ' 700  
 ἀτίετος φίλων.  
 μέλεος, ὃς θυραῖος ἐλθὼν δόμους  
 μέγαν ἐς ὄλβον οὐκ ἴσωσεν τύχας. 703-4  
 ὄλοιτ' ὄλοιτο πότνιαν ἐξαπαφῶν ἐμάν,  
 705  
 καὶ θεοῖσιν μὴ τύχοι  
 καλλίφλογα πελανὸν ἐπὶ  
 πυρὶ καθαγνίσας· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν εἴσεται  
 < ς ς ς ς ς ς  
 ς – > τυραννίδος φίλα. 710  
 ἤδη πέλας δείπνων κυρεῖ  
 παῖς καὶ πατὴρ νέος νέων.
- ἰὼ δειράδες Παρνασσοῦ πέτρας 713-4 (ἐπωιδ.  
 ἔχουσαι σκόπελον οὐράνιον θ' ἔδραν, 715  
 ἵνα Βάκχιος ἀμφιπύρους ἀνέχων πεύκας 716-17  
 λαιψηρὰ πηδᾶ νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα σὺν Βάκχαις,

689 <τι> Fix 691 τάδε θεοῦ φήμα Nauck: τόδε τ' εὐφημα L 692 τέχνην  
 Schoemann: τύχαν L 704 ἴσωσεν Wakefield: ἔσωσε L τύχας Heath: τύχης L  
 710 <τάχ' ὅσον ἀρχαίας ἔφυν> Gibert, after Hermann (ὅσον and ἀρχαίας) and  
 Grégoire (ἔφυν) 711 πέλας Seidler: πελάσας L 713 ἰὼ Badham: ἵνα L

- μή <τί> ποτ' εἰς ἐμὴν πόλιν ἵκοιθ' ὁ παῖς,  
 νέαν δ' ἀμέραν ἀπολιπὼν θάνοι. 720  
 στεγομένα γὰρ ἂν πόλις ἔχοι σκῆψιν  
 ξενικὸν ἐσβολὰν  
 †άλίσας† ὁ πάρος ἀρχαγὸς ὦν  
 Ἐρεχθεὺς ἄναξ.
- Κρ. ὦ πρέσβυ παιδαγῶγ' Ἐρεχθέως πατρός 725  
 τοῦμοῦ ποτ' ὦν τόθ' ἡνίκ' ἦν ἔτ' ἐν φάει,  
 ἔπαιρε σαυτὸν πρὸς θεοῦ χρηστήρια,  
 ὥς μοι συνησθήις, εἴ τι Λοξίας ἄναξ  
 θέσπισμα παίδων ἐς γονὰς ἐφθέγξατο.  
 σὺν τοῖς φίλοις γὰρ ἡδὺ μὲν πράσσειν καλῶς· 730  
 ὃ μὴ γένοιτο δ', εἴ τι τυγχάνοι κακόν,  
 ἐς ὄμματ' εὖνου φωτὸς ἐμβλέψαι γλυκύ.  
 ἐγὼ δέ σ', ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ πατέρ' ἐμόν ποτε,  
 δέσποιν' ὅμως οὔσ' ἀντικηδεύω πατρός.

## ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΗΣ

- ὦ θύγατερ, ἄξι' ἀξίων γεννητόρων 735  
 ἦθη φυλάσσεις κοῦ καταισχύνας' ἔχεις  
 τοὺς σοὺς, παλαιῶν ἐκγόνους αὐτοχθόνων.  
 ἔλχ' ἔλκε πρὸς μέλαθρα καὶ κόμιζέ με.  
 αἰπείνά μοι μαντεῖα τοῦ γήρως δέ μοι  
 συνεκπονοῦσα κῶλον ἱατρὸς γενοῦ. 740
- Κρ. ἔπου νυν' ἵχνος δ' ἐκφύλασσ' ὅπου τίθης.  
 Πρ. ἰδοῦ·  
 τὸ τοῦ ποδὸς μὲν βραδύ, τὸ τοῦ δὲ νοῦ ταχύ.  
 Κρ. βάκτρῳ δ' ἐρείδου· περιφερὴς στίβος χθονός.  
 Πρ. καὶ τοῦτο τυφλόν, ὅταν ἐγὼ βλέπω βραχύ.  
 Κρ. ὀρθῶς ἔλεξας· ἀλλὰ μὴ παρῆις κόπῳι. 745  
 Πρ. οὐκουν ἐκὼν γε· τοῦ δ' ἀπόντος οὐ κρατῶ.

719 <τί> ποτ' Hermann: ποθ' L 721 στεγομένα Grégoire: στενομένα L 723 ἄλις  
 ἐσάγαγ' or ἄλις ἐσώικισ' Gibert, after Scaliger (ἄλις) and Willink (ἔασεν) 726 ὦν  
 τόθ' Wecklein: ὄντος L 731 ὃ Stephanus: ἄ L 732 ἐμβλέψαι (or ἐμβλέπειν  
 or ἐμβλέψει) testimonia: εἰσβλέψαι L 737 παλαιῶν . . . αὐτοχθόνων Jackson:  
 παλαιούς . . . αὐτόχθονας L 739 μοι Barnes: δέ μοι L 743 περιφερὴς στίβος  
 Diggle: περιφερῇ στίβον L 745 μὴ παρῆις κόπῳι Tyrwhitt (πάρες κόπῳι) and  
 Paley: μὴ ἰπάρεσκέ πῳ L 746 ἀπόντος Reiske: ἄκοντος L

- Κρ. γυναῖκες, ἰστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ κερκίδος  
 δούλευμα πιστόν, τίνα τύχην λαβὼν πόσις  
 βέβηκε παίδων, ὧνπερ οὕνεχ' ἤκομεν;  
 σημήνατ'· εἰ γὰρ ἀγαθὰ μοι μηνύσετε, 750  
 οὐκ εἰς ἀπίστους δεσπότης βαλεῖς χαράν.
- Χο. ἰὼ δαῖμον.
- Κρ. τὸ φροῖμιον μὲν τῶν λόγων οὐκ εὐτυχές.
- Χο. ἰὼ τλᾶμον.
- Κρ. ἀλλ' ἦ τι θεσφάτοισι δεσποτῶν νοσεῖ; 755
- Χο. εἰέν· τί δρῶμεν θάνατος ὧν κεῖται πέρι;
- Κρ. τίς ἦδε μοῦσα χῶ φόβος τίνων πέρι;
- Χο. εἴπωμεν ἢ σιγῶμεν ἢ τί δράσομεν;
- Κρ. εἴφ'· ὥς ἔχεις γε συμφορὰν τιν' εἰς ἐμέ.
- Χο. εἰρήσεται τοι, κεῖ θανεῖν μέλλω διπλῆι. 760  
 οὐκ ἔστι σοι, δέσποιν', ἐπ' ἀγκάλαις λαβεῖν  
 τέκν' οὐδὲ μαστῶι σῶι προσαρμόσαι ποτέ.
- Κρ. ὦμοι θάνοιμι.
- Πρ. θύγατερ. Κρ. ὦ τάλαιν'  
 ἐγὼ συμφορᾶς, ἔλαβον ἔπαθον ἄχος  
 ἀβίοτον, φίλαι. 764bis  
 διοιχόμεσθα. Πρ. τέκνον. Κρ. αἰαῖ αἰαῖ·  
 διανταῖος ἔτυπεν ὀδύνα με πλευ-  
 μόνων τῶνδ' ἔσω. 765-6
- Πρ. μήπω στενάξῃς Κρ. ἀλλὰ πάρεισι γόοι.
- Πρ. πρὶν ἂν μάθωμεν Κρ. ἀγγελίαν τίνα μοι; 770
- Πρ. εἰ ταῦτ' ἀπράσσω δεσπότης τῆς συμφορᾶς  
 κοινωνός ἐστιν ἢ μόνη σὺ δυστυχεῖς.
- Χο. κείνῳ μὲν, ὦ γεραιέ, παῖδα Λοξίας  
 ἔδωκεν, ἰδίαι δ' εὐτυχεῖ ταύτης δίχα. 775
- Κρ. τόδ' ἐπὶ τῷδε κακὸν ἄκρον ἔλακες <ἔλακες>  
 ἄχος ἐμοὶ στένειν.
- Πρ. πότερα δὲ φῦναι δεῖ γυναικὸς ἔκ τινος  
 τὸν παῖδ' ὃν εἶπας ἢ γεγῶτ' ἐθέσπισεν;
- Χο. ἦδη πεφυκότ' ἐκτελῇ νεανίαν 780  
 δίδωσιν αὐτῷ Λοξίας· παρῇ δ' ἐγώ.

755 ἀλλ' ἦ τι Scaliger: ἀλλὰ τί L νοσεῖ G. Schmid: νοσῶ L 762 ποτέ Jacobs: τάδε  
 L 764 ἀβίοτον Seidler: βίοτον ὦ L 776 <ἔλακες> Seidler 778 δὲ φῦναι  
 δεῖ Scaliger: διαφῦναι δὴ L

- Κρ. πῶς φήις; †ἄφατον ἄφατον† ἀναύδητον 782-3  
 λόγον ἐμοὶ θροεῖς.
- Πρ. κᾶμοιγε. πῶς δ' ὁ χρησμός ἐκπεραίνεται 785  
 σαφέστερόν μοι φράζε χῶστις ἔσθ' ὁ παῖς.
- Χο. ὅτῳ ξυναντήσειεν ἐκ θεοῦ συθεῖς  
 πρώτῳ πόσις σός, παῖδ' ἔδωκ' αὐτῷ θεός.
- Κρ. ὁτοτοτοῖ· τὸν ἐμὸν ἄτεκνον ἄτεκνον ἔλακ' 790  
 ἄρα βίοτον, ἐρημῖαι δ' ὀρφανούς  
 δόμους οἰκήσω.
- Πρ. τίς οὖν ἐχρήσθη; τῷ συνῆψ' ἵχνος ποδός  
 πόσις ταλαίνης; πῶς δὲ ποῦ νιν εἰσιδών;
- Χο. οἶσθ', ὦ φίλη δέσποινα, τὸν νεανίαν 795  
 ὅς τόνδ' ἔσαιρε ναόν; οὗτός ἐσθ' ὁ παῖς.
- Κρ. ἂν' ὑγρόν ἀμπταῖν αἰθέρα πόρσω γαί- 796-7  
 ας Ἑλλανίας ἀστέρας ἐσπέρους,  
 οἶον οἶον ἄλγος ἔπαθον, φίλαι.
- Πρ. ὄνομα δὲ ποῖον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει πατήρ; 800  
 οἶσθ', ἥ σιωπῇ τοῦτ' ἀκύρωτον μένει;
- Χο. Ἰῶν', ἐπείπερ πρῶτος ἦντησεν πατρί·  
 μητρός δ' ὁποίας ἐστὶν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι.  
 φροῦδος δ', ἴν' εἰδῆς πάντα τὰπ' ἐμοῦ, γέρον,  
 παιδὸς προθύσων ξένια καὶ γενέθλια 805  
 σκηναὺς ἐς ἱεράς τῆσδε λαθραίως πόσις,  
 κοινὴν ξυνάψων δαῖτα παιδὶ τῷ νέῳ.
- Πρ. δέσποινα, προδεδόμεσθα (σὺν γὰρ σοὶ νοσῶ)  
 τοῦ σοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρὸς καὶ μεμηχανημένως  
 ὑβριζόμεσθα δωμάτων τ' Ἑρεχθέως 810  
 ἐκβαλλόμεσθα. καὶ σὸν οὐ στυγῶν πόσιν  
 λέγω, σὲ μέντοι μᾶλλον ἢ κείνον φιλῶν·  
 ὅστις σε γήμας ξένος ἐπεισελθὼν πόλιν  
 καὶ δῶμα καὶ σὴν παραλαβὼν παγκληρίαν  
 ἄλλης γυναικὸς παῖδας ἐκκαρπούμενος 815

783 ἄφατον αὐ φάτιν Murray 789 τὸν Badham: τὸ δ' L ἔλακ' Conomis,  
 after Murray (ἔλακεν): ἔλαβεν L 793 ποῦ ... εἰσιδών Scaliger: που ... εἰσίδω L  
 796 ἀμπταῖν Wakefield: ἂν πταῖν L πόρσω Dindorf: πρόσω Tr': [L]  
 798 ἐσπέρους Seidler: ἐσπερίους L 799 φίλαι <L?>P (p according to Wecklein):  
 deleted by Tr' (according to Wecklein) 807 κοινὴν Kirchhoff: κοινῇ L δαῖτα  
 Hervag.<sup>2</sup>: παῖδα L



- λάθραι πέφηνεν· ὡς λάθραι δ', ἐγὼ φράσω.  
 ἐπεὶ σ' ἄτεκνον ἦισθετ', οὐκ ἔστεργέ σοι  
 ὅμοιος εἶναι τῆς τύχης τ' ἴσον φέρειν,  
 λαβῶν δὲ δοῦλα λέκτρα νυμφεύσας λάθραι  
 τὸν παῖδ' ἔφυσεν, ἐξενωμένον δέ τωι 820  
 Δελφῶν δίδωσιν ἐκτρέφειν. ὁ δ' ἐν θεοῦ  
 δόμοισιν ἄφετος, ὡς λάθοι, παιδεύεται.  
 νεανίαν δ' ὡς ἦισθετ' ἐκτεθραμμένον,  
 ἔλθειν σ' ἔπεισε δεῦρ' ἀπαιδίας χάριν.  
 κἄιθ' ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐψεύσαθ', ὅδε δ' ἐψεύσατο 825  
 πάλαι τρέφων τὸν παῖδα, κἄπλεκεν πλοκάς  
 τοιάσδ'· ἀλοὺς μὲν ἀνέφερ' ἐς τὸν daίμονα,  
 ἔλθῶν δὲ καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀμύνεσθαι θέλων†  
 τυραννίδ' αὐτῷ περιβαλεῖν ἔμελλε γῆς.  
 [καινὸν δὲ τοῦνομ' ἀνὰ χρόνον πεπλασμένον 830  
 Ἴων, ἰόντι δῆθεν ὅτι συνήντετο.]
- Χο. οἴμοι, κακούργους ἄνδρας ὡς αἰὲ στυγῶ,  
 οἱ συντιθέντες τᾶδικ' εἵτα μηχαναῖς  
 κοσμοῦσι. φαῦλον χρηστὸν ἂν λαβεῖν φίλον  
 θέλοιμι μᾶλλον ἢ κακὸν σοφώτερον. 835
- Πρ. καὶ τῶνδ' ἀπάντων ἔσχατον πείσῃ κακόν·  
 ἀμήτορ', ἀναρίθμητον, ἐκ δούλης τινὸς  
 γυναικὸς ἐς σὸν δῶμα δεσπότην ἄγει.  
 ἀπλοῦν ἂν ἦν γὰρ τὸ κακόν, εἰ παρ' εὐγενοῦς  
 μητρός, πιθὼν σε, σὴν λέγων ἀπαιδίαν, 840  
 ἐσώικισ' οἴκους· εἰ δέ σοι τόδ' ἦν πικρόν,  
 τῶν Αἰόλου νιν χρῆν ὀρεχθῆναι γάμων.  
 ἐκ τῶνδε δεῖ σε δὴ γυναικεῖόν τι δρᾶν·  
 ἢ γὰρ ξίφος λαβοῦσαν ἢ δόλῳ τινὶ  
 ἢ φαρμάκοισι σὸν κατακτεῖναι πόσιν 845  
 καὶ παῖδα, πρὶν σοὶ θάνατον ἐκ κείνων μολεῖν.  
 [εἰ γὰρ γ' ὑφήσεις τοῦδ', ἀπαλλάξῃ βίου.  
 δυοῖν γὰρ ἐχθοῖν εἰς ἓν ἐλθόντοιν στέγος  
 ἢ θάτερον δεῖ δυστυχεῖν ἢ θάτερον.]

825 ὅδε δ' Canter: ὅδ' L 828 ἐλθῶν L: λαθῶν Musgrave, ἐλῶν Canter λαβῶν (or εὐρώων) δὲ καιρὸν, φθόνον Jacobs 830–1 deleted by Dindorf 832–5 assigned to the Chorus by Bothe: no change of speaker indicated in L 833 μηχαναῖς Stephanus: μηχανὰς L 834 ἂν λαβεῖν Stephanus: ἀναλαβεῖν L 838 ἄγει Hermann: ἄγειν L 847 deleted by Dindorf, 848–9 by Badham

- ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν σοι καὶ συνεκπονεῖν θέλω 850  
καὶ συμφωνεῦειν παῖδ' ὑπείσελθῶν δόμους  
οὗ δαῖθ' ὀπλίζει καὶ τροφεῖα δεσπότης  
ἀποδοὺς θανεῖν τε ζῶν τε φέγγος εἰσορᾷ.  
ἐν γάρ τι τοῖς δούλοισιν αἰσχύνην φέρει,  
τοῦνομα' τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα τῶν ἐλευθέρων 855  
οὐδὲν κακίων δοῦλος, ὅστις ἐσθλὸς ἦι.
- Χο. κἀγώ, φίλη δέσποινα, συμφορὰν θέλω  
κοινουμένη τήνδ' ἢ θανεῖν ἢ ζῆν καλῶς.
- Κρ. ὦ ψυχά, πῶς σιγάσω;  
πῶς δὲ σκοτίας ἀναφῆνω 860  
εὐνάς, αἰδοῦς δ' ἀπολειφθῶ;
- τί γὰρ ἐμπόδιον κώλυμ' ἔτι μοι;  
πρὸς τίν' ἀγῶνας τιθέμεσθ' ἀρετῆς;  
οὐ πόσις ἡμῶν προδότης γέγονεν;  
στέρομαι δ' οἴκων, στέρομαι παίδων, 865  
φροῦδαι δ' ἐλπίδες, ἃς διαθέσθαι  
χρηζούσα καλῶς οὐκ ἐδυνήθην,  
σιγῶσα γάμους,  
σιγῶσα τόκους πολυκλαύτους.  
ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ Διὸς πολύαστρον ἔδος 870  
καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐμοῖς σκοπέλοισι θεὰν  
λίμνης τ' ἐνύδρου Τριτωνιάδος  
πότνιαν ἀκτὴν,  
οὐκέτι κρύψω λέχος, ὃ στέρνων  
ἀπονησαμένη ράϊων ἔσομαι. 875  
στάζουσι κόραι δακρύοισιν ἐμαί,  
ψυχὴ δ' ἀλγεῖ κακοβουλευθεῖς'  
ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἔκ τ' ἀθανάτων,  
οὕς ἀποδείξω  
λέκτρων προδότας ἀχαρίστους. 880
- ὦ τᾶς ἐπταφθόγγου μέλπων  
κιθάρας ἐνοπᾶν, ἅτ' ἀγραύλοισ

851 ὑπείσελθῶν Wakefield: ἐπείσελθῶν L δόμους Hervag.: δόμοις L 856 οὐδὲν  
Dobree: οὐδεὶς L and Stob. 4.19.30 863 ἀγῶνας Musgrave: ἀγῶνα L 874 ὃ  
Reiske: ὡς L 875 ἀπονησαμένη Valckenaer, from Hesychius: ἀπονισαμένη L

κεράεσσιν ἐν ἀψύχοις ἀχεῖ μουσᾶν ὕμνους εὐαχήτους, σοὶ μομφάν, ὦ Λατοῦς παῖ,	885
πρὸς τάνδ' αὐγὰν αὐδάσω. ἦλθές μοι χρυσῶι χαίταν μαρμαίρων, εὔτ' ἐς κόλπους κρόκεα πέταλα φάρεσιν ἔδρεπον †ἀνθίζειν† χρυσανταυγῇ·	890
λευκοῖς δ' ἐμφὺς καρποῖσιν χειρῶν εἰς ἄντρου κοίτας κραυγὰν "ὦ μᾶτέρ" μ' αὐδῶσαν θεὸς ὁμευνέτας ἄγες ἀναιδεΐαι	895
Κύπριδι χάριν πράσσω. τίκτω δ' ἅ δύστανός σοι κοῦρον, τὸν φρίκαι ματρὸς βάλλω τὰν σὰν εἰς εὐνάν, ἵνα μ' ἐν λέχεσιν μελέαν μελέοις	900
ἐξεύξω τὰν δύστανον. οἴμοι· καὶ νῦν ἔρρει πτανοῖς	902-3
ἄρπασθεῖς θοίνα παῖς μοι —	903-4
καὶ σός, τλᾶμον· σὺ δ' <ἄει> κιθάραι	904-5
κλάζεις παιᾶνας μέλπων.	905-6
ὦή, τὸν Λατοῦς αὐδῶ, ὅστ' ὁμφὰν κληροῖς †πρὸς χρυσεύους θάκους† καὶ γαίας μεσσήρεις ἔδρας.	910
ἐς φῶς αὐδὰν καρύξω· ἰὼ <ἰώ> κακὸς εὐνάτωρ, ὅς τῳ μὲν ἐμῳ νυμφεύται χάριν οὐ προλαβών παῖδ' εἰς οἴκους οἰκίζεις·	915

883 κερᾶεσσιν Madvig: κέρασιν L 886 αὐγὰν Tr<sup>2</sup>: αὐγὰν αἰθέρος L 891 ἐμφὺς  
Reiske: ἐμφύσας L καρποῖσιν Dobree: καρποῖς L 899 βάλλω τὰν σὰν εἰς εὐνάν  
Bothe, after Tr<sup>2</sup> (βάλλω): εἰς εὐνάν βάλλω τὰν σὰν L 900 μ' ἐν λέχεσιν Heath:  
με λέχεσι L 902 οἴμοι Willink: οἴμοι μοι L 905 τλᾶμον Diggle: τλάμων  
L δ' <ἄει> Willink: δὲ L 908 ὅστ' Herwerden: ὅς L 909 πρὸς χρυσεύους  
<ἐλθοῦσιν> θάκους Page 911 φῶς Wilamowitz: οὖς L 912 <ἰώ> Paley

- ὁ δ' ἐμὸς γενέτας καὶ σὸς †ἀμαθῆς†  
οἰωνοῖς ἔρρει συλαθείς,  
σπάργανα ματέρος ἐξαλλάξας.  
μισεῖ σ' ἅ Δᾶλος καὶ δάφνας  
ἔρνεα φοίνικα παρ' ἀβροκόμαν, 920  
ἔνθα λοχεύματα σέμν' ἐλοχεύσατο  
Λατὼ Δίοισί σε κάποις.
- Χο. οἶμοι, μέγας θησαυρὸς ὡς ἀνοίγνυται  
κακῶν, ἐφ' οἷσι πᾶς ἄν ἐκβάλοι δάκρυ.  
Πρ. ὦ θύγατερ, οἴκτου σὸν βλέπων ἐμπίμπλαμαι 925  
πρόσωπον, ἔξω δ' ἐγενόμην γνώμης ἐμῆς.  
κακῶν γὰρ ἄρτι κῦμ' ὑπεξαντλῶν φρενί,  
πρύμνηθεν αἶρει μ' ἄλλο σῶν λόγων ὕπο,  
οὓς ἐκβαλοῦσα τῶν παρεστώτων κακῶν  
μετῆλθες ἄλλων πημάτων κακὰς ὁδοὺς. 930  
τί φῆις; τίνα λόγον Λοξίου κατηγορεῖς;  
ποῖον τεκεῖν φῆις παῖδα; ποῦ 'κθεῖναι πόλεως  
θηρσὶν φίλον τύμβευμ'; ἀνελθέ μοι πάλιν.
- Κρ. αἰσχύνομαι μέν σ', ὦ γέρον, λέξω δ' ὁμῶς.  
Πρ. ὡς συστενάζειν γ' οἶδα γενναίως φίλοις. 935  
Κρ. ἄκουε τοίνυν· οἶσθα Κεκροπίων πετρῶν  
πρόσβορρον ἄντρον, ἅς Μακρὰς κικλήσκομεν;  
Πρ. οἶδ', ἔνθα Πανὸς ἄδυτα καὶ βωμοὶ πέλας.  
Κρ. ἐνταῦθ' ἀγῶνα δεινὸν ἠγωνίσμεθα.  
Πρ. τίν'; ὡς ἀπαντᾷ δάκρυά μοι τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις. 940  
Κρ. Φοίβωι ξυνῆψ' ἄκουσα δύστηνον γάμον.  
Πρ. ὦ θύγατερ, ἄρ' ἦν ταῦθ' ἅ γ' ἠισθόμην ἐγώ;  
Κρ. οὐκ οἶδ'· ἀληθῆ δ' εἰ λέγεις φαίμεν ἄν.  
Πρ. νόσον κρυφαίαν ἤνικ' ἔστενες λάθραι.  
Κρ. τότε ἦν ἅ νῦν σοι φανερὰ σημαίνω κακά. 945  
Πρ. καῖτ' ἐξέκλεψας πῶς Ἀπόλλωνος γάμους;  
Κρ. ἔτεκον — ἀνάσχου ταῦτ' ἐμοῦ κλύων, γέρον —  
Πρ. ποῦ; τίς λοχεύει σ'; ἦ μόνη μοχθεῖς τάδε;

916 σὸς L: σὸς γ' Tr<sup>2</sup> ἀπευθῆς Kirchhoff 917 συλαθείς Hermann: συλαθείς  
οἰκεῖα L 920 φοίνικα Brodaeus: φοίνια L 922 κάποις Kirchhoff: καρποῖς  
L 925 οἴκτου Nauck: οὔτοι L 927 κακῶν Ald.: κακὸν L 932 'κθεῖναι  
Dobree: θεῖναι L 936 Κεκροπίων πετρῶν Page: Κεκροπίας πέτρας L 945 τότε  
L. Dindorf: τοῦτ' L

- Κρ. μόνη κατ' ἄντρον οὔπερ ἐξεύχθην γάμοις.  
 Πρ. ὁ παῖς δὲ ποῦ 'στιν, ἵνα σὺ μηκέτ' ἦις ἄπαις; 950  
 Κρ. τέθνηκεν, ὦ γεραιέ, θηρσὶν ἐκτεθείς.  
 Πρ. τέθνηκ'; Ἀπόλλων δ' ὁ κακὸς οὐδὲν ἤρκεσεν;  
 Κρ. οὐκ ἤρκεσ'· Ἄιδου δ' ἐν δόμοις παιδεύεται.  
 Πρ. τίς γάρ νιν ἐξέθηκεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ σὺ γε;  
 Κρ. ἡμεῖς, ἐν ὄρφνῃ σπαργανώσαντες πέπλοις. 955  
 Πρ. οὐδὲ ξυνήιδει σοὶ τις ἐκθεσιν τέκνου;  
 Κρ. αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γε καὶ τὸ λανθάνειν μόνον.  
 Πρ. καὶ πῶς ἐν ἄντρῳ παῖδα σὸν λιπεῖν ἔτλης;  
 Κρ. πῶς; οἰκτρὰ πολλὰ στόματος ἐκβαλοῦσ' ἔπη.  
 Πρ. φεῦ·  
 τλήμων σὺ τόλμης, ὁ δὲ θεὸς μᾶλλον σέθεν. 960  
 Κρ. εἰ παῖδά γ' εἶδες χεῖρας ἐκτείνοντά μοι.  
 Πρ. μαστὸν διώκοντ' ἢ πρὸς ἀγκάλαις πεσεῖν;  
 Κρ. ἐνταῦθ' ἵν' οὐκ ὦν ἄδικ' ἔπασχεν ἐξ ἐμοῦ.  
 Πρ. σοὶ δ' ἐς τί δόξ' ἐσῆλθεν ἐκβαλεῖν τέκνον;  
 Κρ. ὡς τὸν θεὸν σώσοντα τὸν γ' αὐτοῦ γόνον. 965  
 Πρ. οἴμοι, δόμων σῶν ὄλβος ὡς χειμάζεται.  
 Κρ. τί κρᾶτα κρύψας, ὦ γέρον, δακρυρροεῖς;  
 Πρ. σὲ καὶ πατέρα σὸν δυστυχοῦντας εἰσορῶν.  
 Κρ. τὰ θνητὰ τοιαῦτ' οὐδὲν ἐν ταύτῳ μένει.  
 Πρ. μή νυν ἔτ' οἰκτων, θύγατερ, ἀντεχώμεθα. 970  
 Κρ. τί γάρ με χρή δρᾶν; ἀπορία τὸ δυστυχεῖν.  
 Πρ. τὸν πρῶτον ἀδικήσαντά σ' ἀποτίνου θεόν.  
 Κρ. καὶ πῶς τὰ κρείσσω θνητὸς οὔσ' ὑπερδράμω;  
 Πρ. πῖμπρη τὰ σεμνὰ Λοξίου χρηστήρια.  
 Κρ. δέδοικα· καὶ νῦν πημάτων ἄδην ἔχω. 975  
 Πρ. τὰ δυνατὰ νυν τόλμησον, ἄνδρα σὸν κτανεῖν.  
 Κρ. αἰδούμεθ' εὐνὰς τὰς τόθ' ἡνίκ' ἐσθλὸς ἦν.  
 Πρ. νῦν δ' ἄλλὰ παῖδα τὸν ἐπὶ σοὶ πεφηνότα.  
 Κρ. πῶς; εἰ γὰρ εἴη δυνατόν· ὡς θέλοιμί γ' ἄν.  
 Πρ. ξιφηφόρους σοὺς ὀπλίσασ' ὀπάονας. 980  
 Κρ. στείχοιμ' ἄν· ἄλλὰ ποῦ γενήσεται τόδε;  
 Πρ. ἱεραῖσιν ἐν σκηναῖσιν οὗ θοιναῖ φίλους.  
 Κρ. ἐπίσημον ὁ φόνος καὶ τὸ δοῦλον ἀσθενές.  
 Πρ. ὦμοι, κακίζηι· φέρε, σὺ νυν βούλευέ τι.

953 Ἄιδου Brodaeus: αἰδοῦς L 959 πῶς; Matthiae: πῶς δ' L 964 δόξ' ἐσῆλθεν Dobree, Hermann: δόξης ἦλθεν L 965 σώσοντα Wakefield: σῶζοντα L

Κρ.	καὶ μὴν ἔχω γε δόλια καὶ δραστήρια.	985
Πρ.	ἀμφοῖν ἂν εἶην τοῖνδ' ὑπηρέτης ἐγώ.	
Κρ.	ἄκουε τοίνυν· οἶσθα γηγενῇ μάχην;	
Πρ.	οἶδ', ἦν Φλέγραι Γίγαντες ἔστησαν θεοῖς.	
Κρ.	ἐνταῦθα Γοργόν' ἔτεκε Γῆ, δεινὸν τέρας.	
Πρ.	ἦ παισὶν αὐτῆς σύμμαχον, θεῶν πόνον;	990
Κρ.	ναί· καὶ νιν ἔκτειν' ἡ Διὸς Παλλὰς θεά.	
Πρ.	ποῖόν τι μορφῆς σχῆμ' ἔχουσαν ἀγρίας;	
Κρ.	θώρακ' ἐχίδνης περιβόλοις ὦπλισμένον.	
Πρ.	ἄρ' οὗτός ἐσθ' ὁ μῦθος ὃν κλύω πάλαι;	
Κρ.	ταύτης Ἀθάναν δέρος ἐπὶ στέρνοις ἔχειν.	995
Πρ.	ἦν αἰγίδ' ὀνομάζουσι, Παλλάδος στολήν;	
Κρ.	τόδ' ἔσχεν ὄνομα θεῶν ὅτ' ἦιξεν ἐς δόρυ.	
Πρ.	τί δῆτα, θύγατερ, τοῦτο σοῖς ἐχθροῖς βλάβος;	
Κρ.	Ἐριχθόνιον οἶσθ' ἡ <οὔ>; τί δ' οὐ μέλλεις, γέρον;	
Πρ.	ὃν πρῶτον ὑμῶν πρόγονον ἐξανῆκε γῆ;	1000
Κρ.	τούτῳ δίδωσι Παλλὰς ὄντι νεογόνῳ . . .	
Πρ.	τί χρῆμα; μέλλον γάρ τι προσφέρεις ἔπος.	
Κρ.	δισσοὺς σταλαγμοὺς αἵματος Γοργοῦς ἄπο.	
Πρ.	ἰσχὺν ἔχοντας τίνα πρὸς ἀνθρώπου φύσιν;	
Κρ.	τὸν μὲν θανάσιμον, τὸν δ' ἀκεσφόρον νόσων.	1005
Πρ.	ἐν τῷ καθάψασ' ἀμφὶ παιδὶ σώματος;	
Κρ.	χρυσέοισι δεσμοῖς· ὁ δὲ δίδωσ' ἐμῷ πατρί.	
Πρ.	κείνου δὲ κατθανόντος ἐς σ' ἀφίκετο;	
Κρ.	ναί· κάπῃ καρπῷ γ' αὐτ' ἐγὼ χερὸς φέρω.	
Πρ.	πῶς οὖν κέκρानται δίπτυχον δῶρον θεᾶς;	1010
Κρ.	κοίλης μὲν ὅστις φλεβὸς ἀπέσταξεν φόνος . . .	
Πρ.	τί τῷδε χρῆσθαι; δύναμιν ἐκφέρει τίνα;	
Κρ.	νόσους ἀπείργει καὶ τροφὰς ἔχει βίου.	
Πρ.	ὁ δεύτερος δ' ἀριθμὸς ὧν λέγεις τί δρᾷ;	
Κρ.	κτείνει, δρακόντων ἰὸς ὧν τῶν Γοργόνος.	1015
Πρ.	ἐς ἓν δὲ κραθέντ' αὐτὸν ἡ χωρὶς φορεῖς;	
Κρ.	χωρὶς· κακῷ γὰρ ἐσθλὸν οὐ συμμείγνυται.	

997 ἦιξεν suggested to Paley by someone unnamed: ἦλθεν L 999 <οὔ> Badham  
1004 ἔχοντας Reiske: ἔχοι γ' ἂν L<sup>pc</sup> or Tr<sup>1</sup>: ἔχο\*\*\* ἂν L 1009 αὐτ' ἐγὼ  
Hermann: αὐτὸ ἐγὼ L 1010 δῶρον Stephanus: δέρος L 1011 φόνος Canter:  
φόνω L: φόνου L<sup>sl</sup> 1012 χρῆσθαι L. Dindorf, Dobree: χρῆσθε L δύναμιν  
Calder: δύνασιν L 1014 ὧν Nauck: ὃν L 1015 Γοργόνος Bothe: Γοργόνων L  
1016 κραθέντ' αὐτὸν Canter: κραθέν ταυτὸν L ἡ χωρὶς φορεῖς Snape: ἰχῶρ' εἰσφορεῖς L

- Πρ. ὦ φιλτάτη παῖ, πάντ' ἔχεις ὅσων σε δεῖ.  
 Κρ. τούτῳι θανεῖται παῖς· σὺ δ' ὁ κτείνων ἔση.  
 Πρ. ποῦ καὶ τί δράσας; σὸν λέγειν, τολμᾶν δ' ἐμόν. 1020  
 Κρ. ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, δῶμ' ὅταν τοῦμόν μόληι.  
 Πρ. οὐκ εὖ τόδ' εἶπας· καὶ σὺ γὰρ τοῦμόν ψέγεις.  
 Κρ. πῶς; ἄρ' ὑπείδου τοῦθ' ὃ κᾶμ' ἐσέρχεται;  
 Πρ. σὺ παῖδα δόξεις διολέσαι, κεῖ μὴ κτενεῖς.  
 Κρ. ὀρθῶς· φθονεῖν γάρ φασι μητρυιάς τέκνοις. 1025  
 Πρ. αὐτοῦ νυν αὐτόν κτεῖν', ἵν' ἄρνήσῃ φόνους.  
 Κρ. προλάζυμαι γοῦν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς.  
 Πρ. καὶ σὸν γε λήσεις πόσιν ἅ σε σπεύδει λαθεῖν.  
 Κρ. οἷσθ' οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον· χειρὸς ἐξ ἐμῆς λαβὼν  
 χρύσωμ' Ἀθάνας τόδε, παλαιὸν ὄργανον, 1030  
 ἐλθὼν ἵν' ἡμῖν βουθυτεῖ λάθραι πόσις,  
 δείπνων ὅταν λήγῃσι καὶ σπονδὰς θεοῖς  
 μέλλωσι λείβειν, ἐν πέπλοις ἔχων τόδε  
 κάθες βαλὼν ἐς πῶμα τῷ νεανίαι  
 ἰδίαί γε, μὴ <τι> πᾶσι χωρίσας ποτόν, 1035  
 τῷ τῶν ἐμῶν μέλλοντι δεσπόζειν δόμων.  
 κᾶνπερ διέλθῃ λαιμόν, οὐποθ' ἵξεται  
 κλεινάς Ἀθήνας, κατθανὼν δ' αὐτοῦ μενεῖ.  
 Πρ. σὺ μὲν νυν εἴσω προξένων μέθες πόδα·  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἐφ' ὧι τετάγμεθ' ἐκπονήσομεν. 1040  
 ἄγ', ὦ γεραιὲ πούς, νεανίας γενοῦ  
 ἔργοισι, κεῖ μὴ τῷ χρόνῳ πάρεστί σοι.  
 ἐχθρόν δ' ἐπ' ἄνδρα στεῖχε δεσποτῶν μέτα  
 καὶ συμφόνευσε καὶ συνεξαίρει δόμων.  
 τὴν δ' εὐσέβειαν εὐτυχοῦσι μὲν καλὸν 1045  
 τιμᾶν· ὅταν δὲ πολεμίους δρᾶσαι κακῶς  
 θέλῃ τις, οὐδεὶς ἐμποδὼν κεῖται νόμος.
- Χο. Εἰνοδία θύγατερ Δάματρος, ἅ τῶν (στρ. α  
 νυκτιπόλων ἐφόδων ἀνάσσεις,  
 καὶ μεθαμερίων 1050  
 ὀδωσον δυσθανάτων  
 κρατήρων πληρώματ' ἐφ' οἷσι πέμπει

- πότνια πότνι' ἐμὰ χθονίας  
 Γοργοῦς λαιμοτόμων ἀπὸ σταλαγμῶν 1055  
 τῶι τῶν Ἑρεχθεΐδαν  
 δόμων ἐφαπτομένωι·  
 μηδέ ποτ' ἄλλος ἥ-  
     κων πόλεως ἀνάσσοι  
 πλήν τῶν εὐγενετᾶν Ἑρεχθεΐδαν. 1060
- εἰ δ' ἀτελής θάνατος σπουδαί τε δεσποί- (ἀντ. α  
     νας ὃ τε καιρὸς ἄπεισι τόλμας,  
 ὦν νιν ἐλπίς ἔφερ-  
     βεν, ἥ θηκτὸν ξίφος ἥ  
 λαιμῶν ἐξάψει βρόχον ἀμφὶ δειράν, 1065  
 πάθεσι πάθεα δ' ἐξανύτους·  
 εἰς ἄλλας βιότου κάτεισι μορφάς.  
 οὐ γὰρ δόμων γ' ἐτέρους  
 ἄρχοντας ἄλλοδαπούς 1070  
 ζῶσά ποτ' <ἐν> φαεν-  
     ναῖς ἀνέχοιτ' ἂν αὐγαῖς  
 ἀ τῶν εὐπατριδᾶν γεγῶσ' οἴκων.
- αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πολὺ- (στρ. β  
     μνον θεόν, εἰ παρὰ Καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς 1075  
 λαμπάδα θεωρὸς εἰκάδων  
 ἐννύχιον ἄυπνος ὄψεται,  
 ὅτε καὶ Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς  
 ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ,  
 χορεύει δὲ σελάννα 1080  
 καὶ πεντήκοντα κόραι  
 †Νηρέος αἱ κατὰ πόντον  
 ἀεναῶν τε ποταμῶν†

1058–9 ἄλλος ἦκων Diggle, after Murray (deleting ἄλλων ἀπ'): ἄλλος ἄλλων ἀπ' οἴκων L 1063–4 ὦν νιν . . . ἔφερβεν Gibert: ὦ νῦν . . . φέρετ' L: αἱ (or ὦι) νῦν . . . ἐφαίνεται Badham 1065 λαιμῶν Scaliger: δαίμων L 1068 κάτεισι μορφάς Hermann: μορφάς κάτεισι L 1071 ποτ' Badham: ποτ' ὁμμασι <L>P <ἐν> Tr<sup>2</sup> (ὁμμάτων ἐν) 1076 θεωρὸς Musgrave: θεωρὸν L 1077 ἐννύχιον ἄυπνος ὄψεται Musgrave (ἐννύχιον) and Hartung: ὄψεται ἐννύχιος ἄυπνος ὦν L 1082–3 the meter is uncertain here and at 1098–9



δίνας χορευόμεναι  
 τὰν χρυσοστέφανον κόραν 1085  
 καὶ ματέρα σεμνάν'  
 ἵν' ἐλπίζει βασιλεύ-  
 σειν ἄλλων πόνον ἐσπεσών  
 ὁ Φοίβειος ἀλάτας.

ὁρᾷθ', ὅσοι δυσκελάδοι- (ἀντ. β  
 σιν κατὰ μοῦσαν ἰόντες αἰείδεθ' ὕμνοις 1091  
 ἀμέτερα λέχεα καὶ γάμους  
 Κύπριδος ἀθέμιτος ἀνοσίους,  
 ὅσον εὖσεβίαι κρατοῦμεν  
 ἄδικον ἄροτον ἀνδρῶν. 1095  
 παλίμφαμος αἰοιδά  
 καὶ μοῦσ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἴτω  
 †δυσκέλαδος ἀμφὶ λέκτρων.  
 δείκνυσι γὰρ ὁ Διὸς ἐκ  
 παίδων† ἀμνημοσύναν, 1100  
 οὐ κοινὰν τεκέων τύχαν  
 οἴκοισι φυτεύσας  
 δεσποίνειαι· πρὸς δ' Ἀφροδί-  
 ταν ἄλλαν θέμενος χάριν  
 νόθου παιδὸς ἔκυρσεν. 1105

## ΘΕΡΑΠΩΝ

κλεινήν, γυναῖκες, ποῦ κόρην Ἐρεχθέως  
 δέσποιναν εὐρω; πανταχῇ γὰρ ἄστεως  
 < >  
 ζητῶν νιν ἐξέπλησα κοῦκ ἔχω λαβεῖν.  
 Χο. τί δ' ἔστιν, ᾧ ξύνδουλε; τίς προθυμία  
 ποδῶν ἔχει σε καὶ λόγους τίνας φέρεις; 1110  
 Θε. θηρώμεθ'· ἀρχαὶ δ' ἀπιχώριοι χθονὸς  
 ζητοῦσιν αὐτὴν ὡς θάνηι πετρουμένη.

1088 ἄλλων Hervag.: ἄλλον L ἐσπεσών Heath: τ' εἰσπεσεῖν L 1093 κύπριδος  
 Tr<sup>2</sup>: κύπριδας <L>P ἀθέμιτος Bayfield: ἀθέμιτας L 1095 ἄροτον Scaliger: ἄροτρον L  
 1096 παλίμφαμος Brodaeus: παλίμφας L<sup>pc</sup>: παλίμφας L<sup>ac</sup> 1097 μοῦσ' εἰς ... ἴτω  
 Canter: μούσιος ... ἴστω L 1106 κλεινήν Reiske: κλειναί L 1108 Badham  
 indicates a lacuna before this verse 1111 ἀπιχώριοι Scaliger: αἶδ' ἐπιχώριοι L

- Χο. οἶμοι, τί λέξεις; οὔτι που λελήμμεθα  
κρυφαῖον ἐς παῖδ' ἐκπορίζουσαι φόνον;
- Θε. ἔγνωσ' μεθέξεις δ' οὐκ ἐν ὑστάτοις κακοῦ. 1115
- Χο. ὥφθη δὲ πῶς τὰ κρυπτὰ μηχανήματα;
- Θε. [τὸ μὴ δίκαιον τῆς δίκης ἡσώμενον]  
ἐξηῦρεν ὁ θεός, οὐ μινθῆναι θέλων.
- Χο. πῶς; ἀντιάζω σ' ἰκέτις ἐξειπεῖν τάδε.  
πεπυσμέναι γάρ, εἰ θανεῖν ἡμᾶς χρεών, 1120  
ἥδιον ἂν θάνοιμεν, εἴθ' ὀρᾶν φάος.
- Θε. ἐπεὶ θεοῦ μαντεῖον ὦιχετ' ἐκλιπών  
πόσις Κρεούσης παῖδα τὸν καινὸν λαβών  
πρὸς δεῖπνα θυσίας θ' ἃς θεοῖς ὠπλίζετο,  
Ζοῦθος μὲν ὦιχετ' ἔνθα πῦρ πηδᾷ θεοῦ 1125  
βακχεῖον, ὡς σφαγαῖσι Διονύσου πέτρας  
δεύσειε δισσὰς παιδὸς ἀντ' ὀπτηρίων,  
λέξας· "σὺ μὲν νυν, τέκνον, ἀμφήρεις μένων  
σκηναὶς ἀνίστη τεκτόνων μοχθήμασιν.  
θύσας δὲ γενέταις θεοῖσιν ἦν μακρὸν χρόνον 1130  
μείνω, παροῦσι δαῖτες ἔστωσαν φίλοις."  
λαβών δὲ μόσχους ὦιχεθ'· ὁ δὲ νεανίας  
σεμνῶς ἀτοίχους περιβολὰς σκηνωμάτων  
ὀρθοστάταις ἰδρύεθ', ἡλίου βολὰς  
καλῶς φυλάξας, οὔτε πρὸς μέσας φλογὸς 1135  
ἀκτῖνας οὔτ' αὖ πρὸς τελευτώσας βίον,  
πλέθρου σταθμήσας μῆκος εἰς εὐγωνίαν,  
μέτρημ' ἔχουσαν τοῦν μέσῳ γε μυρίων  
ποδῶν ἀριθμόν, ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοί,  
ὡς πάντα Δελφῶν λαὸν ἐς θοίνην καλῶν. 1140  
λαβών δ' ὑφάσμαθ' ἱερὰ θησαυρῶν πάρα  
κατεσκίαζε, θαύματ' ἀνθρώποις ὀρᾶν.  
πρῶτον μὲν ὀρόφῳ πτέρυγα περιβάλλει πέπλων,  
ἀνάθημα Δίου παιδός, οὓς Ἡρακλῆς  
Ἄμαζόνων σκυλεύματ' ἤνεγκεν θεῶι. 1145  
ἐνῆν δ' ὑφантаὶ γράμμασιν τοιαίδ' ὑφαί·

1115 Porson: ἐγνώσμεθ' ἐξ ἴσου· κέν ὑστάτοις κακοῖς L 1116 ὥφθη Stephanus:  
ἔφθη L 1117 deleted by Kvičala 1120 ἡμᾶς Stephanus: ὑμᾶς L  
1131 μείνω Diggle: μενῶ L 1134-5 βολὰς ... φλογὸς A. Schmidt: φλογὸς ... βολὰς L  
1137 εὐγωνίαν Elmsley: εὐγώνιον L

Οὐρανὸς ἀθροίζων ἄστρ' ἐν αἰθέρος κύκλῳ·  
 ἵππους μὲν ἤλαυν' ἐς τελευταίαν φλόγα  
 Ἥλιος, ἐφέλκων λαμπρὸν Ἑσπέρου φάος·  
 μελάμπεπλος δὲ Νύξ ἀσεύρωτον ζυγοῖς 1150  
 ὄχημ' ἔπαλλεν, ἄστρα δ' ὠμάρτει θεᾷ·  
 Πλειὰς μὲν ἦι μεσοπόρου δι' αἰθέρος  
 ὃ τε ξιφήρης Ὠρίων, ὕπερθε δὲ  
 Ἄρκτος στρέφουσ' οὐραῖα χρυσήρη πόλῳ·  
 κύκλος δὲ πανσέληνος ἠκόντιζ' ἄνω 1155  
 μηνὸς διχήρης, Ὑάδες τε, ναυτίλοις  
 σαφέστατον σημεῖον, ἥ τε φωσφόρος  
 Ἔως διώκουσ' ἄστρα. τοίχοισιν δ' ἔπι  
 ἤμπισχεν ἄλλα βαρβάρων ὑφάσματα·  
 εὐηρέτους ναῦς ἀντίας Ἑλληνίσιν 1160  
 καὶ μιζόθηρας φῶτας ἵππειας τ' ἄγρας  
 ἐλάφων λεόντων τ' ἀγρίων θηράματα.  
 κατ' εἰσόδους δὲ Κέκροπα θυγατέρων πέλας  
 σπείραισιν εἰλίσσοντ', Ἀθηναίων τινὸς  
 ἀνάθημα, χρυσεύς τ' ἐν μέσῳ συσσιτίῳ 1165  
 κρατῆρας ἔστησ'. ἐν δ' ἄκροισι βὰς ποσὶν  
 κῆρυξ ἀνεῖπε τὸν θέλοντ' ἐγχωρίων  
 ἐς δαῖτα χωρεῖν. ὥς δ' ἐπληρώθη στέγη,  
 στεφάνοισι κοσμηθέντες εὐόχθου βορᾶς  
 ψυχὴν ἐπλήρουν. ὥς δ' ἀνεῖσαν ἡδονὴν 1170  
 < > παρελθὼν πρέσβυς ἐς μέσον πέδον  
 ἔστη, γέλων δ' ἔθηκε συνδείπνοις πολὺν  
 πρόθυμα πράσσω· ἔκ τε γὰρ κρωσσῶν ὕδωρ  
 χεροῖν ἔπεμπε νίπτρα κάζεθυμία  
 σμύρνης ἰδρῶτα χρυσέων τ' ἐκπωμάτων 1175  
 ἦρχ', αὐτὸς αὐτῷ τόνδε προστάξας πόνον.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἐς αὐλοὺς ἦκον ἐς κρατῆρά τε  
 κοινόν, γέρων ἔλεξ'· "ἀφαρπάζειν χρεῶν  
 οἰνηρὰ τεύχη σμικρά, μεγάλα δ' ἐσφέρειν,  
 ὥς θᾶσσον ἔλθωσ' οἷδ' ἐς ἡδονὰς φρενῶν." 1180

1164 σπείραισιν εἰλίσσοντ' Hermann: σπείραις συνειλίσσοντ' L 1167 ἐγχωρίων  
 Lobeck: ἐγχώριον L 1171 <σκηνης> Barnes, <στέγης> Diggle; <εὐθύς> Fix,  
 <ἄφνω> Wecklein; <δαιτὸς> Reiske, <δείπνων> Musgrave 1177 ἦκον Dobree:  
 ἦκεν L 1178 κοινόν Musgrave: καινόν L 1179 τεύχη Wakefield: σκεύη L

ἦν δὴ φερόντων μόχθος ἀργυρηλάτους  
 χρυσέας τε φιάλας· ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ἐξαίρετον,  
 ὥς τῷ νέῳ δὴ δεσπότηι χάριν φέρων,  
 ἔδωκε πλήρες τεῦχος, εἰς οἶνον βαλὼν  
 ὃ φασὶ δοῦναι φάρμακον δραστήριον 1185  
 δέσποιναν, ὥς παῖς ὁ νέος ἐκλίποι φάος.  
 κοῦδεῖς τὰδ' ἦιδειν. ἐν χεροῖν ἔχοντι δὲ  
 σπονδὰς μετ' ἄλλων παιδὶ τῷ πεφηνότι  
 βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο.  
 ὁ δ', ὥς ἐν ἱερῷ μάντεσιν τ' ἐσθλοῖς τραφεῖς, 1190  
 οἰωνὸν ἔθετο κἀκέλευσ' ἄλλον νέον  
 κρατῆρα πληροῦν· τὰς δὲ πρὶν σπονδὰς θεοῦ  
 δίδωσι γαίαι πᾶσί τ' ἐκσπένδειν λέγει.  
 σιγὴ δ' ὑπῆλθεν· ἐκ δ' ἐπίμπλαμεν δρόσου  
 κρατῆρας ἱερούς Βιβλίνου τε πώματος. 1195  
 κὰν τῷδε μόχθῳ πτηνὸς ἐσπίπτει δόμους  
 κῶμος πελειῶν (Λοξίου γὰρ ἐν δόμοις  
 ἄτρεστα ναίουσ'), ὥς δ' ἀπέσπεισαν μέθυ  
 ἐς αὐτὸ χεῖλη πώματος κεχρημέναι  
 καθῆκαν, εἴλκον δ' εὐπτέρους ἐς αὐχένας. 1200  
 καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλαις ἄνοσος ἦν λοιβὴ θεοῦ·  
 ἦ δ' ἔζετ' ἔνθ' ὁ καινὸς ἔσπεισεν γόνος  
 ποτοῦ τ' ἐγεύσατ' εὐθύς εὐπτερον δέμας  
 ἔσεισε κἀβάκχευσεν, ἐκ δ' ἔκλαγξ' ὅπα  
 ἀξύνετον αἰάζουσ'· ἐθάμβησεν δὲ πᾶς 1205  
 θοινατόρων ὄμιλος ὄρνιθος πόνους.  
 θνήσκει δ' ἀπασπαίρουσα, φοινικοσκελεῖς  
 χηλὰς παρεῖσα. γυμνὰ δ' ἐκ πέπλων μέλη  
 ὑπὲρ τραπέζης ἦχ' ὁ μαντευτὸς γόνος,  
 βοᾷ δέ· "τίς μ' ἔμελλεν ἀνθρώπων κτανεῖν;  
 σήμαινε, πρέσβυ· σὴ γὰρ ἡ προθυμία  
 καὶ πῶμα χειρὸς σῆς ἐδεξάμην πάρα."  
 εὐθύς δ' ἐρευνᾷ γραῖαν ὠλένην λαβὼν,  
 ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ πρέσβυν ὥς ἔχονθ' ἔλοι  
 < >.

1196 δόμους Badham: δόμοις L 1205 αἰάζουσ'· ἐθάμβησεν Heath: αἰάζουσα·  
 θάμβησε L 1214 Herwerden indicates a lacuna after this verse ἄλόντ' ἔχοι in  
 place of ἔχονθ' ἔλοι Reiske, φάρμαχ' in place of πρέσβυν Musgrave

ὦφθη δὲ καὶ κατεῖπ' ἀναγκασθεὶς μόλις 1215  
 τόλμας Κρεοῦσης πώματός τε μηχανάς.  
 θεῖ δ' εὐθύς ἔξω συλλαβὼν θοινάτορας  
 ὁ πυθόχρηστος Λοξίου νεανίας,  
 κὰν κοιράνοισι Πυθικοῖς σταθεὶς λέγει·  
 "ὦ γαῖα σεμνή, τῆς Ἑρεχθέως ὕπο, 1220  
 ξένης γυναικός, φαρμάκοισι θνήσκομεν."  
 Δελφῶν δ' ἀνακτες ὥρισαν πετρορριφῇ  
 θανεῖν ἐμὴν δέσποιναν οὐ ψήφωι μιᾷ,  
 τὸν ἱερὸν ὥς κτείνουσιν ἐν τ' ἀνακτόροις  
 φόνον τιθεῖσαν. πᾶσα δὲ ζητεῖ πόλις 1225  
 τὴν ἀθλίως σπεύσασαν ἀθλίαν ὁδόν·  
 παίδων γὰρ ἔλθοῦσ' εἰς ἔρον Φοίβου πάρα  
 τὸ σῶμα κοινῇ τοῖς τέκνοις ἀπώλεσεν.

Χο. οὐκ ἔστ' οὐκ ἔστιν θανάτου  
 παρατροπὰ μελέαι μοι· 1230  
 φανερά φανερά τάδ' ἤδη  
 ἴσπονδὰς ἐκ Διονύσου  
 βοτρύων θοᾶς ἐχίδνας  
 σταγόσι μειγνυμένας φόνωι†.  
 φανερά θύματα νερτέρων, 1235  
 συμφοραὶ μὲν ἐμῶι βίωι,  
 λεύσιμοι δὲ καταφθοραὶ δεσποῖναι.  
 τίνα φυγὰν πτερόεσσαν ἦ  
 χθονὸς ὑπὸ σκοτίων μυχῶν πορευθῶ,  
 θανάτου λεύσιμον ἄταν 1240  
 ἀποφεύγουσα, τεθρίππων  
 ὠκιστᾶν χαλᾶν ἐπιβᾶσ'  
 ἦ πρύμνας ἔπι ναῶν;  
  
 οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὅτε μὴ χρήζων  
 θεὸς ἐκκλέπτει. 1245  
 τί ποτ', ὦ μελέα δέσποινα, μένει

1227 Φοίβου Matthiae: Φοῖβον L    1231 φανερά φανερά Dindorf: φανερά γὰρ φανερά L    1232-4 σπονδαὶ γ' ... μειγνύμεναι Page    1233 θοᾶς and θοᾶς L: θοαῖς Dobree, ὀλοᾶς Nauck, ὀλοαῖς Willink    1237 δεσποῖναι Hermann: δέσποινα L  
 1242 ὠκιστᾶν χαλᾶν Paley: ὠκίσταν χαλὰν L    1244 λαθεῖν Stephanus: λαβεῖν L  
 1246 μένει Portus: μέλει L

ψυχῇ σε παθεῖν; ἄρα θέλουσαι  
δρᾶσαί τι κακὸν τοὺς πέλας αὐταὶ  
πεισόμεθ' ὥσπερ τὸ δίκαιον;

- Κρ. πρόσπολοι, διωκόμεσθα θανασίμους ἐπὶ σφαγάς, 1250  
Πυθίαι ψήφωι κρατηθεῖς, ἔκδοτος δὲ γίγνομαι.  
Χο. ἴσμεν, ὦ τάλαινα, τὰς σὰς συμφοράς, ἴν' εἴ τύχης.  
Κρ. ποῖ φύγω δῆτ'; ἐκ γὰρ οἴκων προύλαβον μόλις πόδα  
μὴ θανεῖν, κλοπῇ δ' ἀφίγμαι διαφυγοῦσα πολεμίους.  
Χο. ποῖ δ' ἂν ἄλλοσ' ἢ 'πὶ βωμόν; Κρ. καὶ τί μοι πλεόν τόδε; 1255  
Χο. ἰκέτιν οὐ θέμις φονεύειν. Κρ. τῶι νόμωι δέ γ' ὄλλυμαι.  
Χο. χειρία γ' ἄλοῦσα. Κρ. καὶ μὴν οἶδ' ἀγωνισταὶ πικροὶ  
δεῦρ' ἐπείγονται ξιφῆρεις. Χο. ἴξε νυν πυρᾶς ἔπι.  
κἂν θάνῃς γὰρ ἐνθάδ' οὔσα, τοῖς ἀποκτείνασί σε  
προστρόπαιον αἶμα θήσεις· οἷστέον δὲ τὴν τύχην. 1260
- Ιων ὦ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κηφισοῦ πατρός,  
οἶαν ἔχιδναν τήνδ' ἔφυσας ἢ πυρὸς  
δράκοντ' ἀναβλέποντα φοινίαν φλόγα,  
ἥι τόλμα πᾶσ' ἔνεστιν οὐδ' ἥσσω ἔφυ  
Γοργοῦς σταλαγμῶν, οἷς ἔμελλέ με κτανεῖν. 1265  
λάζυσθ', ἴν' αὐτῆς τοὺς ἀκηράτους πλόκους  
κόμης καταξήνωσι Παρνασσοῦ πλάκες,  
ὄθεν πετραῖον ἄλμα δισκηθήσεται.  
ἐσθλοῦ δ' ἔκυρσα δαίμονος, πρὶν ἐς πόλιν  
μολεῖν Ἀθηνῶν χυτὸ μητρυιάν πεσεῖν. 1270  
ἐν συμμάχοις γὰρ ἀνεμετρησάμην φρένας  
τὰς σὰς, ὅσον μοι πῆμα δυσμενῆς τ' ἔφυσ'  
ἔσω γὰρ ἂν με περιβαλοῦσα δωμάτων  
ἄρδην ἂν ἐξέπεμψας εἰς Ἄιδου δόμους.  
ἀλλ' οὔτε βωμὸς οὔτ' Ἀπόλλωνος δόμος 1275  
σώσει σ'· ὁ δ' οἶκος τὸ σὸς ἐμοὶ κρείσσων πάρατ'  
καὶ μητρὶ τῇμῃ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τὸ σῶμά μοι  
ἄπεστιν αὐτῆς, τοῦνομ' οὐκ ἄπεστί πω.  
ἴδεσθε τὴν πανοῦργον, ἐκ τέχνης τέχνην  
οἶαν ἔπλεξε· βωμὸν ἔπτηξεν θεοῦ 1280

1251 Πυθίαι Stephanus: Πυθίω L 1252 εἴ τύχης Scaliger: εὐτυχεῖς L  
1253 οἴκων Victorius: ἄκων L 1280 ἔπλεξε Elmsley: ἔπλεξ' οὐ L

- ὥς οὐ δίκην δώσουσα τῶν εἰργασμένων.
- Κρ. ἀπεννέπω σε μὴ κατακτείνειν ἐμὲ  
 ὑπὲρ τ' ἐμαυτῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θ' ἵν' ἔσταμεν.
- Ιων τί δ' ἐστὶ Φοίβωι σοί τε κοινὸν ἐν μέσῳ;
- Κρ. ἱερὸν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θεῷ δίδωμ' ἔχειν. 1285
- Ιων κᾶπειτ' ἔκαινες φαρμάκοις τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ;
- Κρ. ἀλλ' οὐκέτ' ἦσθα Λοξίου, πατὴρ δὲ σοῦ.
- Ιων ἄλλ' ἐγενόμεσθα, πατὴρ δ' οὐσίαν λέγω†.
- Κρ. οὐκοῦν τότ' ἦσθα· νῦν δ' ἐγώ, σὺ δ' οὐκέτι.
- Ιων οὐκ εὐσεβεῖς γε· τὰμὰ δ' εὐσεβεῖν τότ' ἦν. 1290
- Κρ. ἔκτεινά σ' ὄντα πολέμιον δόμοις ἐμοῖς.
- Ιων οὗτοι σὺν ὅπλοις ἦλθον ἐς τὴν σὴν χθόνα.
- Κρ. μάλιστα· κἀπίμπρης γ' Ἐρεχθέως δόμους.
- Ιων ποίοισι πανοῖς ἢ πυρὸς ποῖαι φλογί;
- Κρ. ἔμελλες οἰκεῖν τᾶμ', ἐμοῦ βίαι λαβών. 1295
- Ιων κᾶπειτα τοῦ μέλλειν μ' ἀπέκτεινες φόβῳ;
- Κρ. ὥς μὴ θάνοιμί γ', εἰ σὺ μὴ μέλλων τύχοις. 1300
- Ιων φθονεῖς ἅπαις οὔσ', εἰ πατήρ ἐξηῦρέ με. 1301
- Κρ. σὺ τῶν ἀτέκνων δῆτ' ἀναρπάσεις δόμους; 1302
- Ιων πατὴρ γε γῆν διδόντος ἦν ἐκτῆσατο. 1303
- Κρ. τοῖς Αἰόλου δὲ πῶς μετῆν τῆς Παλλάδος; 1296
- Ιων ὅπλοισιν αὐτὴν οὐ λόγοις ἐρρύσατο.
- Κρ. ἐπίκουρος οἰκῆτωρ γ' ἂν οὐκ εἴη χθονός. 1299
- Ιων ἡμῖν δέ γ' ἅμα <τῷ> πατρὶ γῆς οὐκ ἦν μέρος; 1304
- Κρ. ὅσ' ἀσπίς ἔγχος θ'· ἦδε σοι παμπησία. 1305
- Ιων ἔκλειπε βωμὸν καὶ θεηλάτους ἔδρας.
- Κρ. τὴν σὴν ὅπου σοι μητέρ' ἐστὶ νουθέτει.
- Ιων σὺ δ' οὐχ ὑφέξεις ζημίαν κτείνουσ' ἐμέ;
- Κρ. ἦν γ' ἐντὸς ἀδύτων τῶνδ' ἐμε σφάξαι θέλεις.
- Ιων τίς ἡδονὴ σοι θεοῦ θανεῖν ἐν στέμμασιν; 1310
- Κρ. λυπήσομέν τιν' ὦν λελυπήμεσθ' ὕπο.
- Ιων φεῦ·  
 δεινὸν γε θνητοῖς τοὺς νόμους ὥς οὐ καλῶς

1286 ἔκαινες Duport (and perhaps Scaliger): ἔκτανες L 1288 δ' οὐσίαν λέγω  
 L: ἀπουσῖαι λέγω Kraus, after Canter (deleting δ'), Seidler (ἀπουσίαν λέγω), and  
 Kirchhoff (ἀπουσῖαι λόγῳ) 1289 οὐκέτι Dobree: οὐκέτ' εἶ L 1291 ἔκτεινά σ'  
 Wakefield: ἔκτεινα δ' L 1294 πανοῖς Musgrave: πτανοῖς L: δαλοῖς variant recorded  
 in L 1300–3 transposed after 1295 by Nauck 1297 τῆς Ald.: τῶν L  
 1304 ἅμα <τῷ> Page: ἀλλὰ L

ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς οὐδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης σοφῆς·  
 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκους βωμὸν οὐχ ἵζειν ἔχρῃν  
 ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ψαύειν καλὸν  
 θεῶν πονηρᾷ χειρί, τοῖσι δ' ἐνδίκοις·  
 ἱερὰ καθίζειν <δ'> ὅστις ἡδικεῖτ' ἔχρῃν,  
 καὶ μὴ 'πὶ ταῦτό τοῦτ' ἰόντ' ἔχειν ἴσον  
 τὸν τ' ἐσθλὸν ὄντα τὸν τε μὴ θεῶν πάρα.

1315

## ΠΡΟΦΗΤΙΣ

ἐπίσχεσ, ὦ παῖ· τρίποδα γὰρ χρηστήριον  
 λιποῦσα θριγκοὺς τούσδ' ὑπερβάλλω ποδὶ  
 Φοίβου προφήτις, τρίποδος ἀρχαῖον νόμον  
 σώιζουσα, πασῶν Δελφίδων ἐξαίρετος.  
 Ιων χαῖρ', ὦ φίλη μοι μήτερ, οὐ τεκοῦσά περ.  
 Πρ. ἀλλ' οὖν λεγόμεθά γ' ἢ φάτις δ' οὐ μοι πικρά.  
 Ιων ἤκουσας ὥς μ' ἔκτεινεν ἦδε μηχαναῖς;  
 Πρ. ἤκουσα· καὶ σὺ δ' ὠμός ὢν ἀμαρτάνεις.  
 Ιων οὐ χρή με τοὺς κτείνοντας ἀνταπολλύναι;  
 Πρ. προγόνοις δάμαρτες δυσμενεῖς αἰεί ποτε.  
 Ιων ἡμεῖς δὲ μητρυαῖς γε πάσχοντες κακῶς.  
 Πρ. μὴ ταῦτα· λείπων ἱερὰ καὶ στείχων πάτραν . . .  
 Ιων τί δή με δρᾶσαι νοθετούμενον χρεῶν;  
 Πρ. καθαρὸς Ἀθήνας ἔλθ' ὑπ' οἰωνῶν καλῶν.  
 Ιων καθαρὸς ἅπας τοι πολεμίους ὅς ἂν κτάνη.  
 Πρ. μὴ σύ γε· παρ' ἡμῶν δ' ἔκλαβ' οὓς ἔχω λόγους.  
 Ιων λέγοις ἄν' εὖνους δ' οὓς' ἐρεῖς ὅσ' ἂν λέγηις.  
 Πρ. ὁρᾷς τόδ' ἄγγος χερὸς ὑπ' ἀγκάλαις ἐμαῖς;  
 Ιων ὁρῶ παλαιὰν ἀντίπηγ' ἐν στέμμασιν.  
 Πρ. ἐν τῇιδέ σ' ἔλαβον νεόγονον βρέφος ποτέ.  
 Ιων τί φῆις; ὁ μῦθος εἰσενήνεκται νέος.  
 Πρ. σιγῇ γὰρ εἶχον αὐτά· νῦν δὲ δείκνυμεν.  
 Ιων πῶς οὖν ἔκρυπτες τότε λαβοῦς' ἡμᾶς πάλαι;  
 Πρ. ὁ θεὸς ἐβούλετ' ἐν δόμοις <σ'> ἔχειν λάτριν.  
 Ιων νῦν δ' οὐχὶ χρήζει; τῷ τόδε γυνῶναί με χρή;

1320

1325

1330

1335

1340

1316 πονηρᾷ χειρί Owen: πονηρὰν χειρὰ L 1317 <δ'> Owen 1321 θριγκοὺς  
 τούσδ' Blomfield: θριγκοῦ τοῦδ' L 1325 λεγόμεθά γ' Elmsley: λεγόμεσθ' L  
 1327 δ' Hermann: γ' L 1333 καθαρὸς Porson: καθαρῶς L 1342 τότε  
 Hermann: τόδε L 1343 θεὸς . . . δόμοις <σ'> Badham: θεός σ' . . . δόμοις L



- Πρ. πατέρα κατειπὼν τῆσδέ σ' ἐκπέμπει χθονός. 1345  
 Ιων σὺ δ' ἐκ κελευσµῶν ἢ πόθεν σῶιζεις τάδε;  
 Πρ. ἐνθύμιόν μοι τότε τίθησι Λοξίας.  
 Ιων τί χρῆμα δρᾶσαι; λέγε, πέραινε σοὺς λόγους.  
 Πρ. σῶσαι τόδ' εὖρημ' ἐς τὸν ὄντα νῦν χρόνον.  
 Ιων ἔχει δέ μοι τί κέρδος ἢ τίνα βλάβην; 1350  
 Πρ. ἐνθάδε κέκρυπται σπάργαν' οἷς ἐνῆσθα σύ.  
 Ιων μητρὸς τάδ' ἡμῖν ἐκφέρεις ζητήματα;  
 Πρ. ἐπεὶ γ' ὁ δαίμων βούλεται· πάροιθε δ' οὔ.  
 Ιων ὦ μακαρία μοι φασμάτων ἥδ' ἡμέρα.  
 Πρ. λαβὼν νυν αὐτὰ τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἐκπόνει. 1355  
 <Ιων> πᾶσάν γ' ἐπελθὼν Ἀσιάδ' Εὐρώπης θ' ὄρους.  
 <Πρ.> γνώσῃ τάδ' αὐτός. τοῦ θεοῦ δ' ἕκατί σε  
 ἔθρεψά τ', ὦ παῖ, καὶ τάδ' ἀποδίδωμί σοι,  
 [ἅ κεῖνος ἀκέλευστόν μ' ἐβουλήθη λαβεῖν  
 †σῶσαί θ'· ὅτου δ' ἐβούλεθ' οὔνεκ' οὐκ ἔχω λέγειν†.] 1360  
 ἥιδε δὲ θνητῶν οὔτις ἀνθρώπων τάδε  
 ἔχοντας ἡμᾶς οὐδ' ἴν' ἦν κεκρυμμένα.  
 καὶ χαῖρ'· ἴσον γάρ σ' ὥς τεκοῦς· ἀσπάζομαι.  
 [ἄρξαι δ' ὅθεν σὴν μητέρα ζητεῖν σε χρή·  
 πρῶτον μὲν εἴ τις Δελφίδων τεκοῦσά σε 1365  
 ἐς τούσδε ναοὺς ἐξέθηκε παρθένος,  
 ἔπειτα δ' εἴ τις Ἑλλάς. ἐξ ἡμῶν δ' ἔχεις  
 ἅπαντα Φοίβου θ', ὃς μετέσχε τῆς τύχης.]  
 Ιων φεῦ φεῦ· κατ' ὅσων ὥς ὑγρὸν βάλλω δάκρυ,  
 ἐκεῖσε τὸν νοῦν δοὺς ὅθ' ἡ τεκοῦσά με 1370  
 κρυφαῖα νυμφευθεῖς· ἀπημπόλα λάθραι  
 καὶ μαστὸν οὐκ ἐπέσχε·ν· ἀλλ' ἀνώνυμος  
 ἐν θεοῦ μελάθροισι εἶχον οἰκέτην βίον.  
 τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μὲν χρηστά, τοῦ δὲ δαίμονος  
 βαρέα· χρόνον γὰρ ὃν μ' ἐχρῆν ἐν ἀγκάλαις 1375  
 μητρὸς τρυφῆσαι καὶ τι τερφθῆναι βίου  
 ἀπεστερήθην φιλτάτης μητρὸς τροφῆς.

1348 δρᾶσαι Musgrave: δράσειν L 1351 σπάργαν' οἷς ἐνῆσθα Reiske:  
 σπαργάνοισιν οἶσθα L 1354 μακαρία Hermann: μακαρίων L 1356 <Ιων>  
 Kirchhoff γ' Kirchhoff: δ' L 1357 <Πρ.> Kirchhoff 1359–60 deleted  
 by Gibert (Diggle thinks 1357–62 may be inauthentic) 1364–8 deleted by  
 Hirzel 1372 οὐκ ἐπέσχε·ν Dobree: οὐχ ὑπέσχε·ν L

- τλήμων δὲ χῆ τεκοῦσά μ' ὥς ταῦτόν πάθος  
πέπονθε, παιδὸς ἀπολέσασα χαρμονάς.  
καὶ νῦν λαβὼν τήνδ' ἀντίπηγ' οἷσω θεῶι 1380  
ἀνάθημ', ἴν' εὖρω μηδὲν ὦν οὐ βούλομαι.  
εἰ γάρ με δούλη τυγχάνει τεκοῦσά τις,  
εὐρεῖν κάκιον μητέρ' ἢ σιγῶντ' ἔαν.  
ὦ Φοῖβε, ναοῖς ἀνατίθημι τήνδε σοῖς·  
καίτοι τί πάσχω; τοῦ θεοῦ προθυμίαι 1385  
πολεμῶ, τὰ μητρὸς σύμβολ' ὅς σέσωκέ μοι;  
ἀνοικτέον τάδ' ἐστὶ καὶ τολμητέον·  
τὰ γὰρ πεπρωμέν' οὐχ ὑπερβαίην ποτ' ἄν.  
ὦ στέμμαθ' ἱερά, τί ποτέ μοι κεκεύθατε,  
καὶ σύνδεθ' οἷσι τᾶμ' ἐφρουρήθη φίλα; 1390  
ἰδοὺ περίπτυγμ' ἀντίπηγος εὐκύκλου  
ὥς οὐ γεγήρακ' ἔκ τινος θεηλάτου,  
εὐρώς τ' ἄπεστι πλεγμάτων· ὁ δ' ἐν μέσῳ  
χρόνος πολὺς δὴ τοῖσδε θησαυρίσμασιν.  
Κρ. τί δῆτα φάσμα τῶν ἀνελπίστων ὀρῶ; 1395  
Ἰων σίγα σύ· πῆμα καὶ πάροιθεν ἦσθά μοι.  
Κρ. οὐκ ἐν σιωπῇ τᾶμά· μή με νουθέτει.  
ὀρῶ γὰρ ἄγγος ὦι 'ξέθηκ' ἐγὼ ποτε  
σέ γ', ὦ τέκνον μοι, βρέφος ἔτ' ὄντα νήπιον,  
Κέκροπος ἐς ἄντρα καὶ Μακρὰς πετρηρεφεῖς. 1400  
λείψω δὲ βωμὸν τόνδε, κεῖ θανεῖν με χρή.  
Ἰων λάζυσθε τήνδε· θεομανῆς γὰρ ἦλατο  
βωμοῦ λιποῦσα ξόανα· δεῖτε δ' ὠλένας.  
Κρ. σφάζοντες οὐ λήγοιτ' ἄν· ὥς ἀνθέξομαι  
καὶ τῆσδε καὶ σοῦ τῶν τ' ἔσω κεκρυμμένων. 1405  
Ἰων τάδ' οὐχὶ δεινά; ῥυσιάζομαι δόλῳ.  
Κρ. οὐκ, ἀλλὰ σοῖς φίλοισιν εὐρίσκηι φίλος.  
Ἰων ἐγὼ φίλος σός; καὶτά μ' ἔκτεινες λάθραι;  
Κρ. παῖς γ', εἰ τόδ' ἐστὶ τοῖς τεκοῦσι φίλτατον.

1378 χῆ Schaefer: θ' ἡ L 1380 οἷσω Brodaeus: οἷσον L 1386 σέσωκέ  
Dobree: ἔσωσε L 1388 οὐχ Nauck: οὐδ' L ὑπερβαίην Scaliger: ὑπερβαίη L  
1396 assigned to Ion by Heath, to the Chorus by L σίγα L. Dindorf: σιγᾶν L πῆμα  
Broadhead: πολλὰ L ἦσθά Musgrave: οἷσθά L 1398 ὦι 'ξέθηκ' Barnes: οὐξέθηκ' L  
1405 τ' ἔσω Tyrwhitt: τε σῶν L 1406 δόλῳ Jacobs: λόγῳ L

- Ιων παῦσαι πλέκουσα — λήψομαί σ' ἐγώ — πλοκάς. 1410  
 Κρ. ἐς τοῦθ' ἰκοίμην, τοῦδε τοξεύω, τέκνον.  
 Ιων κενὸν τόδ' ἄγγος ἢ στέγει πλήρωμά τι;  
 Κρ. σά γ' ἔνδυθ', οἷσί σ' ἐξέθηκ' ἐγώ ποτε.  
 Ιων καὶ τοῦνομ' αὐτῶν ἐξερεῖς πρὶν εἰσιδεῖν;  
 Κρ. κἄν μὴ φράσω γε, κατθανεῖν ὑφίσταμαι. 1415  
 Ιων λέγ'· ὥς ἔχει τι δεινὸν ἢ γε τόλμα σου.  
 Κρ. σκέψασθ' ὃ παῖς ποτ' οὔσ' ὕφασμ' ὕφην' ἐγώ.  
 Ιων ποῖόν τι; πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.  
 Κρ. οὐ τέλος, οἷον δ' ἐκδίδαγμα κερκίδος.  
 Ιων μορφήν ἔχον τίν'; ὥς με μὴ ταύτῃ λάβῃς. 1420  
 Κρ. Γοργῶν μὲν ἐν μέσοισιν ἡτρίοις πέπλων.  
 Ιων ὦ Ζεῦ, τίς ἡμᾶς ἐκκυνηγετεῖ πότμος;  
 Κρ. κεκρασπέδωται δ' ὄφεισιν αἰγίδος τρόπον.  
 Ιων ἰδοῦ·  
 τόδ' ἔσθ' ὕφασμα †θέσφαθ' ὥς εὐρίσκομεν†.  
 Κρ. ὦ χρόνιον ἰστῶν παρθένευμα τῶν ἐμῶν. 1425  
 Ιων ἔστιν τι πρὸς τῶιδ' ἢ μόνωι τῶιδ' εὐτυχεῖς;  
 Κρ. δράκοντες, ἀρχαίωι τι πάγχρυσον γένει  
 δώρημ' Ἀθάνας, οἷς τέκν' ἐντρέφειν λέγει,  
 Ἐριχθονίου γε τοῦ πάλαι μιμήματα.  
 Ιων τί δρᾶν, τί χρῆσθαι, φράζε μοι, χρυσώματι; 1430  
 Κρ. δέραια παιδὶ νεογόνωι φέρειν, τέκνον.  
 Ιων ἔνεισιν οἶδε· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ποθῶ μαθεῖν.  
 Κρ. στέφανον ἐλαίας ἀμφέθηκά σοι τότε,  
 ἦν πρῶτ' Ἀθάνας σκόπελος ἐξηνέγκατο,  
 ὅς, εἴπερ ἐστίν, οὔποτ' ἐκλείπει χλόην, 1435  
 θάλλει δ', ἐλαίας ἐξ ἀκηράτου γεγώς.  
 Ιων ὦ φιλτάτῃ μοι μῆτερ, ἄσμενός σ' ἰδὼν  
 πρὸς ἀσμένας πέπτωκα σὰς παρηίδας.  
 Κρ. ὦ τέκνον, ὦ φῶς μητρὶ κρεῖσσον ἡλίου  
 (συγγνώσεται γὰρ ὁ θεός), ἐν χεροῖν σ' ἔχω, 1440  
 ἄελπτον εὖρημ', ὃν κατὰ γᾶς ἐνέρων

1410 σ' Tyrwhitt: δ' L πλοκάς Jacobs: καλῶς L παῦσαι <πλοκάς> πλέκουσα — λήψομαι σ' ἐγώ [καλῶς] Herwerden 1416 ἢ γε τόλμα Jodrell: ἡ τόλμα γε L 1427 ἀρχαίωι ... πάγχρυσον Wilamowitz: ἀρχαῖον ... παγχρύσω L 1428 οἷς Page: ἢ L 1430 χρυσώματι L Dindorf: χρυσώμια L 1434 σκόπελος ἐξηνέγκατο Stephanus (σκόπελος) and Scaliger: σκόπελον εἰσηνέγκατο L

- χθονίων μέτα Περσεφόνας τ' ἐδόκουν ναίειν.  
 Ιων ἄλλ', ὦ φίλη μοι μήτερ, ἐν χεροῖν σέθεν  
 ὁ κατθανών τε κοῦ θανών φαντάζομαι.
- Κρ. ἰὼ ἰὼ λαμπρᾶς αἰθέρος ἀμπτυχαί, 1445  
 τίν' αὐδὰν αὐσω βοάσω; πόθεν μοι 1446-7  
 συνέκυρσ' ἀδόκητος ἡδονά;  
 πόθεν ἐλάβομεν χαράν;
- Ιων ἐμοὶ γενέσθαι πάντα μᾶλλον ἂν ποτε, 1450  
 μήτερ, παρέστη τῶνδ', ὅπως σός εἰμ' ἐγώ.
- Κρ. ἔτι φόβωι τρέμω.
- Ιων μῶν οὐκ ἔχειν μ' ἔχουσα; Κρ. τὰς γὰρ ἐλπίδας  
 ἀπέβαλον πρόσω. 1453bis  
 ἰὼ <ἰὼ> γύναι, πόθεν ἔλαβες ἐμὸν  
 βρέφος ἐς ἀγκάλας; 1454bis  
 τίν' ἀνὰ χέρα δόμους ἔβα Λοξίου; 1455
- Ιων θεῖον τόδ'· ἀλλὰ τάπιλοιπα τῆς τύχης  
 εὐδαιμονοῖμεν, ὥς τὰ πρόσθ' ἐδυστύχει.
- Κρ. τέκνον, οὐκ ἀδάκρυτος ἐκλοχεύηι,  
 γόοις δὲ ματρὸς ἐκ χερῶν ὀρίζηι.  
 νῦν δὲ γενειάσιν πάρα σέθεν πνέω 1460  
 μακαριωτάτας τυχοῦσ' ἡδονᾶς.
- Ιων τοῦμόν λεγούσα καὶ τὸ σὸν κοινῶς λέγεις.
- Κρ. ἄπαιδες οὐκέτ' ἐσμέν οὐδ' ἄτεκνοι·  
 δῶμ' ἐστιοῦται, γὰρ δ' ἔχει τυράννους,  
 ἀνηβᾶι δ' Ἑρεχθεύς· 1465  
 ὃ τε γηγενέτας δόμος οὐκέτι νύκτα δέρκεται,  
 ἀελίου δ' ἀναβλέπει λαμπάσιν.
- Ιων μήτερ, παρών μοι καὶ πατήρ μετασχέτω  
 τῆς ἡδονῆς τῆσδ' ἧς ἔδωχ' ὑμῖν ἐγώ.
- Κρ. ὦ τέκνον, 1470  
 τί φῆις; οἷον οἷον ἀνελέγχομαι.
- Ιων πῶς εἶπας; Κρ. ἄλλοθεν γέγονας, ἄλλοθεν.
- Ιων ὦμοι· νόθον με παρθένευμ' ἔτικτε σόν;
- Κρ. οὐχ ὑπὸ λαμπάδων οὐδὲ χορευμάτων

1442 χθονίων Bothe: χθόνιον L μέτα Heath: μετὰ L 1454 <ἰὼ> Bothe πόθεν  
 once Burges: twice L 1457 πρόσθ' ἐδυστύχει Bothe: πρόσθε δυστυχή  
 L 1464 γὰρ δ' Reiske: τὰδ' L 1466 νύκτα Markland: νύκτας L

- ὑμέναιος ἐμός σὸν ἔτικτε κάρα, τέκνον. 1475-6  
 Ιων αἰαῖ· πέφυκα δυσγενῆς, μήτερ; πόθεν;  
 Κρ. ἴστω Γοργοφύνα . . . Ιων τί τοῦτ' ἔλεξας;  
 Κρ. ἃ σκοπέλοις ἐπ' ἐμοῖς  
 τὸν ἐλαιοφυᾶ πάγον θάσσει 1480  
 Ιων < x - > λέγεις μοι σκολιὰ κοῦ σαφῇ τάδε.  
 Κρ. παρ' ἀηδόνιον πέτραν Φοῖβωι . . .  
 Ιων τί Φοῖβον αὐδαῖς;  
 Κρ. κρυπτόμενον λέχος ἡνύασθην . . .  
 Ιων λέγ'· ὥς ἐρεῖς τι κεδνὸν εὐτυχές τέ μοι. 1485  
 Κρ. δεκάτῳι δέ σε μηνὸς ἐν κύκλῳι  
 κρύφιον ὦδ'· ἔτεκον Φοῖβωι.  
 Ιων ὦ φίλτατ' εἰποῦς, εἰ λέγεις ἐτήτυμα.  
 Κρ. παρθένια δ' ἱέμας† ματέρος  
 σπάργαν' ἀμφίβολά σοι τάδ' ἀνῆψα κερ- 1490  
 κίδος ἐμᾶς πλάνους.  
 γάλακτι δ' οὐκ ἐπέσχον οὐδὲ μαστῶι  
 τροφεῖα ματρὸς οὐδὲ λουτρὰ χειροῖν,  
 ἀνὰ δ' ἄντρον ἔρημον οἶωνῶν  
 γαμψηλαῖς φόνευμα θοίναμά τ' εἰς 1495  
 Ἄιδαν ἐκβάλληι.  
 Ιων ὦ δεινὰ τλᾶσα, μήτερ. Κρ. ἐν φόβῳι, τέκνον,  
 καταδεθεῖσα σὰν ἀπέβαλον ψυχάν. 1498-9  
 Ιων ἔκτεινας ἄκουσ', ἱέξ ἐμοῦ τ' οὐχ ὅσι' ἔθνησκες†. 1500-1  
 Κρ. ἰὼ <ἰώ>· δειναὶ μὲν <αῖ> τότε τύχαι, 1502-3  
 δεινὰ δὲ καὶ τάδ'· ἐλίσσόμεσθ' ἐκεῖθεν  
 ἐνθάδε δυστυχίαισιν εὐτυχίαις τε πάλιν, 1505  
 μεθίσταται δὲ πνεύματα.  
 μενέτω· τὰ πάροιθεν ἄλις κακὰ· νῦν 1507-8  
 δὲ γένοιτό τις οὗρος ἐκ κακῶν, ὦ παῖ.

1475-6 σὸν ἔτικτε κάρα, τέκνον Willink: τέκνον, ἔτικτε σὸν κάρα L 1481 <μήτερ>  
 Wilamowitz, <αἰαῖ> Matthiae σκολιὰ Herwerden: δόλια L 1489 δ' ἐμᾶς L: δὲ  
 σᾶς Paley, δ' ἐκάς Badham, δ' ἐμᾶς <ἐκάς> or <ἄτερ> Jackson 1490 ἀνῆψα Paley:  
 ἐνῆψα L 1493 χειροῖν Heath: χεροῖν L: χερσίν Wilamowitz 1498-9 τέκνον  
 καταδεθεῖσα σὰν ἀπέβαλον ψυχάν Wilamowitz: καταδεθεῖσα σὰν ψυχάν ἀπέβαλον τέκνον  
 L 1500-1 ἔκτεινας ἄκουσ' Diggle, assigning these words to Ion: ἔκτεινά σ' ἄκουσ'  
 L, with no change of speaker indicated. οὐχ ὅσι' deleted by Wilamowitz, ἔτλης in  
 place of ἔθνησκες Maas 1502 <ἰώ> Hermann <αῖ> Matthiae 1504 δεινὰ  
 Barnes: δειλία L 1509 δὲ γένοιτό Wilamowitz: δ' ἐγένετο L

- Χο. μηδεὶς δοκείτω μηδὲν ἀνθρώπων ποτὲ 1510  
ἄελπτον εἶναι πρὸς τὰ τυγχάνοντα νῦν.
- Ιων ὦ μεταβαλοῦσα μυρίους ἤδη βροτῶν  
καὶ δυστυχῆσαι καὖθις αὖ πρᾶξαι καλῶς  
τύχη, παρ' οἷαν ἤλθομεν στάθμην βίου  
μητέρα φονεῦσαι καὶ παθεῖν ἀνάξια. 1515  
φεῦ·  
ἄρ' ἐν φαενναῖς ἡλίου περιπτυχαῖς  
ἔνεστι πάντα τάδε καθ' ἡμέραν μαθεῖν;  
φίλον μὲν οὖν σ' εὖρημα, μήτερ, ἡὔρομεν,  
καὶ τὸ γένος οὐδὲν μεμπτόν, ὥς ἡμῖν, τόδε·  
τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς σέ βούλομαι μόνην φράσαι. 1520  
δεῦρ' ἔλθ'· ἐς οὓς γὰρ τοὺς λόγους εἰπεῖν θέλω  
καὶ περικαλύψαι τοῖσι πράγμασι σκότον.  
ὄρα σύ, μήτερ, μὴ σφαλεῖς' ἃ παρθένοις  
ἐγγίγνεται νοσήματ' ἐς κρυπτοὺς γάμους  
ἔπειτα τῷ θεῷ προστίθης τὴν αἰτίαν 1525  
καὶ τοῦμόν αἰσχρὸν ἀποφυγεῖν πειρωμένη  
Φοίβωι τεκεῖν με φήις, τεκοῦς' οὐκ ἐκ θεοῦ.
- Κρ. μὰ τὴν παρασπίζουσαν ἄρμασιν ποτε  
Νίκην Ἀθάναν Ζηνὶ γηγενεῖς ἔπι,  
οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτις σοι πατήρ θνητῶν, τέκνον, 1530  
ἀλλ' ὅσπερ ἐξέθρεψε Λοξίας ἄναξ.
- Ιων πῶς οὖν τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδ' ἔδωκ' ἄλλωι πατρὶ  
Ζούθου τέ φησι παῖδά μ' ἐκπεφυκέναι;
- Κρ. πεφυκέναι μὲν οὐχί, δωρεῖται δέ σε  
αὐτοῦ γεγῶτα· καὶ γὰρ ἂν φίλος φίλῳ 1535  
δοίη τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα δεσπότην δόμων.
- Ιων ὁ θεὸς ἀληθὴς ἢ μάτην μαντεύεται;  
ἐμοῦ ταρασσει, μήτερ, εἰκότως φρένα.
- Κρ. ἄκουε δὴ νυν ἅμ' ἐσῆλθεν, ὦ τέκνον·  
εὐεργετῶν σε Λοξίας ἐς εὐγενῇ 1540  
δόμον καθίζει· τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ λεγόμενος  
οὐκ ἔσχες ἂν ποτ' οὔτε παγκλήρους δόμους  
οὔτ' ὄνομα πατρός. πῶς γάρ, οὔ γ' ἐγὼ γάμους

1513 αὖ Pierson: εὔ L

1523 σφαλεῖς' ἃ παρθένοις Musgrave: σφαλεῖσα παρθένος L

1530 οὔτις Hartung: ὅστις L

ἔκρυπτον αὐτὴ καὶ σ' ἀπέκτεινον λάθραι;  
 ὁ δ' ὠφελῶν σε προστίθησ' ἄλλωι πατρί. 1545  
 Ιων οὐχ ὧδε φαύλως αὐτ' ἐγὼ μετέρχομαι,  
 ἀλλ' ἱστορήσω Φοῖβον εἰσελθὼν δόμους  
 εἴτ' εἰμὶ θνητοῦ πατρὸς εἴτε Λοξίου.  
 ἕα· τίς οἴκων θυοδόκων ὑπερτελής  
 ἀντήλιον πρόσωπον ἐκφαίνει θεῶν; 1550  
 φεύγωμεν, ὦ τεκοῦσα, μὴ τὰ δαιμόνων  
 ὀρῶμεν, εἰ μὴ καιρὸς ἐσθ' ἡμᾶς ὀρᾶν.

## ΑΘΗΝΑ

μὴ φεύγετ'· οὐ γὰρ πολεμίαν με φεύγετε  
 ἀλλ' ἔν τ' Ἀθήναις κἀνθάδ' οὔσαν εὐμενῇ.  
 ἐπώνυμος δὲ σῆς ἀφικόμην χθονὸς 1555  
 Παλλὰς, δρόμωι σπεύσας· Ἀπόλλωνος πάρα,  
 ὃς ἐς μὲν ὄψιν σφῶιν μολεῖν οὐκ ἤξιου,  
 μὴ τῶν πάροιθε μέμψις ἐς μέσον μόλῃ,  
 ἡμᾶς δὲ πέμπει τοὺς λόγους ὑμῖν φράσαι·  
 ὥς ἦδε τίκτει σ' ἐξ Ἀπόλλωνος πατρός, 1560  
 δίδωσι δ' οἷς ἔδωκεν, οὐ φύσασί σε,  
 ἀλλ' ὥς κομίζῃ 'ς οἶκον εὐγενέστατον.  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεώιχθη πρᾶγμα μηνυθὲν τόδε,  
 θανεῖν σε δείσας μητρὸς ἐκ βουλευμάτων  
 καὶ τήνδε πρὸς σοῦ, μηχαναῖς ἐρρύσατο. 1565  
 ἔμελλε δ' αὐτὰ διασιωπήσας ἄναξ  
 ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις γνωριεῖν ταύτην τε σοὶ  
 σέ θ' ὥς πέφυκας τῆσδε καὶ Φοίβου πατρός.  
 ἀλλ' ὥς περαίνω πρᾶγμα καὶ χρησμούς θεοῦ,  
 ἐφ' οἷσιν ἔζευξ' ἄρματ', εἰσακούσατον. 1570  
 λαβοῦσα τόνδε παῖδα Κεκροπίαν χθόνα  
 χώρει, Κρέουσα, κᾶς θρόνους τυραννικούς  
 ἴδρυσον. ἐκ γὰρ τῶν Ἐρεχθέως γεγῶς  
 δίκαιος ἄρχειν τῆς ἐμῆς ὅδε χθονός,

1549 θυοδόκων Pierson: θεοδότων L    1561 οὐ φύσασί σε Stephanus: οὐ φασί σε L  
 1562 κομίζῃ 'ς Wilamowitz, after Lenting (κομίζῃ σ') and Reiske (νομίζῃ 'ς):  
 νομίζης L    1567 σοὶ Kuiper: σὴν L    1569 θεοῦ Scaliger: θεῶ L    1574 τῆς  
 Hartung: τῆσδ' L: τῆς γ' L<sup>sl</sup>

ἔσται δ' ἂν Ἑλλάδ' εὐκλεής. οἱ τοῦδε γὰρ 1575  
 παῖδες γενόμενοι τέσσαρες ρίζης μιᾶς  
 ἐπώνυμοι γῆς κάπιφυλίων χθονὸς  
 λαῶν ἔσονται, σκόπελον οἱ ναίουσ' ἐμόν.  
 Γελέων μὲν ἔσται πρῶτος· εἶτα δεύτερος  
 < >  
 Ὅπλητες Ἀργαδῆς τ', ἐμῆς <τ'> ἀπ' αἰγίδος 1580  
 ἐν φῦλον ἔξουσ' Αἰγικορῆς. οἱ τῶνδε δ' αὖ  
 παῖδες γενόμενοι σὺν χρόνῳ πεπρωμένῳ  
 Κυκλάδας ἐποικήσουσι νησαίας πόλεις  
 χέρσους τε παράλους, ὃ σθένος τῇμῃ χθονὶ  
 δίδωσιν· ἀντίπορθμα δ' ἠπείροιον δυοῖν 1585  
 πεδία κατοικήσουσιν, Ἀσιάδος τε γῆς  
 Εὐρωπίας τε· τοῦδε δ' ὀνόματος χάριν  
 Ἴωνες ὀνομασθέντες ἔξουσιν κλέος.  
 Ζούθῳ δὲ καὶ σοὶ γίγνεται κοινὸν γένος,  
 Δῶρος μὲν, ἔνθεν Δωρὶς ὑμνηθήσεται 1590  
 πόλις κατ' αἴαν Πελοπίαν· ὁ δεύτερος  
 Ἀχαιοί, ὃς γῆς παραλίας Ῥίου πέλας  
 τύραννος ἔσται, κάπισημανθήσεται  
 κείνου κεκλησθαι λαὸς ὄνομ' ἐπώνυμον.  
 καλῶς δ' Ἀπόλλων πάντ' ἔπραξε· πρῶτα μὲν 1595  
 ἄνοσον λοχεύει σ', ὥστε μὴ γινῶναι φίλους·  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἔτικτες τόνδε παῖδα κάπέθου  
 ἐν σπαργάνοις, ἀρπάσαντ' ἐς ἀγκάλας  
 Ἑρμῆν κελεύει δεῦρο πορθμεῦσαι βρέφος,  
 ἔθρεψέ τ' οὐδ' εἴασεν ἐκπνεῦσαι βίον. 1600  
 νῦν οὖν σιώπα παῖς ὅδ' ὥς πέφυκε σός,  
 ἴν' ἡ δόκησις Ζοῦθον ἠδέως ἔχη  
 σύ τ' αὖ τὰ σαυτῆς ἀγάθ' ἔχουσ' ἱῆς, γύναι.  
 καὶ χαίρετ'· ἐκ γὰρ τῆσδ' ἀναψυχῆς πόνων  
 εὐδαίμον' ὑμῖν πότμον ἐξαγγέλλομαι. 1605  
 Ἴων ὦ Διὸς Παλλὰς μεγίστου θύγατερ, οὐκ ἀπιστίαι

1575 δ' L. Dindorf: τ' L      1577 κάπιφυλίων Paley: κάπιφυλίου L      1579 Γελέων  
 Canter: τελέων L      Badham indicates a lacuna after this verse      1580 Ὅπλητες  
 Ἀργαδῆς Canter: ὁ πάντες ἀργαλῆς L      <τ'> Canter      1581 ἐν φῦλον Hermann:  
 ἔμφυλον L      1591 ὁ Wilamowitz and Murray, believing it to be what L intended: γ'  
 ὁ L      1594 ἐπώνυμον Kirchhoff: ἐπώνυμος L      1603 ἱῆς Porson: εἴη L: εἴης Tr<sup>2</sup>



- σους λόγους ἐδεξάμεσθα, πείθομαι δ' εἶναι πατρός  
 Λοξίου καὶ τῆσδε· καὶ πρὶν τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἄπιστον ἦν.
- Κρ. τὰμὰ νῦν ἄκουσον· αἰνῶ Φοῖβον οὐκ αἰνοῦσα πρὶν,  
 οὔνεχ' οὗ ποτ' ἠμέλησε παιδὸς ἀποδίδωσί μοι. 1610  
 αἶδε δ' εὖωποὶ πύλαι μοι καὶ θεοῦ χρηστήρια,  
 δυσμενῇ πάροιθεν ὄντα. νῦν δὲ καὶ ρόπτρων χέρας  
 ἡδέως ἐκκριμνάμεσθα καὶ προσεννέπω πύλας.
- Αθ. ἦινεσ' οὔνεκ' εὐλογεῖς θεὸν μεταβαλοῦσ' ἱαίει πουτ'  
 χρόνια μὲν τὰ τῶν θεῶν πως, ἐς τέλος δ' οὐκ ἀσθενῇ. 1615
- Κρ. ὦ τέκνον, στείχωμεν οἴκους. Αθ. στείχεθ', ἔψομαι δ' ἐγώ.  
 <Ιων> ἀξία γ' ἡμῶν ὁδουρός. <Κρ.> καὶ φιλοῦσά γε πτόλιν.
- Αθ. ἐς θρόνους δ' ἵζου παλαιούς. <Ιων> ἄξιον τὸ κτῆμά μοι.
- Χο. ὦ Διὸς Λητοῦς τ' Ἀπολλων, χαῖρ'· ὅτῳ δ' ἐλαύνεται  
 συμφοραῖς οἶκος, σέβοντα δαίμονας θαρσεῖν χρεών· 1620  
 ἐς τέλος γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἐσθλοὶ τυγχάνουσιν ἀξίων,  
 οἱ κακοὶ δ', ὥσπερ πεφύκασ', οὔποτ' εὖ πράξειαν ἄν.

1607 ἐδεξάμεσθα Musgrave: δεξόμεσθα L 1614 ἀμείνονα Musgrave 1617  
 Hermann assigns the first half of the verse to Ion, the second to Creusa: L's indi-  
 cation of speaker change at the beginning of the verse implies assignment of the  
 whole verse to Creusa 1618 Heath assigns the second half of the verse to Ion:  
 L's indication of speaker change implies assignment to Creusa

## COMMENTARY

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### 1–183 OPENING SCENE (*PROLOGOS*)

The opening scene (*prologos* as defined by Arist. *Po.* 1452b19–20, “the whole section of a tragedy before the entrance(-song) of the chorus”) presents the back story, Hermes’ guess as to Apollo’s plan, and Ion’s solo song. The scene is before the temple of Apollo at Delphi (5, 39), the time a little before dawn (82–8). A stage property (probably a painted screen) provides cover for Hermes’ exit after 81 into the *skene* through a side door or around the back (76n.). The most important feature of the set is the altar at which Creusa seeks protection some time after 1260 (Intro. §3). The two-part division (prologue-*rhesis*, monody) is common, especially in E.’s later tragedies, but here both parts contribute to a tone unique even among the “tragicomic” or “romantic” plays (Intro. §9). Hermes is not only factual, but a little playful and rivalrous (67–8, 80–1nn.); Ion is unusually pious and content, but his song and Hermes’ speech mark his current status as transitional (69–73, 82–183nn.).

#### 1–81 Prologue-*rhesis* of Hermes

Hermes enters by one of the *eisodoi* and delivers a long expository prologue-*rhesis* of the kind especially associated with E. already in antiquity (Ar. *Frogs* 946–7, Erbse 1984: 1–6, 73–88, Rutherford 2012: 179–90). *Alc.*, *Hipp.*, *Hec.*, and *Tro.* also have supernatural prologue-speakers, but Hermes is the only one with no direct stake in the action he introduces; however, his indirect involvement is significant, as his appearance at stage level perhaps suggests (Mastronarde 1990: 273–4, comparing *Alc.*). He is an appropriate god to witness and in a sense preside over this transition in Ion’s life. Myth often assigns him the role he played after Ion’s birth (28–40n.), and he is generally associated with discoveries and luck.

After introducing himself (1–4) and the Delphic setting (5–7), Hermes relates Apollo’s rape of Creusa, the child’s birth and Creusa’s exposure of him (8–27), his own rescue of the infant on Apollo’s instructions (28–40), the child’s discovery by the Priestess and Delphic upbringing (41–56), Creusa’s childless marriage to Xuthus and their present mission (57–67), and his guess as to Apollo’s plan (67–73). Then, after giving Ion his new name (74–81), he withdraws. While giving this information, the speech dwells on important places and objects, and sounds important themes: the Delphic oracle (5–7, 33–4, etc.), the Acropolis and Long Rocks of Athens (8–13), the basket in which Ion was exposed with snake amulets (19–27), Creusa’s autochthonous heritage (10, 20–1, 29), Ion’s pious life (52–6), Xuthus as

outsider (57–64), and Ion’s name (74–5, 80–1nn.). We learn that Apollo took Creusa by force (10–11), but also that he has taken good care of his child (35–6, 47–8, 73). We hear nothing of how Creusa was affected by her encounter with Apollo except that, by the god’s will, her pregnancy and labor remained secret (14–15). What Hermes presents as Apollo’s plan allows confident prediction of only one of the play’s events, the false recognition in the Third Scene. For the rest, we must stay and watch, like Hermes (76–7).

**1–4** Like prologists in many of E.’s plays (e.g. *IT*, *Hel.*, *Ph.*, *Or.*, *Ba.*), as noticed and mocked by Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1177–1247), Hermes begins with genealogy. His grandfather Atlas represents cosmic stability, an image varied throughout the play, notably in Ion’s monody and the Servant’s “messenger”-*rhesis* (82–5, 1147–58nn., Mastronarde 2003: 298–9); Greeks might have heard in Atlas’ name the ambivalent, thematically important root *τλα-* (both “endure” and “dare,” 252–4n.), although it is disputed whether “Atlas” in fact derives from *ἀ-*copulative + *τλα-* so as to mean “bearer.” As an archetype of servitude, Atlas sets a pattern for Hermes (*δαιμόνων λάτρην*, 4n.) and Ion (121–4n.), while his daughter Maia, like Creusa, bore a son to an Olympian god. Later, Hermes succinctly states the family background of Creusa (10) and Xuthus (63–4).

**1–2** *Ἄτλας ὁ νῶτοις χαλκίοισιν οὐρανόν | . . . ἐκτρίβων*: Atlas wears out the sky with his back, a poetic inversion of the expected image of the sky wearing out his back (cf. 52–3, 388–9nn.). “Bronze back” is also a surprise, since in earlier poetry it is the sky that is bronze (Hom. *Il.* 5.504, 17.425, *Od.* 3.2, Pi. *P.* 10.27, *N.* 6.3–4, etc.). Thus, while the opening image implies in retrospect that Creusa, like Atlas, must finally bend to the will of heaven, it suggests equally that some part of her wears away or outlasts even Olympian Apollo. For Atlas’ burdensome task, see Hom. *Od.* 1.52–4, Hes. *Th.* 517–20, 746–8, [A.] *PV* 348–50, E. *Hipp.* 747, *Her.* 403–7, etc. As transmitted, the first line violates Porson’s Bridge, that is, L’s *νῶτοις οὐρανόν* ends the trimeter with the sequence – – | – ∪ –, forbidden when “the syllables – – belong to one word and the syllables – ∪ to one word or word-group” (West 1982: 84–5). Elmsley’s transposition provides an easy solution. Diggle prints the line as Page reconstructed it from what he thought was a quotation by Philodemus, but the reconstruction is inconsistent with the text of Philodemus, preserved only in a Neapolitan transcription of a carbonized papyrus from Herculaneum (Luppe 1983, cf. Diggle 1994: 314), and Philodemus was almost certainly paraphrasing, not quoting (Irvine 1997, Luppe 1998). Some think the violation can stand as a rhythmic *mimesis* of Atlas’ heavy burden, or be mitigated by writing *νῶτοις’* (elision before the final cretic). In any case, E.’s fondness for beginning

prologues with a proper name recommends keeping Atlas in his transmitted place at the beginning of the line.

**2-3** **θεῶν | μιᾷς ἔφυσε Μαΐαν** “fathered Maia on one of the goddesses”: the unusual phrasing suggests deliberate refusal to name Maia’s mother, but it is unclear why. Later sources name her variously; perhaps E. signals awareness of disagreement in his own day. Some suspect textual corruption, noting that when E. frames a line by repetition, there is usually a discernible point (e.g. *Ph.* 1446, *Or.* 1120, *IA* 1252), but that does not seem to be so in 2 **θεῶν . . . θεῶν**. Also, the syntax of “fathered” is anomalous: E. uses the intrans. forms of **φύειν** with a gen. of source and no prep. (e.g. 50), but not the trans. ones; *Med.* 804-5 οὔτε τῆς νεοζύγου | νύμφης τεκνώσει παῖδ’ provides only a partial parallel, since παῖδ’ there helps explain the gen. in a way that Μαΐαν here does not. These objections are serious, but no convincing improvement has been found.

**4** **Ἑρμῆν μεγίστῳ Ζηνί, δαιμόνων λάτριν**: the enjambed proper name “Hermes” and the descriptions “greatest Zeus” and “servant of the gods” convey pride. The immediate effect of **λάτριν**, which can be used derisively (“lackey”), could be an almost comic deflation of Hermes’ pretensions, but soon we learn that Ion too “serves” (121-4n.) and takes great pride in his work (109-11, 112-14, 128-40, 132-3nn.). Hermes later uses the language of reciprocity in narrating the favor he did for his brother (36-7).

**5-7** Hermes identifies the scene as Delphi and probably makes us wonder whether Apollo will appear in the play, since he sits at the navel (and today is a consultation day). Here Apollo sits on or at the **ὀμφαλός**, at 366 and often elsewhere on the tripod. The Pythia also sits on the tripod, and she and Apollo share the vocabulary of oracular utterance (6-7 ~ 91-3; cf. 1320-3). In *A. Eu.*, similarly, the Pythia says that Zeus has established (ἵξει) Apollo for all time as τοῖσδε μάντιν ἐν θρόνοις (18); then she says of herself, μάντις εἰς θρόνους καθίζανω (29). The overlapping descriptions offer assurance that the mortal woman serves the god’s will; see further 91-3n.

**5** **ἦκω**: formulaic and typical of “supernatural visitants” (Dodds on *Ba.* 1, comparing *Hec.* 1, *Tro.* 1 and [A.] *PV* 284; add *Her.* 824, [A.] *PV* 1), but also used of entrances by mortals (*Hel.* 426, *A. Ch.* 3).

**5-6** **ὀμφαλὸν | μέσον καθίζων**: “central navel” can refer to Delphi as center of the earth, the sacred stone that marks the spot, or both. At 223 and 461-2, where γᾶς is added to similar expressions, the main point is Delphi’s centrality, but at 224 Ion refers to the object (223-4n.). The story that Zeus, to find the center of the earth, released two eagles from its eastern and western ends and observed where they met was told by Pindar (fr. 54 = Strabo 9.3.6; cf. *Pi. P.* 4.4, 74); for its origin and growth, see Defradas 1972: 108-10; for the significance of belief in earth’s “navel” (with a sacred stone to represent it), e.g. Burkert 1983: 126-7,

Sourvinou-Inwood 1991: 235–6, Cole 2004: 74–9. The acc. after καθίζων “sitting” belongs to a common type of internal acc. but is nearly confined to tragedy (Smyth §1569, K–G 1.313–14); cf. 91, 366, 1314, 1317, 1480–1.

**6 Φοῖβος ὕμνωιδεῖ:** Apollo’s metrically convenient alternate name “Phoebus” is associated with brightness and purity (and favored by Ion, who uses it a dozen times in his monody); its etymology is an unsolved puzzle. At *Eu.* 4–8, A. derives it from Phoebe, a previous owner of the Delphic oracle (and Leto’s mother according to Hes. *Th.* 404–8), but this explains nothing and presumably reverses the true direction of influence (West on Hes. *Th.* 136). ὕμνωιδεῖν, a high-style (poetic and sacral) synonym of αἰδεῖν, occurs only here in E.; cf. ὕμνωιδία at 682. The stem is elsewhere used of “hymns” and prophecy, whereas θεσπίζων (7), probably also poetic to E. (though found in Herodotus and later prose, including inscriptions), is specifically “prophesying.” For Eustathius’ knowledge of three passages of *Ion*’s prologue, including this one, see *Introd.* §10.

**7 τὰ τ’ ὄντα καὶ μέλλοντα θεσπίζων αἰ:** Hermes’ idealized vision of Apollo’s eternal, truthful prophesying collides with the events of the play. The line-beginning, found also at *Hel.* 14, 923, *S. El.* 1498, derives from an epic model (Hom. *Il.* 1.70, Hes. *Th.* 38, etc.), with which it shares the use of the def. art. with only the first of the coordinated entities “present” and “future,” even though it must be supplied with the second as well (*GP* 518–19, Gildersleeve 1980: §§603, 605).

**8 ἔστιν γὰρ οὐκ ἄσημος Ἑλλήνων πόλις:** in a way, the tale on which Hermes now embarks does explain (γὰρ) why he has come to Delphi, but he does not make explicit until 77 (unusually late) that he is simply curious (unusual motive). οὐκ ἄσημος “not insignificant” is emphatic understatement (litotes), flattering to Athenian ears and not rare in prologues (e.g. *Hipp.* 1–2, *Hel.* 16); cf. 1518–20n.

**9 τῆς χρυσολόγχου Παλλάδος κεκλημένη** “said to belong to Pallas of the golden spear”: the gen. after a verb of naming implies possession or parentage, not necessarily eponymy (309–11n., *S. OC* 107–8, K–G 1.374–5; cf. Smyth §1305), but still there is a kind of riddle involving Athena’s alternate name Pallas (209–11n.), and it recurs at 1555–6; for such etymology via synonym, cf. 802–3n. It is unclear whether Athens in fact takes its name from Athena or vice versa (Burkert 1985: 139). χρυσόλογχος is found elsewhere only in the nearly contemporary Ar. *Thesmo.* 318, again conveying Athena’s uniquely close attachment to Athens; it may allude anachronistically to a work of art on the Acropolis, perhaps the west pediment of the Parthenon (Austin and Olson on Ar. *Thesmo.* 317–19), perhaps Phidias’ colossal bronze (and presumably gilded) statue of Athena called “Promachos”; cf. *Erech.* fr. 360.46–9, alluding certainly to the Acropolis and probably to Phidias’ cult statue inside the Parthenon (cf.

fr. 351, Calder 2006: 282–3). At the same time, an armed Athena and a golden divine attribute are thoroughly traditional.

**10 Ἐρεχθέως:** Erechtheus, eponymous hero of one of the ten Cleisthenic tribes, is named in Homer (*Il.* 2.547–9, *Od.* 7.78–81; cf. Parker 1996: 19–20) and best known in Attic myth for events dramatized in E.’s lost *Erechtheus* (277–82, 281–2nn.). For his relation to Erichthonius, cf. 20–1n.; for details of his legend and cult, Kron 1976: 32–83, Kearns 1989: 113–15, 160, Gantz 1993: 242–7.

**10–11 ἔζευξεν γάμοις | βίαι:** γάμοις = “(sexual) union” (again 72 and often); no violence is implied by ἔζευξεν γάμοις (cf. *Ba.* 468, *Ph.* 1365–6), but βίαι is unambiguous and emphatically placed. Apollo’s rape of Creusa and Creusa’s exposure of Ion are narrated four times by Creusa herself, with different emphases (338–52, 887–901, 936–65, 1472–1500); cf. the Chorus at 502–9. For mythical, literary, and legal aspects of their presentation in the play, see Introd. §§2.2, 2.3.

**Κρέουσσαν:** “Creusa” is a generic name for “princess,” lit. “(fem.) ruler.” In the epic form Κ[ρείουσαν, it is a certain supplement at [Hes.] fr. 10a.20, where a daughter of Erechtheus bears two sons and a daughter to Xuthus (West supplies the name “Ion” for one of the sons in 23), but it does not occur in the fragments of *Erech.*, at *Mel. Soph.* fr. 481.9–11, or indeed anywhere in tragedy outside *Ion*, though it is attested as a play-title for S. The claim that Hermes uses it six times because it was unfamiliar to Athenian spectators (Wilamowitz 1926: 1, Owen on 11) does not convince, as familiar names occur repeatedly in other prologues.

**11–13 ἔνθα προσβόρρους πέτρας . . . | Μακράς καλοῦσι** “where are the north-facing rocks they call the Long Rocks”: mention of this place later stirs a painful memory in Creusa (283–8n.); for the compressed naming construction, see Barrett on *Hipp.* 121–2, Davies on S. *Tr.* 639. For the caves on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, see Travlos 1971: 91–5 (Apollo Hypoakraios), 417–21 (Pan). Outside *Ion* (× 5), the toponym “Long Rocks” is attested only in votive tablets of imperial date found in one of the caves (B in Travlos’ Fig. 116); these designate Apollo as either ὑπ’ ἄκραις (or in one case ὑποακραῖος) or ὑπὸ Μακράϊς; for a detailed study and catalogue, see Nulton 2003. A sixth-century BCE statue base, found reused in the nearby Klepsydra parapet and bearing the inscription “Apollo” (no epithet), used to be taken as proof of early Apollo cult in the cave(s), but against this, see Nulton 2003: 25–6. The earliest literary reference to Apollo cult on the north slope is Paus. 1.28.4, referring to a sanctuary in the cave where Apollo raped Creusa; the charter myth for the imperial cult may well be *Ion* itself (see further 285n.). The area’s association with Pan, on the other hand, is attested at Hdt. 6.105 (and in the same passage of Pausanias) and exploited twice in *Ion*: at 492–509(n.), where Pan’s piping from his sunless cave accompanies the dance of the

daughters of Aglauros, and at 936–8, where the Old Man identifies the Long Rocks as a place where “the shrine (ἄδυτα) and altars of Pan are nearby.” Pan is himself a rapist in an image used by the Chorus of *Hel.* (190), and Ar. associates his cave with lovers’ trysts at *Lys.* 720–1, 911. Assignment of the cave complex labeled D in Travlos’ Fig. 116 to Pan is generally accepted, but not secured by archaeological finds.

**Παλλάδος ὑπ’ ὄχθωι:** for ὄχθος “hill” in ornate expressions for the Athenian Acropolis, cf. *Hclld.* 781, *El.* 1289, *Her.* 1178, *Tro.* 801–2; at 1434 it is Ἀθάνας σκόπελος (cf. 1578), at 1480 τὸν ἐλαιοφυᾶ πάγον.

**γῆς ἀνακτες Ἀτθίδος:** high-style periphrasis for “Athenians.” The adj. Ἀτθίς is rare in the fifth century, almost confined to late plays of E.; Ἀτθίς (sc. ξυγγραφή) later becomes a technical term for a local chronicle of Athens.

**14–15** “Unbeknown to her father (for this was the god’s will), she carried to term the swelling of her belly.” We are never told that Creusa tried to conceal her pregnancy (cf. 942–7n.). Twice we hear that fear played a part in her exposure of her newborn: at 898–9, she cast him into the place where Apollo raped her (cf. 17) φρίκαι ματρός, either “with a mother’s shudder” or “through fear of my mother” (897–8n.; for Creusa’s mother, cf. 280, 1489–91nn.); and at 1497–9(n.), she exposed him ἐν φόβῳ . . . καταδεθεῖσα “tied down in fear” (of what or whom she does not say). The present passage and 340, where Creusa says that her “friend” gave birth λάθραι πατρός, contain the only hints of “fear of the father,” a very common motif in the so-called “girl’s tragedy” (Intro. §2.3). Since Creusa’s father Erechtheus died when she was an infant, the motif should be impossible for *Ion*, and it has been explained as a slip in the two places where it occurs (Mirto 2009: 15–25). Other passages stress that Creusa’s experiences remained hidden, but only one says from whom (1596 ὥστε μὴ γινῶναι φίλους). For Apollo’s desire for secrecy, see 72–3n. The meaning “unbeknown” for ἀγνώς is apparently unique; elsewhere, it means “unknowing” or “unknown.”

**16 τεκοῦσ’ ἐν οἴκοις:** at 949 Creusa says, poignantly, that she gave birth in the cave. Spectators are unlikely to notice the discrepancy or try to account for it if they do (cf. 948–9, 1595–9nn., Mastronarde on *Ph.* 26, Huys 1995: 170–2). Zieliński thinks E. has Hermes locate the birth in the palace so that Creusa’s ready access to the basket (cf. 19–27) will not seem unrealistic, but the inference that in his handling of this and other details E. is “correcting” the story told by S. in his *Creusa* is adventurous (Zieliński 1925: 24–6, 55–8, 74–9). After παῖδ’ in the ptcpl. phrase, the syntax could do without βρέφος “newborn” in the main clause, but it heightens the pathos (similarly 1597–9, *Ph.* 22–5).

**18 κακτίθησιν ὡς θανούμενον:** ὡς reflects Creusa’s expectation that her infant will die. This important point is repeated in 27 (cf. 348, 1495–6,

1544), but we hear later that Creusa expected Apollo to save his child (965n.; cf. 26–7, 348–52nn.). The historical pres. ἐκτίθησιν here draws attention to a crucial event in the story; for another type, cf. 57–8n.

**19 κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ** “in the well-rounded circle of a hollow basket”: the elaborate description prepares for the appearance of this, the play’s most significant object, with the Priestess at 1320. The word ἀντίπηγος appears only in *Ion* (× 5), lexicographers, and grammarians. Etymologically, it reflects construction from parts “fixed opposite” one another (πηγνύναι, ἀντί). As described here and at 37–40 and 1391–3, the ἀντίπηγος (also called by the generic names ἄγγος “vessel” and κύτος, lit. “hollow”) is a round wicker basket with a lid. Such baskets are depicted on Attic vases and on terracotta reliefs from Locri in south Italy (Prückner 1968: 31–6). Some of the reliefs show a female figure seated before the basket, which is atop an ornate chest and holds a child. At least some of the vases depict Erichthonius, and it is highly likely that in naming and describing the ἀντίπηγος, E. has in mind the analogy he develops between Erichthonius and Ion, and perhaps the ritual of the Arrhephoria as well (20–1, 23–4nn., Introd. §7.2); see further Young 1941, Bergson 1960, Brulé 1987, especially 68–79, 124–30.

**20 προγόνων νόμον σώιζουσα:** when the custom of the ancestors and Erichthonius is recapitulated in 24–5 (ὅθεν . . . | νόμος τις), we learn that it involves golden snake amulets, and 21–4 have told us why; here, however, it seems to refer to exposing a child in a special basket. This has worried commentators, but the basket, with its mythic and ritual associations (previous note), deserves emphasis (cf. 23–4n. ἐκεῖ). It is ironic that Creusa, in exposing her child, “preserves” (σώιζουσα) the custom by which Athena protected Erichthonius (22 φρουρῶ . . . φύλακε σώματος, 24 δίδωσι σώιζειν); cf. Loraux 1993: 193–4, Zeitlin 1996: 295.

**20–1 τοῦ τε γηγενοῦς | Ἐριχθονίου:** Erichthonius and Erechtheus (10n.) have been aptly called “joint-heirs to a single mythological inheritance,” partly distinct, partly overlapping well into the fifth century (Parker 1986: 201); E. distinguishes them but somewhat obscures their relationship (267n., 999–1000). Erichthonius was born, according to Apollod. 3.14.6, when the seed of Hephaestus, who tried in vain to rape Athena, fell upon and impregnated the earth (for the sequel, see 23–4n.). The story was told by E. (fr. 925 = Eratosth. *Catast.* 13), possibly preceded by Pindar (fr. 253) and the poet of the epic *Danaïs* (fr. 2 Davies; cf. Gantz 1993: 77–8, 233–4), but the etymology of the name from ἔριον (the tuft of wool with which Athena wiped Hephaestus’ semen off her leg) and χθών, implied in Apollodorus’ account, cannot be traced earlier than Hellenistic times. In Homer (*Il.* 2.547–8), Herodotus (8.55), and probably S. (*Aj.* 202), it is Erechtheus who is “earthborn.” The name Erichthonius is first attested as an inscription on a kylix attributed



to the Codrus Painter (Berlin F 2537, c. 440–430 BCE), which labels a separate figure Erechtheus. For a compelling, though at times unavoidably speculative, account of the emergence and gradual differentiation of the two figures, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 51–89. For artistic representations of the birth or handing over of Erichthonius to Athena as τροφός, see *LIMC* IV.1.928–32, 2.632–3 (U. Kron), Brulé 1987: 45–62, Shapiro 1998: 133–45. The only accomplishment regularly attributed to the adult Erichthonius is founding the Panathenaea (first in Hellanicus *FGrHist* 323a F 2; cf. Fowler 2000–13: II.457–9). In tragedy, his name always appears at the beginning of the trimeter (again in 268, 999, 1429), where it is accommodated, if the last syllable is heavy, by a rare license (“second-foot anapaest”) restricted to intractable proper names (Diggle 1981: 47–8).

**23 δισσὼ δράκοντε:** snakes are generally chthonic and closely connected with Athenian autochthony in particular (e.g. the snake believed to live in the old temple of Athena, later the Erechtheum [Hdt. 8.41], and the sculpted snake near the spear of Phidias’ Athena Parthenos, identified with Erichthonius by Paus. 1.24.7; cf. Hyg. *Astr.* 2.13). For snakes in *Ion*, see further Creusa’s bracelet with its snake poison (1015), the image of Cecrops at the entrance to Ion’s tent (1163–4), and Ion’s description of Creusa herself as ἔχιδνα “viper” (1262–5). Most versions of Erichthonius’ story have one snake, but for E.’s two, cf. Amelesagoras *FGrHist* 330 F 1 and the name cup of the Erichthonius Painter, a red-figure pelike of 440–430 BCE in London (E 372; Reeder 1995: 257–8).

**23–4 παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσιν | δίδωσι σώζειν:** Cecrops’ daughters are “Aglaurides” because their mother, like one of her daughters, is named Aglauros (Apollod. 3.14.2). Their story provides an important mythic and possibly cultic prototype for Creusa, both when she exposes her baby and in the action of the play (cf. 271–4, 495–8, 1163–4nn., *Intro.* §7.2). In *Ion* (496), as elsewhere, there are three girls, but two of them, Aglauros and Pandrosos (“All-dew”), are much more deeply rooted in Athenian myth and cult than the third, Herse, whose name (“Dew”) arouses suspicion that she is a doublet of Pandrosos, added when someone wanted to turn a pair of girls into a triad, a popular motif (cf. Henderson on Ar. *Lys.* 439). According to Apollod. 3.14.6, Athena, wishing to make Erichthonius (20–1n.) immortal (a detail not attested elsewhere and possibly borrowed from the Demophon myth, cf. *h. Dem.* 231–74), entrusted him to Pandrosos in a basket (κίστη), with instructions not to open it. But her two sisters opened it out of curiosity, saw a snake coiled around the baby, and were either killed by the snake or, driven mad because of Athena’s anger, leapt to their death from the Acropolis. E. does not name or differentiate the sisters; 271–4 imply that they all disobeyed and died. Here, at 496, and at Ar. *Thesmo.* 533, MSS. give the spelling Ἀγρᾱυλ; if this

form existed in E.’s day, word-play is possible at 882–3 ἀγραύλοις | κεράεσσιν ἐν ἀψύχοις (Loraux 1993: 225 n. 186), but inscriptional evidence supports only Ἀγλαυρ- (Threatte 1980–96: 1.478). Etymologically, the name is a puzzle; some connect it with ἀγλός “bright” and a root meaning “water” (which would link Aglauros, like her sisters, with life-giving moisture), but Beekes ἀναυρος doubts this.

**Ἐρεχθεΐδαις:** in many passages of fifth-century and later poets, Ἐρεχθεΐδαι (lit. “descendants of Erechtheus”) is an honorific synonym for “Athenians” (Page and Mastronarde on *Med.* 824); similarly Κεκροπίδαι at 296, Θησεΐδαι at *S. OC* 1066; cf. 59 Χαλκωδοντίδαις “Euboeans.” In a play featuring Erechtheus’ daughter and grandson, Ἐρεχθεΐδαι could refer to his literal descendants, as at 1056 and 1060, but the custom Hermes explains is better imputed to “Athenians” (including, by implication, the spectators). So close to the lifetime of Erechtheus himself, the usage is “semi-anachronistic” (Owen, comparing *El.* 711, *S. OC* 1066); cf. 63–4, 468–71, 735–7nn.

**ἐκεῖ:** standing in Athens in the Theater of Dionysus, the actor pretending to be Hermes in Delphi says “there,” meaning Athens. According to Burkert 2001: 51 n. 41, ἐκεῖ refers to the cave, and the custom Hermes describes is not, as usually thought, the rearing of children adorned with snake amulets, but rather the ritual exposure of them in a cave on the north slope of the Acropolis; Robertson 1983: 285–6 believes in such a ritual, but locates it in the Ilissus region.

**25–6 ὄφειν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις | τρέφειν τέκν’:** very similar language at 1427–9, as the recognition nears its climax. There we are told explicitly that the custom is an imitation (μιμήματα) of Athena’s protection of Erichthonius and that the golden snakes were the gift of the goddess.

**26–7 ἀλλ’ ἦν εἶχε παρθένος χλιδήν:** referring as it usually does to unmarried status rather than anatomical virginity, παρθένος suits Creusa; it also assimilates her both to the daughters of Cecrops (23 παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσιν) and to Athena, who though virgin acts as surrogate mother to Erichthonius (269–70n.). For Creusa as παρθένος, see Loraux 1993: 224–34. Abstract χλιδή connotes luxury or insolence, but many of the concrete uses affected by tragedy lack such associations. Here it means “fine ornament” (of gold), associated with Athenian παρθένοι at *Ar. Ach.* 258, *Lys.* 1189–93, *Birds* 670, *Dem.* 41.27, the first two of these in connection with ritual service. The words ὡς θανουμένωι round off a kind of ritual digression begun after 18 κακτίθησιν ὡς θανούμενον. Seen in this light, ἀλλ’ is “resumptive” (“but as I was saying”), but it can also be adversative: Athena used snakes to protect Erichthonius, but Creusa expects her child to die (*GP* 22). The ambiguity reflects Creusa’s conflicting emotions; cf. 348–52, 902–4, 916–18, 951–2, 965, 1494–5nn. Comparing *Tro.* 1212–13, *Her.* 327–31, 525–6, Lee notes that Creusa adorns her child as if for

burial; cf. Hdt. 1.111.3 (the infant Cyrus dressed for exposure in gold and fine clothing), Huys 1995: 248.

**28–40** As Hermes himself enters the story, a switch to direct speech lends vividness to Apollo's instructions and underscores key themes: the god's care for and acknowledgment of his child, and the removal of the basket with its contents (ensuring eventual recognition) to a place providing for the newborn's safety. In emphasizing that he and Apollo are brothers (28, 29, 37), Hermes reminds us of their close relationship in myth. The role he plays here is traditional; for example, he conveys two of Apollo's sons by mortal women, Aristaeus (Pi. *P.* 9.59–61) and Asclepius (Paus. 2.26.7), to immortals for upbringing, a mission he is elsewhere said to fulfill for Zeus's children Castor and Pollux, Heracles, and Dionysus (this last a favorite in visual art). Reflexes in tragedy include his spiriting away of Helen to Egypt in *Hel.* 44–6 and his accompaniment of Orestes from Delphi to Athens in A. *Eu.* 89–93.

**29** λαὸν εἰς αὐτόχθονα: as used by the Athenians of themselves, the word αὐτόχθων meant (1) that they were not immigrants, but had always inhabited Attica (cf. 290–3, 589–90nn.), and (2) that they were “born from the earth” by virtue of descent from γηγενεῖς “earthborn” proto-kings (735–7n.). For the uses of autochthony in *Ion*, see Introd. §6.2.

**30** κλεινῶν Ἀθηνῶν: “famous Athens” is formulaic, occurring at the beginning of seven of E.'s trimeters (including 590 and 1038) and one each by A. (*Pe.* 474) and S. (*Aj.* 861). For variations, see 262, *Hipp.* 1459, *Tro.* 208–9, S. fr. 323, Ar. *Wealth* 771–3. One of Pindar's dithyrambs begins ὦ ταῖ λιπαραὶ καὶ ἰοστέφανοι καὶ ἀοίδιμοι, | Ἑλλάδος ἔρεισμα, κλειναὶ Ἀθῆναι, δαιμόνιον πτολίεθρον (fr. 76), and Ar. mocks the Athenians for being gratified by this (*Ach.* 636–40; cf. *Knights* 1327–30, *Clouds* 299, *Birds* 826, fr. 112), but E. and other poets went on calling Athens κλειναὶ and even λιπαραὶ “sleek” (*IT* 1130, *Tro.* 803; already *Alc.* 452).

**32** αὐτῷ σὺν ἄγγει σπαργάνοισι θ' οἷς ἔχει: Ion's basket (19n.) and swaddling clothes are among the items that eventually enable him to be recognized. The σπάργανα are mentioned without description again at 918 and 955; at 1412–25 we learn that they are products of Creusa's own weaving and decorated with Athenian emblems, a Gorgon and an aegis-like fringe of snakes. Since they are called ἔνδυτα (1413) and πέπλοι (955, 1421), we should imagine them not as mere strips of cloth, but as something finer, fit for a future king, though the narrative contrives to suggest (especially at 955) that they were what lay closest to hand; both aspects are typical of literary σπάργανα (Huys 1995: 218–21). In visual representations of the birth of Erichthonius (20–1n.), Athena usually stands ready to wrap him in figured σπάργανα. αὐτῷ σὺν ἄγγει = “basket and all”; both the sing. and the use of a prep. are unusual in this idiom (Smyth §1525, K–G 1.433–4; cf. Barrett on *Hipp.* 1213).

**34** πρὸς αὐταῖς εἰσόδοις δόμων ἐμῶν: this detail prepares us to see the Priestess' "chance" discovery of the basket in 41–5 as a result of Apollo's care. There is a kind of parallel in the Third Scene, when Ion is the first person Xuthus meets on exiting the temple (Lee; cf. 534–6n.).

**35–6** τὰ δ' ἄλλ' (ἐμὸς γὰρ ἐστίν, ὡς εἰδῆις, ὁ παῖς) | ἡμῖν μελήσει: Apollo's speech ends with strong words about his care, which human characters throughout the play will doubt. He reveals his paternity to his brother, but according to Hermes, he intends to keep it hidden from others (72–3n.).

**Λοξίαι:** another of Apollo's metrically and thematically convenient alternate names (cf. 6n. on Phoebus), used almost as often in *Ion* (× 23) as in the rest of E.'s plays combined (× 29; Burnett 1970: 26). Ancients usually understood the etymological connection with λοξός "slanting" in terms of oracular ambiguity (cf. 429–30, 533nn.), but a second explanation in terms of the sun's ecliptic is attested already in E.'s day (Oenopides of Chios [DK 41], fr. 7).

**38** κρηπιδῶν ἔπι "on the stylobate": that is, at the top of the steps, if there are any, on the platform from which the temple's columns (are imagined to) rise (Introd. §3).

**39–40** ἀναπτύξας κύτος | ἐλικτὸν ἀντίπηγος, ὡς ὀρῶιθ' ὁ παῖς: the general sense is "opening the basket, so that the child might be seen." ἀναπτύξας, lit. "unfolding," may imply that the lid is on a hinge, but this is not, or at any rate not clearly, paralleled on vases depicting Erichthonius' basket; at 1391, the basket's covering is called περίπτρυγμ'. ἐλικτὸν probably means "plaited" (i.e. wicker-work), like πλεκτόν in 37. Hermes means this vessel to be looked into, unlike Erichthonius' (272 οὐχ ὀρώμενον). Since τίθημι in 39 is historical pres. (18n.), opt. ὀρῶιθ' (Canter) is the form expected in the purpose clause (K–G II.382–3).

**41–51** κυρεῖ δ' ἄμ' ἱππεύοντος ἡλίου κύκλῳ | . . . ἐσβαίνουσα: like τυγχάνειν, κυρεῖν takes a supplementary ptcpl. and describes what one "in fact" does or "chances" to do. We know that the Priestess' discovery of Ion is no chance event, but managed by Apollo, who uses both her routine and, when necessary, his ability to influence her thoughts (47–8n.). The Priestess assumes that the child is unwanted because its unmarried mother (44 κόρη) is trying to keep its existence secret (45 λαθραῖον). This explanation shares elements with the story Creusa tells about her "friend" (340–1n.), the mistaken account of Ion's birth worked out by Xuthus and Ion (545–55n.), and Ion's cautious speculation about Creusa (1523–7n.). The Priestess' desire to expel the child from the temple (to avoid ritual pollution) draws on a complex of motifs developed more fully in E.'s lost *Auge* (test. III, fr. 267). She makes her entrance "along with the disk of the chariot-driving sun," a phrase that blends quasi-scientific and mythical images; for identification of the sun with Apollo, see 82–5n.

**42 προφήτις:** first found in *Ion* (again in 321, 1322) and Plato (*Phdr.* 244a8), this is the usual word for Apollo's Pythian priestess in Plutarch and other post-classical authors. For the semantics ("she who pronounces on behalf of [Apollo]," not "she who foretells"), see Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1099, and cf. 5–7, 91–3nn.; for (male) προφήται, 369, 413–16nn. In *A.*, the Pythia is called μάντις (*Eu.* 29), in Herodotus (6.66.2, 7.141.2) and Thucydides (5.16.2) πρόμαντις.

**44–5 ἑθαύμασ' εἰ τις Δελφιδῶν τλαίη κόρη** "she was astounded that a Delphian girl should bring herself to . . .": after verbs of emotion, the use of an εἰ (rather than ὅτι) clause is idiomatic (Smyth §2247–8, K–G II.369–70, LSJ εἰ B.v), and all types of protasis are possible. Indic. verbs follow αἰσχύνομαι εἰ at 1074 and φθονεῖς εἰ at 1302; here the opt., by framing the Priestess' hypothesis as remote, conveys her surprise, also reflected in ῥῖψαι "cast, fling" and ὠδῖν', an emotive word for "child"; most shocking of all is the place, ἐς θεοῦ . . . δόμον. For the extension of meaning in ὠδῖν', lit. "labor pain," cf. 1487, *Her.* 1039–40, *IT* 1102, *A. Ag.* 1418, *Pi. O.* 6.31.

**46 ὑπέρ τε θυμέλας διορίσαι** "to cast (him) beyond the boundaries of the temple precinct": θυμέλη is originally "hearth" or "hearth-altar" (< θύω "burn, fumigate"), as perhaps at 228, where it seems to refer to an off-stage area behind the temple façade (226–9n.). A broader sense "temple precinct" is required at 114 (where the area Ion sings of sweeping should be the same as the area we see him actually sweeping), at 161 (where the area threatened by the approaching swan is probably the same as that with which Ion is concerned at 156 and 172, namely the θριγκοί "eaves": 156–7n.), and especially here, where we know exactly where the Priestess found the baby ("on the stylobate" (38n.), not "at the hearth"), and her impulse must be to remove him from the entire area consecrated to the god (Winnington-Ingram 1976: 492–8). The image of the boundary (ὄρος) recurs twice in passages describing the peril of the outcast infant (503–6, 1458–9nn., Segal 1999: 86).

**47–8 οἰκτωι δ' ἀφῆκεν ὠμότητα, καὶ θεὸς | συνεργὸς ἦν:** pity naturally plays a part in many tales of children rescued from exposure (e.g. *Alex.* test. IV.b.2 [= *Hyg. fab.* 91], *S. OT* 1178, *Hdt.* 1.109, 112; clever variation in Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe* 1.3.1, 1.6.1). At 1347(n.), we are reminded of Apollo's ability to influence the thought and feeling of his priestess, just after he apparently does it again (1320–68n.). Dindorf's χῶ (= καὶ ὁ) for L's καὶ is an easy change but not necessary, to judge by the use of θεός without art. to mean "Apollo" in 42 and 45 (Owen). Apollo exerts his influence "for the child not to be thrown out of the temple" (τῶι παιδί dat. of advantage, μὴ ἔκπεσεῖν infin. of result).

**49–50 τρέφει δέ νιν λαβοῦσα:** having earlier instructed Hermes to "take" (λαβών) the newborn and convey him to Delphi, Apollo sees to it that the Priestess "takes" him into a safe embrace denied him by his

mother (cf. 280n.). The Priestess, like the god's altars (52), provides nurture (τρέφει), an important theme in Ion's monody (109–11, 137, 181–3nn.) and throughout the play.

τὸν σπείραντα δὲ | οὐκ οἶδε Φοῖβον οὐδὲ μητέρ' ἧς ἔφυ “she does not know that the one who fathered him is Phoebus nor the mother from whom he was born.”

52–3 ἀμφὶ βωμίους τροφὰς | ἤλατ' ἀθύρων “he played and wandered around nourishments from the altars”: the prep. phrase inverts the expected “altars that nourished him” (cf. 323; 1–2, 388–9nn.). Playing and wandering are natural behavior in a child, but wandering has deeper connotations. In tragedy, ἀλᾶσθαι and ἀλαίνειν usually betoken exile, madness, or both (Montiglio 2005: 24–41), and Ion is indeed a kind of exile, though not in the way Xuthus thinks when he tells Ion to leave behind his ἀλητεία (576). Rather, the word there draws attention to Xuthus' misunderstanding of Ion's devotion. Similarly, the Old Man describes Ion as ἐν θεοῦ | δόμοισιν ἄφετος, unwittingly using a word best attested as a technical term for animals consecrated to a god (819–22n.), and the Chorus call him ὁ Φοῖβειος ἀλάτας, intending to disparage his rootlessness, but again calling attention to the fact that Ion's “free-range” childhood paradoxically signifies a special kind of belonging (1087–9n.).

ὥς δ' ἀπηνδρώθη δέμας: cf. 322 ἐς δ' ἄνδρ' ἀφίκου, 1043. Often Ion is παῖς, but usually this means “son” or is a term of affection. Ten times he is νεανίας; cf. especially 780 ἐκτελῆς νεανίας, 823 νεανίαν . . . ἐκτεθραμμένον. Thus E., without assigning Ion a precise age, signals his readiness for a change of status (his “liminality”). The motif is pervasive and connected with e.g. name-giving (74–5n.) and the celebration of Ion's “birthday” (653n.); cf. Loraux 1993: 185–9, Zeitlin 1996, Segal 1999.

54–5 χρυσοφύλακα τοῦ θεοῦ | ταμίαν τε πάντων πιστόν: the dedications at Delphi were famously rich and plentiful, and it is unrealistic that a foundling would be in charge of them. Mention of these duties is long-range preparation for Ion's access to the treasures out of which he constructs his tent (1141–65, 1141nn.). More immediately, we shall be surprised to learn that he is about to sweep the area in front of the temple (79–80), and even more surprised when he reveals (what Hermes never mentions) that he is a slave, a status he embraces with pride (112–43n.).

55–6 ἐν δ' ἀνακτόροις | θεοῦ καταζῆι δεῦρ' αἰεὶ σεμνὸν βίον: the detail about where Ion lives prepares for his entrance from the *skene* door. Naturally, given his duties, he can lodge anywhere (315), but what matters dramatically is that we see him leave Apollo's house exactly once, never to return (Introd. §3). Ion's piety becomes a constant theme, and in his case σεμνός does not seem to have the negative connotations it can have (cf. e.g. *Hipp.* 93–4, 1364 with Barrett's notes). δεῦρ' αἰεὶ = “up to this moment,” a tragic idiom (× 7 in E., A. *Eu.* 596, adesp. 183).

**57–8 Κρέουσα . . . | Ζούθωι γαμεῖται συμφορᾷς τοιαῆσδ’ ὕπο** “Creusa was married to Xuthus because of the following event”: what Hermes goes on to describe is a mythical “marriage by prowess”; for tragic variations, cf. Jason and Medea (*Med.*), Oedipus and Jocasta (S. *OT*), Heracles and Deianira (S. *Tr.*), Ajax and Tecmessa (S. *Aj.*). We are sometimes encouraged to imagine a wife’s feelings at being involved in such a transaction, but Creusa, whose emotions focus on her past with Apollo and her lost son, describes her marriage matter-of-factly (294–8, 977nn.). For γαμεῖται, a type of historical pres. (18n.) that “registers” the continuing relationship, cf. 297, 897–8n., *Hel.* 6, *Ph.* 13, etc., Wackernagel 2009: 210–14.

**59–60 τοῖς τε Χαλκωδοντίδαις, | οἱ γῆν ἔχουσ’ Εὐβοῖδα:** Chalcodon is named as the father of Elephenor, who led the Euboean Abantes to Troy, at Hom. *Il.* 2.536–45, 4.463–4, Hes. fr. 204.52–3; cf. Schein on S. *Ph.* 489. Mention of Euboea may have reminded Athenians of their suppression of the revolt on the island under Pericles in the autumn of 446 BCE (Thuc. 1.114; cf. Ar. *Clouds* 211–13). Military prowess seems to be one of Ion’s few traditional attributes, not needed in this play and thus transferred to his mortal “father” Xuthus (Introd. §2.1). For the “wave” of war, cf. *Su.* 473–5, *IT* 316, Mastronarde on *Ph.* 859–60.

**61 ὃν συμπονήσας καὶ συνεξελὼν δορί:** as antecedent to ὃν, understand πόλεμος from πολέμιος κλύδων (60). Xuthus “joined in fighting and putting a stop to” the war. When συνεξαίρειν means “join in capturing or destroying,” it takes objs. like ἄνδρα (1044) and Φρύγας (*Tr.* 24); likewise many instances of ἐξαίρειν, but at *Med.* 904 νεῖκος πατρός ἐξαιρουμένη means “putting a stop to my quarrel with your father” (cf. Pl. *Ap.* 19a1, 24a2–3, cited by Page), and the doubts that led Benndorf, followed by Irvine 1999: 377–8, to posit a lacuna here seem unfounded.

**63 οὐκ ἐγγενὴς ὢν** “though not a native (Athenian)”: this detail later blossoms into outspoken chauvinism, when the Chorus (702–4, 721–2, 1056–7, 1058–60, 1069–73nn.) and the Old Man (813–16, 839–42nn.) fear that the Athenian kingship will pass out of the Erechtheid line; cf. the less overheated remarks of Creusa and Ion (290–3, 591–2nn.).

**63–4 Αἰόλου δὲ τοῦ Διὸς | γεγὼς Ἀχαιός** “born an Achaean, son of Zeus’s son Aeolus”: usually Xuthus’ father is Hellen, and Aeolus and Dorus are his brothers. E.’s departures from this Hesiodic “Hellenic genealogy” are of fundamental importance in *Ion* (Introd. §2.1). Calling Xuthus “Achaean” before Achaeus, his own son, is born probably associates him with the northwest Peloponnese (1590–4n.). Torrance 2013: 211 suggests that γεγὼς here is a metapoetic marker of innovation: Xuthus is not just “born,” but in E.’s version “has become” the son of Aeolus; for a possible play on the name Aeolus, see 548–9n.

**64 χρόνια δὲ σπείρας λέχη** “though he has shared [lit. ‘sown’] the marriage bed for a long time”: the sowing metaphor is common (49, 554,

Griffith on *S. Ant.* 569). The adj. χρόνιος is here used quasi-adverbially, as at 304, 403, *Ph.* 14. Other meanings are “long-delayed” (470) and “seen after a long time” (1425).

**65 ἄτεκνός ἐστι καὶ Κρέουσ’:** for agreement of the verb with the first of two coordinated subs., cf. 177–8 ὡς ἀναθήματα μὴ βλάπτηται | ναοὶ θ’, 711–12, 919–20, *Med.* 734–5, *Hel.* 412–13, Gildersleeve 1980: §473, Diggle 1981: 75.

**67 ἔρωτι παίδων:** a childless couple’s desire for children motivates oracular consultations at *Med.* 667–9 (cf. 714–15), *Ph.* 13–16, fr. 228a.19–21, Paus. 9.37.4, and in a fourth-century inscription from Delphi (Parke and Wormell 1956: II.135–6, no. 334; likewise at Dodona, Eidinow 2007: 87–93). Ion’s question at 303(n.) anticipates the motive, which must have been common, and 1227 uses it in a play on words (1225–8n.). The word ἔρωσ/ἔρος is regular in these situations (cf. *Su.* 1088).

**67–8 Λοξίας δὲ τὴν τύχην | ἐς τοῦτ’ ἐλαύνει** “Apollo is guiding their (mis)fortune to this point”: that is, the point where Xuthus and Creusa turn to his oracle for help. But the pithy formulation and immediately following lines suggest a broader meaning, embracing Apollo’s care for Ion δεῦρ’ ἄει “up to this moment” (55–6n.), a moment which his age and longing for his unknown parents have made ripe for the events of the play. Juxtaposition of Λοξίας and τὴν τύχην hints again at the idea that mortals usually cannot tell the difference between divine intervention and chance (41–51n.).

**κοῦ λέληθεν, ὡς δοκεῖ** “and he has not escaped my notice, as he thinks”: Apollo told Hermes to convey the infant to Delphi and leave the rest to him (35–6), but his roguish little brother refuses to remain in the dark. Having observed the child’s upbringing (41–67) and guessed Apollo’s plan (69–73), he finds a hiding place from which to watch the story play out (76–7; cf. Kraus 1989: 35–6). Since the subs. and objs. of both verbs are unexpressed and δοκεῖ can mean either “thinks” or “seems,” several other interpretations are possible. Lee translates “things have not passed [Apollo] by, as they seem to have done,” but the need to make τύχη (“things”) the subj. of λέληθεν and δοκεῖ, when Apollo is the subj. of ἐλαύνει just before and δώσει just after, tells against this view. Some translate οὐ λέληθεν “Apollo has not forgotten” (properly οὐκ (ἐπι)λέλησται). Others resort to emendation (καὶ λέληθεν Page, κοῦ λέληγεν Dawe), but the resulting interpretations are strained. κοῦ λέληθέ μ’ (Schoemann) is in line with the view taken here, but not necessary. Lee thinks the view taken here “introduces unwanted opposition between Apollo and Hermes,” but he does not give enough weight to 35–6 and Hermes’ curiosity; moreover, Hermes does usurp the act of name-giving, which should fall to the child’s father (74–5, 80–1nn.). His attitude, though, is playful rather than aggressive.



**69–73** Apollo’s plan is presented as Hermes’ guesswork; at the end of the play, Athena corroborates all five points Hermes makes. Hermes guesses that Apollo intends (1) to give Ion to Xuthus and (2) to say that Ion is Xuthus’ natural son, so that (3) Ion may be recognized by Creusa after arriving in her home, (4) Apollo’s liaison with Creusa may be (i.e. remain) secret (cf. next note), and (5) Ion may enjoy what belongs to him. On Apollo’s plan, see *Introd.* §§6.1, 8.1. The wording of (2), πεφυκέναι | κείνου σφε φήσει (70–1), contains no hint of oracular ambiguity, as maintained by Neitzel 1988: 274–5. After conceding that πεφυκέναι here means “to be born (from a biological parent),” Neitzel, comparing *Alc.* 17 and *IA* 130, argues that κείνου is ambiguous because the pron. in indirect discourse can refer either to the subj. of the main verb, in this case Apollo, or some other person, like Xuthus. This argument fails in the face of σφε, which picks up not “Ion,” as Neitzel paraphrases, but τὸν αὐτοῦ παῖδα (70); the referents of αὐτοῦ and κείνου must be different, and as αὐτοῦ refers to Apollo, κείνου must refer to Xuthus. The attempt to reconstruct Apollo’s wording from Hermes’ guess is anyway misguided; see further 533n., *Introd.* §8.1. In ἐλθὼν δόμους, the acc. is “terminal” (place to which, no prep.), a poetic usage; cf. 95–6, 550, 700, etc., Smyth §1588, Bers 1984: 62–85.

**72–3** καὶ γάμοι τε Λοξίου | κρυπτοὶ γένωνται: syntactically, the three purposes Hermes attributes to Apollo, points (3) to (5) in his plan (previous note), are coordinated: Apollo will act ὡς (3) καὶ (4) τε (5) τε. The use of τε . . . τε indicates some further connection between (4) and (5), but Hermes does not quite say what Creusa later guesses and Athena confirms (1539–45, 1561–2, 1601–3nn.), that one purpose is *subordinate* to the other, that is, secrecy will be necessary for Ion to enjoy what belongs to him. This matters because it allows us to wonder throughout the play why Apollo wants secrecy. Ion, in refusing to question Apollo on behalf of Creusa’s “friend,” explains that the god “is ashamed of the affair” and will not answer anyway (365, 367–8n.; cf. 1557–8n.).

**74–5** Ἴωνα δ’ αὐτόν . . . | ὄνομα κεκληῖσθαι θήσεται “he will arrange for him to be called Ion by name”: this prediction is fulfilled, but not as we may expect. First, Hermes himself will preempt the important name-giving role that should fall to the boy’s father (80–1n.; cf. 67–8n.). Since only we hear this, however, the temple slave continues to lack a name (as 308–11 emphasize), and the way remains open for Xuthus, his supposed father, to give him one at 661–3 (661n.). We can see this as fulfilling Hermes’ prediction because we know that although Xuthus speaks of a name “befitting the chance/event” (661 τῇ τύχῃ πρέπον), it is Apollo who “arranges” the encounter and determines its meaning through his oracle. We may nevertheless wonder whether Apollo will appear, for example *ex machina*, to bestow the name himself (ὄνομα τίθεσθαι, cf. LSJ ὄνομα I.2), and indeed the

connection of Ion and his name with the colonization of Asia is repeated at the end of the play, but by Athena instead of Apollo (1581–8n.). E. is fond of providing etymologies and aetiologies of names, especially in prologues (e.g. *IT* 32–3, *Hel.* 13–15, *Ph.* 26–7, fr. 228.7–8, 696.11–13) and epilogues (*Hel.* 1674–5, *Or.* 1646–7, fr. 370.73–4). For more on naming Ion, see Zacharia 2003: 125–8, Yoon 2012: 133–40.

**κτίστορ' Ἀσιάδος χθονός:** this is in keeping with tradition, but within the play it is a bit of subtle misdirection, as according to Athena Ion will be “founder of the Asian land” only indirectly, through his sons’ descendants (1581–8n.). He himself will be installed on the Athenian throne, in defiance of tradition, and apparently remain there long enough to have sons who give their names to the pre-Cleisthenic tribes (Introd. §2.1).

**76 ἀλλ' ἐς δαφνώδη γύαλα βήσομαι τάδε:** after 81, Hermes probably disappears behind a panel or other stage property painted to resemble laurel trees (favorites of Apollo, 112–14n.) and placed so as to cover the actor’s entrance into the *skene* through a side door (rarely used in tragedy, but in comedy at least from Ar. *Clouds*; cf. Garvie 1986: xlvii–lii, Mastronarde 1990: 274) or around the back. Tragic characters hide in order to eavesdrop at *El.* 107–11, *A. Ch.* 20–1, *S. OC* 111–16 (all prologues; cf. Taplin 1977: 334–6); the motif is common in comedy of all periods (Austin and Olson on Ar. *Thesmo.* 36–7). Before E., γύαλα (lit. “hollows”) is already associated with Delphi, but with reference to the landscape (e.g. Hes. *Th.* 499, *h. Ap.* 396, *Pi. P.* 8.63, Winnington-Ingram 1976: 496); E. uses it of the precinct and temple generally (220, 233, 245, *An.* 1093, *Ph.* 237), and only Hermes’ gesture (τάδε) makes it more specific here.

**77 τὸ κρανθὲν ὡς ἂν ἐκμάθω παιδὸς πέρι:** what Hermes wants to learn “to the end” (ἐκ-) is both “what has been accomplished (but may differ from what I suspect)” and “what has been decreed (but may turn out otherwise)”; cf. LSJ *κραίνω* I.1 and I.2, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 369. Where it is Apollo who *κραίνει*, there ought to be no question of failure, but Hermes’ intention to stay and watch at least makes us wonder *how* Apollo will pull it off. A similar doubt could lurk in the Chorus’ phrase *μαντεύματα κραίνει* (sc. Ἀπόλλων) at 464 (cf. 468–71n.); by 569–70(n.), the irony is unmistakable when Xuthus says that Apollo *ὀρθῶς ἔκρανε*.

**79–80 ὡς πρὸ ναοῦ λαμπρά θῆι πυλῶματα | δάφνης κλάδοισιν:** that Apollo’s son’s duties include sweeping comes as a surprise after 54–5(n.). Nothing indicates whether Ion enters holding the props he uses during his monody (laurel broom, golden pitcher, Apollo-like bow); they could all be waiting on stage, and this would have the advantage of freeing his hands for gestures towards the sun (82–5), mountains (86–8), and rising smoke of incense (89–90). In any case, there is no need to imagine, as some do, that business with tools immediately lends an air of comedy to his entrance.

80–1 ὄνομα δ' . . . | Ἴων' ἐγὼ <νιν> πρῶτος ὀνομάζω θεῶν: Hermes takes pride (ἐγὼ . . . πρῶτος) in usurping Apollo's privilege (cf. 74–5n.), and his delight takes the form of a pun delivered as a punch-line: as he goes (ἰών), he names Ἴων'. As when Xuthus later bestows the name on Ion as the one who met him first “as he came out” (ἐξιόντι) of the temple (661n.; cf. 802, [830–1]), the name derives from an action taken by someone other than Ion. It is also associated, somewhat less directly, with actions Ion does take: Hermes sees him going out of the temple (78 ἐκβαίνοντα; for etymology via synonym, cf. 9n.); Ion later goes from Delphi to Athens; in the form of his name, carried by his colonizing descendants, he goes across the sea to Asia; as an autochthon, he goes upon the earth, etc. Ion's name is actually best understood as a back-formation from the ethnic Ἴωνες, which has no agreed etymology (Intro. §2.1). For puns involving a shift of accent, cf. Ar. *Knights* 954, *Wasps* 40–1, *Birds* 1287; a notable case in tragedy is βίος/βίος, implied at S. *Ph.* 931, 933, 1282, and possibly 1426–7. For the redundant internal acc. ὄνομα, common in naming constructions, cf. 800, 1594, *Hclld.* 86–7, S. *Ph.* 605–6, *OC* 60–1, etc.

### 82–183 *Ion's Monody*

Ion enters through the central door of the stage building. After greeting the first rays of the sun and calling on the Delphians to prepare for visitors arriving to consult Apollo's oracle, he turns to his chores, which he first lists (102–8) and then performs while singing a solo song. E. went beyond A. and S. in exploring the expressive potential of monody. Singing by a character alone on stage before the arrival of the chorus is common, especially in his later plays; usually, the scene continues with a lyric exchange between the soloist and a sympathetic arriving chorus (*Hec.*, *El.*, *Tro.*, *Hel.*, *Androm.*, *Hyps.*), a pattern varied here by Ion's recitative anapaests during the last stanza of the *parodos*. Unlike other monodies, which typically have an element of lament, Ion's develops the play's Delphic atmosphere and the singer's contentment with his σεμνὸς βίος (56). It falls into three sections. Recitative anapaests (82–111) continue the exposition (time of day, Delphic scenery, preparations in and around the temple), an aeolic strophic pair with paeon-like refrain (112–43) accompanies Ion's sweeping, and an astrophic section mainly in lyric anapaests (144–83) accompanies his sprinkling of pure water from golden vessels and his efforts to prevent birds from fouling Apollo's temple.

The keynotes are piety and devotion. While slavery may indeed have been the usual fate of real-life children who were exposed, rescued, and raised (Ogden 1996: 108), Hermes has complicated our expectations regarding Ion (54–5, 78–9nn.). The stage properties Ion carries or picks up as he needs them (79–80n.) include a lowly broom and pitcher, but also

a bow that contributes to his appearance as a “replica of Apollo” (Burnett 1970: 30). Ion embraces the role of temple slave, presenting his service to Apollo as a source of glory and reputation (128–40n.). To the extent that his performance interacts with the genre of Apollo’s cult song, the paeon, he represents the god’s worshippers. His servile status, then, can be seen as both literal and metaphorical, in that he willingly serves his god (121–4, 132–3nn.). These aspects of the situation, and Ion’s words themselves, exalt his menial tasks, so that simply to describe the scene as “comic” oversimplifies (Knox 1979: 259, Seidensticker 1982: 217–20; more balanced assessment in Zacharia 1995, Lee 1996: 87–8). Rather, E. uses a light touch in developing a situation that has solemn ritual overtones (cf. *Introd.* §9).

As a paradigm of youthful religiosity, Ion may be compared to Hippolytus, who follows a short devotional song (*Hipp.* 58–72, in which he is joined by a secondary Chorus) with dedication of a garland to Artemis (73–87). Ion and Hippolytus are almost the only singing males in E.’s surviving plays, apart from the lamenting foreign king Polymestor (*Hec.* 1056–1106), the Phrygian slave (*Or.* 1369–1502), the child at *Alc.* 393–415, and the aged Peleus (*An.* 1173–96; cf. Oedipus at *Ph.* 1539–81). In E., well-born Greek men in the prime of life do not sing, with the exception of Theseus, whose trimeters interspersed with dochmiacs at *Hipp.* 817–51 indicate that he tries hard *not* to sing (Hall 2006: 315). The songs of Ion and Hippolytus showcase the piety of young men who later have reason to question their pure ideals (Yunis 1988: 100–38). While Hippolytus sings a second time (*Hipp.* 1370–88), Ion does not (1439–1509n.).

The interactions of Ion’s song with the paeanic genre reflect his liminal status (52–3n.). The main formal marker is the refrain (125–7 = 141–3), where Ion’s prayer for the god to be εὐαίων both refers to Apollo’s eternal flourishing and invokes prosperity for Ion, who will indeed acquire it, but in a way that separates him from his service to Apollo (151–3n.). The light imagery concentrated at the beginning of the song is typical of paeans but not exclusive to them, and it undergoes important transformations in *Ion*, especially in two other scenes involving actors’ lyric, Creusa’s monody and the reunion duet (Swift 2010: 90–101). Finally, Ion’s solo performance is an anomaly, since paeans were usually performed by a male chorus representing a community. By drawing attention to Ion’s isolation from his true community (Athens), the paeanic elements thus hint at the unsuitability and impermanence of his present condition, despite its beauty (Rutherford 1994–5: 129–31).

*Meter.* In both form and content, the recitative anapaests fall into four sections, each concluded by a catalectic dimeter (“paroemiac”) in its normal clausular function (88, 93, 101, 111). The strophic pair consists of straightforward aeolics in regular periods, a style common in late E. West 1982: 115 says that such aeolics have “an almost hypnotic effect in their

rhythmic homogeneity.” The description is apt if, for this song, we substitute the word “ritual” for “hypnotic.” Each of the three periods consists of three blunt cola and a pendant clausula. The slightly longer third period, with a lyric iambic trimeter expanding the single-light movement of the surrounding aeolic cola, gives the stanza as a whole the typical form “aaA.” Then comes the refrain consisting entirely of heavy syllables; their rhetorical structure and paeanic parallels recommend division as three six-syllable verses, each consisting of two “molossi” (125–7 = 141–3[n.]).

The heaviness of the refrain forms a bridge to the following lyric anapaests (144–83). A high incidence of contraction typically distinguishes lyric from recitative anapaests, as do Doric dialect coloring, dimeters lacking word division between *metra*, and occasional non-anapaestic cola, all present here (West 1982: 121–2). The heaviness is noticeable from the start in the self-contained section 144–53, where style and content prolong the ritual feel of the refrain. Here we find the song’s most intriguing rhythmic feature, a rare, unnamed colon that occurs twice (149, 150), as Ion sprinkles the ground with holy water and proclaims his chastity; it recurs just once in the play, in Creusa’s monody (150n., 859–922n. *Meter*). The unnamed colon (~~~~ – – –) develops, via resolution of the first element, out of a pair of dragged dochmiacs whose form (– ~ – – –) is itself an extension of the preceding anapaests. As such, it might be described as pendant and expected to make period-end, but sense and symmetry suggest that in this part of the song, the usual functions of blunt and pendant are reversed. Like the strophic pair, then, the section has the structure “aaA,” where “a” is the sequence “2an<sub>Λ</sub> an,” and “A” expands and develops this as “do do x x 2an<sub>Λ</sub> 2an<sub>Λ</sub> 2an’ (where “x” is the unnamed colon). In the regular lyric anapaests (154–83), heaviness persists, there is much catalexis, and period-end is often uncertain.

### *Strophic pair*

~ – ~ – ~ –	
ἄγ', ὦ νεηθαλὲς ὦ	112 tl''
καλὸν γε τὸν πόνον, ὦ	128
– ◡ – ~ – ~ –	
καλλίστας προπόλευμα δάφ-	113 gl f
Φοῖβε, σοὶ πρὸ δόμων λατρεύ-	129
–   – – – ~ –	
νας, ἄ τὰν Φοίβου θυμέλαν	114 gl''
ω, τιμῶν μαντεῖον ἔδραν	130

— — υ υ — — ||

σαίρεις ὑπὸ ναοῖς  
κλεινὸς δ' ὁ πόνος μοι

115 r

131

— — — — υ υ — |

κάπων ἐξ ἀθανάτων  
θεοῖσιν δούλαν χέρ' ἔχειν

116 tl''

132

υ υ υ — — — υ υ — |

ἵνα δρόσοι τέγγουσ' ἱεραί  
οὐ θνατοῖς ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοις

117 gl''

133

— — — υ υ — |

†τάν† ἀέναον  
εὐφάμους δὲ πόνους

118 dod''

134

— — — υ υ — — ||

παγὰν ἐκπροΐεῖσαι  
μοχθεῖν οὐκ ἀποκάμνω

119 ph

135

— υ — υ υ — υ — |

μυρσίνας ἱερὰν φόβαν  
Φοῖβός μοι γενέτωρ πατήρ

120 gl

136

— — — υ υ — υ — |

ἄι σαίρω δάπεδον θεοῦ  
τὸν βόσκοντα γὰρ εὐλογῶ

121 gl

137

υ — υ ∞ : υ — υ ∞ : υ ∞ υ — |

παναμέριος ἄμ' ἀλίου πτέρυγι θοᾷ  
τὸν δ' ὠφέλιμον ἐμοὶ πατέρος ὄνομα λέγω

122–3 3 ia

138–9

— — — υ υ — ∩ |||

λατρεύων τὸ κατ' ἡμαρ  
Φοῖβον τὸν κατὰ ναόν

124 ph

140

### Refrain

— — — | — — — |

ῶ Παιὰν ῶ Παιὰν  
εὐαίων εὐαίων  
εἷης, ῶ Λατοῦς παῖ

125 = 141 mol mol

126 = 142 mol mol

127 = 143 mol mol

*Lyric anapaests (first section, 144–53)*

-----   ἀλλ' ἐκπαύσω γὰρ μόχθους	144 2an <sub>Λ</sub> (paroemiac)
----   δάφνας ὀλκοῖς	145 an
-----   χρυσέων δ' ἐκ τευχέων ῥίψω	146 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
----   γαίας παγάν	146bis an
- ~ - - -   ἄν ἀποχεύονται	147 do
- ~ - - -   Κασταλίας δῖναι	148 do
~~~~ - - -   νοτερόν ὕδωρ βάλλων.	149 unnamed colon
~~~~ - - -   ὄσιος ἀπ' εὐνᾶς ὦν.	150 unnamed colon
-----   εἴθ' οὕτως αἰεὶ Φοίβωι	151 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
-----   λατρεύων μὴ παυσάιμαν	152 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
----- ~ - - -    ἧ παυσάιμαν ἀγαθᾶι μοίραι	153 2an

**82–5** The song opens with images of dawn. These set Ion's routine in a frame of cosmic stability, cast a glow over the oracular precinct on a consultation day, and strike notes of light and purity appropriate to what will turn out to be a quasi-paeon. Helios (83) probably evokes Apollo's solar aspect. Identification of the two is attested sparsely but certainly in texts earlier than *Ion*, including in plays by E. (Diggle on *Pha.* 225 = fr. 781.12, Zacharia 2003: 117 n. 58). In *Ion*, it remains implicit, "a suggestive poetic symbol which can give double significance" to certain passages (Burnett 1962: 95 n. 26). A sculptural representation of Apollo riding

his sun-chariot greeted visitors to Delphi in the temple's east pediment (184–236n.). No such sculpture is described by the Chorus in the *parodos*, but Ion himself appears as a kind of Apollo; cf. Athena in the *exodos*, rising over the palace and showing her ἀντήλιον πρόσωπον (1549–50n., Zeitlin 1994: 150–1).

ἄρματα μὲν τάδε λαμπρὰ τεθρίππων “here is the bright four-horse chariot”: both ἄρμα and τεθρίππων mean “chariot”; that both are pl. and τεθρίππων is “synonymous” gen. marks the style as high (Breitenbach 1934: 194). With punctuation after τεθρίππων, λάμπει in 83 is intrans. (“shines”), as usual. If L is right not to punctuate, the unparalleled trans. use (“illuminates the chariot”) could be avoided by reading κάμπτει “turns” (Matthiae, Wakefield), but the repetition of λάμπ- seems deliberate; cf. 87 καταλαμπόμεναι and the brightness implicit in sun, stars, fire, aether, and “day’s wheel,” as well as, later, Castalia’s silvery eddies (95), the sun again (122), gold (146, 157), and the swan’s bright red foot (162); cf. Barlow 1971: 46–7.

ἄστρο δὲ φεύγει πυρὶ τῷιδ’ αἰθέρος | ἐς νύχθ’ ἱεράν “the stars are put to flight into the holy night by this fire of aether”: for the connection of fire and aether, the notion of stars disappearing over the horizon “into night,” and the quasi-passive use of φεύγειν, see Diggle 1981: 94–5; for a related and greatly elaborated image of day yielding to night, 1147–58. “Holy night” is a Homerism picked up by later poets (Stes. fr. 185.3, A. fr. 69, E. fr. 114.1; cf. Hainsworth on Hom. *Il.* 11.84–5, Benveniste 1969: 11.192–6). Repetitions of the adj. emphasize Ion’s religious intensity (104, 117, 120; cf. 91 ζάθεον).

86–8 Παρνασσιάδες δ’ ἄβατοι κορυφαί: the Phaedriades (“shining [rocks]”), twin rock-faces strikingly visible from the temple precinct and doubtless familiar to many fifth-century spectators. Their peaks are not actually the summit of Mt. Parnassus (713–15n., Mastronarde on *Ph.* 226–8, Griffith on *S. Ant.* 1126–30), nor do they catch the first rays of the sun (Lee, Roux 1984: 3–4). ἄβατοι (lit. “untrodden”) connotes “sacred”; it is presumably from these heights that Creusa, as a religious offender, is later in danger of being hurled (1266–8n.).

τὴν ἡμερίαν | ἀψίδα βροτοῖσι δέχονται “they receive the day’s wheel for mortals”: an elaboration of the opening image of the sun’s chariot.

89 σμύρνης δ’ ἀνύδρου καπνός: myrrh (σμύρνα) and frankincense (λιβανωτός), imported by the Greeks from Arabia via Syria (cf. 1174–5n.), were originally associated with eastern exoticism and sometimes retain that association in tragedy (*Tro.* 1064–5, *Ba.* 144–5, *S.* fr. 370), but their use spread widely and is attested in even humble Greek ritual, for example, in a spontaneous prayer to Pythian Apollo/Paeon at Ar. *Wasps* 860–71, where it is taken for granted that an ordinary Athenian household has a supply of frankincense. It is characteristic that “the sacred is experienced as an atmosphere of divine fragrance” (Burkert



1985: 62). “Myrrh-smoke” is a fixed expression (*Tro.* 1064–5, *Hyps.* fr. 758b2; cf. *Ba.* 144–5 λιβάνου καπνόν).

**91–3** θάσσει δὲ γυνή τρίποδα ζάθειον | Δελφίς: just as the god sits (366, cf. 5–7n.), but whereas his sitting is conceptual and eternal, the Pythia’s presence signifies that the oracle is open for consultation, as happened in reality only on the seventh day of each, or each non-winter, month (421n.). The tripod is the constant emblem of the Delphic oracle (366, 415, 463, 512, 1320, 1322, *IT* 1254, *Or.* 164, 329, etc., Amandry 1950: 140–8, Parke and Wormell 1956: 1.24–6, Burkert 1983: 116–30).

αἰίδουσ’ Ἑλλησι βοάς, | ἅς ἄν Ἀπόλλων κελαδήσῃ “singing to the Greeks whatever cries Apollo sounds forth”: here the Pythia “sings,” like Apollo at 6 (ὑμνωιδεῖ, cf. 682). As noted there (5–7n.), the overlapping descriptions give assurance that the mortal woman serves the god’s will; so at *A. Eu.* 33, the Pythia says μαντεύομαι γὰρ ὡς ἄν ἡγῆται θεός. Since βοή, αἰδεῖν, and κελαδεῖν are all used of both articulate and inarticulate utterance, these lines do not support inferences about the respective roles of the god (as manifest, say, in the ringing sound of his tripod) and his priestess in real-life mantic sessions. For the Pythia’s status, see 1323n.; for prophetic κέλαδος at Delphi, *Pi. P.* 4.60.

**94** ὦ Φοίβου Δελφοὶ θέραπες “Delphians, servants of Phoebus”: Ion confidently instructs the entire community in pious behavior. The idea that the Delphians as a whole are connected with Apollo’s cult is traditional (e.g. *h. Ap.* 535–9; cf. Parke 1978: 202–3). There is no allusion to a particular group such as the Ὀσιοι (Roux 1984: 10–12; cf. 413–16n.), nor are the addressees present. It would be pointless and distracting to bring on mute attendants only to send them off again to cleanse themselves, and address to an absent group is not uncommon (e.g. *Her.* 1389, *IT* 123–5, 1422, Stanley-Porter 1973: 77–8). The interlocking word order belongs to the high style (cf. 1606, Mastronarde on *Ph.* 88).

**95–6** τὰς Κασταλίας ἀργυροειδεῖς | βαίνετε δίνας: the local spring supplies water regarded as pure and suitable for ritual washing (cf. 146–9, *Ph.* 222–5). According to Parke 1978, Ion instructs the Delphians not just to “go to” the spring’s eddies, but to “step into” them to achieve the required cleansing; for the “terminal” acc., see 69–73n. In epic, ἀργυροδίνης is a regular epithet of rivers (*Hom. Il.* 2.753, 21.8, 130, *Hes. Th.* 340); according to Alcaeus in his lyric *Hymn to Apollo*, Castalia flowed ἀργυροῖς νάμασι (fr. 307).

**96–7** καθαραῖς δὲ δρόσοις | ἀφυδρανάμενοι “after cleansing yourselves with pure water”: purity matters to Ion and remains important throughout the play (Introd. §7.1, Meinel 2015: 212–43). In compound ἀφυδραίνεσθαι (here only), the preverb implies not only “off, away, thoroughly,” but “duly,” as in ἀφοσιοῦσθαι, ἀφιεροῦσθαι, ἀφαγνίζεσθαι. E. is fond of using δρόσος “dew” for “pure water” (again in 117, 436, 1194, and

often elsewhere; once in A. at *Eu.* 904, not in S.); it is picked up in the parody of Euripidean monody at *Ar. Frogs* 1339.

**98–101** “And, in careful speech, keep your mouths propitious, to reveal propitious speech from your private tongues to those who wish to consult the oracle.” Delphians and visitors alike must avoid ill-omened speech and behavior in the god’s sanctuary (243, 401–3, 638–9nn.), and a preoccupation with propitious speech later saves Ion’s life (1189n.). More generally, whether to speak, and whether what is said is of good or ill omen, are questions that become important at several points in the play (e.g. 336–8, 369–80, 756–60, 859–80, 1546–8).

**στόμα τ’ εὐφημοὶ φρουρεῖτ’ ἀγαθόν, | φήμας ἀγαθὰς | . . . ἀποφαίνειν:** with these adjustments (L has εὐφημον and φήμας τ’ ἀγαθὰς), στόμα . . . ἀγαθόν balances φήμας ἀγαθὰς, and ἀποφαίνειν explains what it means to keep one’s mouth propitious (epexegetic inf.); see Diggle 1981: 10.

**102–8** Ion lists his tasks in the order in which he will perform them. They are typical duties of a temple slave, a status we may only now realize he has; his joyful acceptance, revealed in the strophic pair, will come as a further surprise (cf. 54–5, 79–80, 94nn.). For sweeping and sprinkling together as emblems of servility, see *An.* 166–7, *Hyps.* fr. 752f.16–18; sweeping among other duties, *Hec.* 363, *Cy.* 29–31, fr. 773.10–14.

**102–3 πόνους οὓς ἐκ παιδὸς | μοχθοῦμεν αἰ:** πόνους belongs to the main clause, as an acc. of the kind often labeled “in apposition to the sentence.” Its function as a heading for the following list of tasks explains its position (cf. Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1645), and in the terminology of Barrett on *Hipp.* 752–7, it is “non-integral” (that is, sense and syntax of the main clause are complete without it). “Integral” examples are harder to translate and, sometimes, interpret (cf. 506, 1429). καθαρὰς θήσομεν (105) and φυγάδας θήσομεν (108) are equivalent to καθαροῦμεν and φυγαδεύσομεν, respectively. Periphrases with τιθέναι avoid prosaic forms and belong to high style.

**104 στέφουσιν θ’ ἱεροῖς:** στέφη (= στέμματα) of various kinds are a characteristic feature of Apollo’s precinct (223–4n.). Here they are best understood as (woolen?) bands holding Ion’s broom together, and for him to call them by this name and describe them as “holy” suits his piety. To take them as separate items, “wreaths” with which Ion decorates his surroundings, would be to introduce a fourth task of which there is no other trace in the song.

**105–6 ὑγραῖς. . . | ῥανίσιν νοτερόν** “wet with moist drops”: such fullness of expression is typical of tragedy and, as it happens, especially common with tears (e.g. 1369, *Su.* 81, fr. 839.3).

**106–7 πτηνῶν τ’ ἀγέλας, | αἱ βλάπτουσιν σέμν’ ἀναθήματα:** at 174–8, Ion tells a bird to go and “make children” elsewhere, ὥς ἀναθήματα μὴ βλάπτηται | ναοί θ’ οἱ Φοίβου. One “harm” he has in mind, then, is the

sacrilege of giving birth in a temple (cf. 172–3). He probably also wants to keep the ἀναθήματα (dedicatory statues and other valuable objects) from being fouled by bird droppings (so already Demetr. *Eloc.* 195; cf. Cole 2004: 49), but his decorous language does not quite say so. Contrast the bluntness of comedy (e.g. Ar. *Birds* 515, 1114–15, with Dunbar’s notes).

**109–11 ἀμήτωρ ἀπάτωρ τε γεγώς:** for Ion’s notion that he was “born” without parents, cf. Introd. §7.1. Strings of two (782, 837, 1093; cf. 1463) or three (*Hec.* 669, *Or.* 310, *S. Ant.* 876) ἀ-privative adjs., with or without τε, are very common in Greek poetry and prose of all periods (see e.g. Hainsworth on Hom. *Il.* 9.63, Fraenkel on A. Ag. 412, Breitenbach 1934: 226–7); E. even has four at *IT* 220.

**τοὺς θρέψαντας | Φοίβου ναοὺς θεραπεύω:** Ion is grateful to those who “reared,” “fed,” and “benefitted” him, here the temple of Apollo, at 136–40 Apollo himself (cf. 181–3). The irony of naming his father while declaring that he is ἀπάτωρ is of a kind that recurs often in the play. θεραπεύειν does not always imply servile status; it applies to many kinds of care and tendance, including willing service to divinity (Mikalson 1991: 200). Here it resonates most immediately with Φοίβου Δελφοὶ θέραπες, just used of the Delphians generally (94n.; cf. 186–7n.), but Ion goes on to use words with stronger implications of status (121–4, 128–40nn.).

**112–43** Sweeping accompanies the whole of the strophic pair. In the strophe, Ion addresses his broom in hymnic style. Its material derives from the sacred landscape he evokes throughout, before closing with a mention of service (124 λατρεύων). This echoes the end of the recitative anapaests (111 θεραπεύω) and leads into the antistrophe, which is devoted solely to this theme until it closes with an act of naming (138–40n.). A paeon-like refrain (125–7 = 141–3) adds greatly to the song’s ritualistic feel. Ion’s work song includes “a religious or mythical element,” as is typical (Furley and Bremer 2001: 1.323). E. liked to equip his soloists with meaningful props (cf. 79–80n.). In other work songs, Electra has her water jug (*El.* 140–2), Hypsipyle her castanets (*Hyps.* fr. 752f), the latter mocked at Ar. *Frogs* 1304–7.

**112–14 ἄγ’, ὦ νεηθαλὲς ὦ | καλλίστας προπόλευμα δάφ- | νας** “come, flourishing young instrument of service made of finest laurel”: poetic and hymnic elements here are the second-person address, anaphora of ὦ, high-flown compound adj. νεηθαλής, enallage, interlocking word order, superlative praise (καλλίστας), and innovative -μα formation. Laurel, the god’s special plant, is an emblem of purity (Amandry 1950: 126–34, Parke and Wormell 1956: 26–8, Parker 1983: 228–9). Transfer of the epithet νεηθαλής (here only) from δάφνας, with which it properly belongs, to προπόλευμα (also here only), results in an expression that could be used of Ion himself. For the figure (enallage), see Breitenbach 1934: 182–6, Bers 1974; further examples (some disputed) occur in *Ion* at 281, 1055,

1240, 1337, 1486–7. Productive and flexible use of -μα formations is a tragic specialty (Long 1968); cf. 492, 748, 933, 1129, 1352, 1391, 1419, 1425, 1473, 1495.

**114–20 ᾄ . . . | σαίρεις** “you who sweep”: hymnic style continues with a rel. clause specifying the broom’s ties to Apollo’s temple and its origin in “immortal” gardens. The latter, a lofty allusion to abundant water, is expanded in a clause adorned with the poeticism δρόσοι (96–7n.), the epithets “holy” (twice) and “ever-flowing,” the unique compound ἐκπροϊεῖσαι, and another special plant, myrtle. For 114 τὰν Φοίβου θυμέλαν = 121 δάπεδον θεοῦ, see 46n. In 118, the most promising supplements to replace the unwanted def. art. and supply the additional syllable required by meter are separative gens. construed with ἐκπροϊεῖσαι “sending forth (from)” (γαίας Diggle, comparing 147; πετρᾶν Wecklein).

**121–4 ᾄ σαίρω:** another hymnic expansion by rel. clause. As in 114, the antecedent is δάφνας, but now Ion is subject. In the end, no main clause follows his address to his broom; this established poeticism, which recurs in 492–509, becomes very frequent in E.’s later lyrics (Barrett on *Hipp.* 752–7) and is parodied at Ar. *Frogs* 1309–22.

**παναμέριος ἅμ’ ἀλίου πτέρυγι θοᾷ | λατρεύων τὸ κατ’ ἡμᾶρ:** Ion serves Apollo all day (παναμέριος) every day (κατ’ ἡμᾶρ), yet time seems to pass quickly, “with the swift wing of the sun” (an unusual image). He emphasizes rather than conceals his servile status (128–40, 132–3, 181–3, 309–11nn.; cf. 327, 1343), but he will be happy to escape it later (556, 674–5, 1380–4nn.). λατρεύειν, the verb he uses here and at 129–30 and 152, links him with the divine prologist Hermes, δαιμόνων λάτριν (4n.; cf. 94n.). Verb and noun are used in *Ph.* of the probably freeborn Chorus of Phoenician maidens and their service to Apollo (221, 225). Plutarch uses the verb of the Pythia and of male Delphic officials (*De Pyth. or.* 405c, 407e; *De garr.* 512e), Socrates calls his mission to test Apollo’s oracle about his outstanding wisdom θεοῦ λατρεία (Pl. *Ap.* 23c1), and in post-classical Greek these words can describe freeborn worshippers in intensely personal or ecstatic cults (Pleket 1981: 163–6, Novo Taragna 1995); cf. *Tr.* 448–50, Bond on *Her.* 832.

**125–7 = 141–3** These lines are “the closest that extant tragedy comes to a paeon-refrain” (Rutherford 1994–5: 130; for other tragic refrains, see West 1982: 80). They address the paeon-cry to Apollo, identify him as “Leto’s child” (hymnic: *h. Ap.* 182, *h. Herm.* 176, *E. Her.* 689, *IT* 1234, etc.), make a prayerful request, and consist entirely of heavy syllables. The heavy rhythm is liturgical and found in other paeans, though not only there (West 1982: 55–6, Furley and Bremer 2001: II.311). The wish εὐαίων εἴης is Ion’s first second-person address to Apollo. The adj., lit. “of happy life,” usually means “blessed” and is “a strong word, implying *permanent* happiness such as man attributes to the gods” (Dodds on *Ba.* 424–6). Occasionally, it means “conferring happiness,” as at *S. Ph.*

829–30 (another “paeanic” song) and in the phrase εὐαίωνι σὺν ὀλβῳ from the refrain of Philodamus’ paean to Dionysus (Powell 1925: 165–71 = no. 2.5 in Furley and Bremer 2001, first at line 13). Both meanings are apt here. Ion praises Apollo throughout (for the most part indirectly: 128–40n.), but expresses a wish for himself at 151–3, that he never stop serving Apollo (unless ἀγαθῶ μοίραι). That wish is a virtual gloss on the “active” aspect of εὐαίων εἶης here (“may you confer lasting happiness on me”). In general, both here and in the antistrophe the focus is on Ion’s joyful service as much as it is on Apollo. For Creusa’s adaptation of the phrase “Leto’s child” to a context of blame, see 885–6n.; for all matters relating to paean, Rutherford 2001: 3–136.

**128–40** The antistrophe begins with Phoebus in the second person, and the emphatic σοί (129) suggests that Apollo may now replace the broom as the recipient of hymnic praise, but what Ion praises most directly is his own toil. He is a slave and his work is drudgery, but to serve the god is fine, glorious, and fair-sounding. Phoebus is his father, for he calls by that name the one who feeds and maintains him in the temple (*sc.* in return for his service). The Greek hymnist typically says not “I thank you,” but “I praise you” (usually ἐπαινῶ, varied here by 138 εὐλογῶ), or just offers praise in the form of honorific names and epithets, descriptions, and narratives (Pulleyn 1997: 39–55). Ion’s work and his song (itself a form of πόνος according to a paeanic *topos*: Rutherford 2001: 249) are both a kind of thank-offering, but except for threefold repetition of “Phoebus” and the phrase τιμῶν μαντεῖον ἔδραν, the objects of his praise are surprising. The adjs. καλόν, κλεινός, and εὐφάμους, each modifying a form of the noun πόνος, are emphatically placed at the heads of verses. Words for toil or labor occur five times, for slavery or service twice.

**128 καλόν γε τὸν πόνον:** given Greek attitudes towards menial labor, this is almost an oxymoron, as γε and the placement of the adj. emphasize.

**132–3 θεοῖσιν δούλαν χέρ’ ἔχειν, | οὐ θνατοῖς ἀλλ’ ἀθανάτοις:** after 111 θεραπεύω and 124 λατρεύων, the unambiguous expression of Ion’s servile status marks a kind of climax. The emphatic redundancy of “gods who are not mortal, but immortal” suggests pride and innate self-respect. Compare the metaphorical and religious slavery of Tiresias at *Ba.* 366 and *S. OT* 410.

**134–5 εὐφάμους δὲ πόνους | μοχθεῖν οὐκ ἀποκάμνω:** Ion’s work is “fair-sounding” because it redounds to his credit, as 128 καλόν and 131 κλεινός imply, and because he sings as he works. Emphasis on what is fair belongs to hymns and prayers; as a result, so do words in εὐ- (next note, Furley and Bremer 2001: 1.56–7). “I do not, out of weariness, cease to toil” = “I toil energetically,” by litotes (8n.); for ἀποκάμνειν + inf., see LSJ 2, *GMT* §903. For the religious paradox that toil on god’s behalf is no toil at all, cf. *Hyps.* fr. 752k.20–1, *Ba.* 66–7; for a related formula of devotion, 151–3, 181–3nn.

**137** τὸν βόσκοντα γὰρ εὐλογῶ: for praise rather than thanks, see 128-40n. Apollo's care and nurture are constant themes (already in 47-9, 52, 110-11; later in 183, 357, 1531, 1600; cf. next note). Apollo's "feeding" replaced the maternal breast Ion never knew (319-21, 961-2, 1372, 1492-3nn.).

**138-40** "The one who benefits me, Phoebus, god of the temple, I call by the name of father." "Benefit" acquires thematic importance at 378-80 and again at 1539-45, where "the name of father," here another instance of irony (109-11n.), plays a part in Creusa's attempt to explain Apollo's oracle; on naming, see 74-5, 80-11n.

**144-53** Ion's song is astrophic from here to the end and consists mainly of lyric anapaests (analyzed in 82-183n. *Meter*). This first part, accompanying the sprinkling of pure water from golden vessels, contains a declaration of his chastity (150n.) and a wish to remain for ever in Apollo's service – or not (151-3n.).

**144-6** ἐκπαύσω . . . ῥίψω: probably "performative futures" describing Ion's intention of doing what he is already beginning to do. Such futures (usually, but not always, verbs of singing and dancing) occur in prayers and cult hymns, including paeans, as well as choral lyric and epinician (Davies on *S. Tr.* 216, Faraone 1995). The effect is to bestow the solemnity of ritual on the actions performed. δάφνας ὀλκοῖς = "with my broom" (lit. "with the draggings of laurel").

**146-9** χρυσεῶν δ' ἐκ τευχέων . . . | νοτερόν ὕδωρ: gold suits the brightness of Ion's song (82-5n.) and is constantly associated with divinity (9n.) and purity (434-6, Parker 1983: 228). For various other associations of gold in the play, see 25-6, 54-5, 887-8nn.; for Castalia, source of the "running water from the earth" (γαίας παγάν), see 95-6n. ἀποχεύονται (here only in tragedy) is modeled on Homeric forms that have not lost the digamma of the root χεφ- "pour"; Attic prose is (act.) ἀποχέουσιν. For "wet water," see 105-6n.

**150** ὅσιος ἀπ' εὐνᾶς ὦν: temporary abstinence from sex is a frequent requirement of participants in cult (Parker 1983: 86-94). Ion's chastity seems to characterize both his stage of life (cf. 819-22n.) and, as with Hippolytus (*Hipp.*) and Theonoe (*Hel.*), his religious fervor, perhaps reinforcing his later indignation at Apollo's rape of a woman and supposed neglect of the resulting child (429-51n.). The detail is mentioned only here, without elaboration, but the rhythm allows a further observation. The rare, unnamed colon that just occurred in 149, after two dochmiacs in an otherwise anapaestic context, is repeated here and then occurs only once more in *Ion*, when Creusa in her monody reaches the climax of her rape narrative (896). This suggests a relationship between Ion's chastity and the forced sex that ended Creusa's girlhood and is responsible, on some level, for the barrenness of her

marriage to Xuthus. For the wording, cf. ἀγνή . . . ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς συνουσίας in the oath of the Gerairai ([Dem.] 59.78).

**151–3** εἴθ' οὕτως αἰεὶ Φοίβωι | λατρεύων μὴ παυσαίμαν, | ἢ παυσαίμαν ἀγαθαὶ μοίραι: declaring that one will never stop serving a god is solemn and formulaic (Bond on *Her.* 673); 134–5 (n.) is a variation, and Ion ends his monody with the standard form (181–3, fut. indic.). Here, formulation as a wish acquires significance from the afterthought, “or may I stop because of a good destiny.” The main purpose is ironic foreshadowing, and as a variation on the formula ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ used in Athenian public documents at least since the middle of the fifth century (*IG* 13.40.40 = OR 52.40), ἀγαθαὶ μοίραι gives the irony a fitting Athenian color. The first part of Ion’s wish, to remain for ever in a condition recognizable as temporary and transitional, is itself ironic; cf. Hippolytus, who wishes “to finish my life’s race as I began it” (*Hipp.* 87). Luckier than Hippolytus, Ion will get the happy fate he wishes for as an alternative. As a proof of its imminence, his very rhythm is interrupted by the birds, so that his acatalectic dimeter ends with hiatus before ἔα ἔα.

**154–83** As birds approach, Ion threatens them with his bow. His appearance could recall that of Apollo trying to rid his temple of polluting Furies in A. *Eu.* 179–97; cf. E. *Or.* 268–74, where Apollo’s protégé Orestes, in a fit of madness, imagines using a bow given to him by the god for a similar purpose. The danger the birds pose is far less serious (nor are they seen, like the Chorus of *Eu.*), and there is humor in Ion’s telling them to fly off to other temples, including one of Apollo’s, to do what he aims to prevent. Later we hear that a flock of pigeons, including the one that saves Ion’s life, lives unmolested (1198 ἄτρεστα) in Apollo’s temple. Ion’s contemplation of violence anticipates his threats against Xuthus (524) and Creusa (1320–1n.), and perhaps resonates with the darker side of his chthonic inheritance. Both here and in the later scenes, his piety eventually prevails (cf. 179–81n.).

Ion identifies the first two birds through significant associations. The eagle, Zeus’s herald, is noted for its strength; the swan belongs to Apollo and is connected with his birth and music. The third, unnamed, bird comes to make a nest and reproduce, reminding us, perhaps, of the girl the Priestess suspected of leaving her illicit child in the god’s house (45). The chaste Ion is scandalized, as later by Creusa’s tale of her “friend” (171–8, 338–9nn.). In contrast to Ion’s orderly sweeping and sprinkling, his reactions to the birds are determined by what these unseen visitors are supposed to be doing. This gives the actor playing Ion a chance for new and varied mimetic movements, as noted by Demetr. *On style* 195, a rare reference (late Hellenistic or Roman) to *Ion* in performance. Typical features of lyric anapaests, such as frequent catalexis, make them well suited to such movement.

**154 φοιτῶσ'**: the verb is elsewhere used of birds when augury is in context (e.g. *Hipp.* 1059, Hom. *Od.* 2.182), the implication perhaps being that only experts can interpret their "ranging to and fro." The theme of birds as divine messengers is explicit at 158-60, 179-81 (nn.), and in the Servant's narrative of events in the tent (1191-2, 1204-5nn.).

**156-7 αὐδῶ μὴ χρίμπτειν θριγκούς | μηδ' ἐς χρυσήρεις οἴκους**: the colorful χρίμπτειν "draw near, touch" (more often mid.) occurs in A. *Eu.* when Apollo threatens the Furies with his bow (185 οὗτοι δόμοις σε τοῖσδε χρίμπτεσθαι πρέπει). θριγκός/-οί, lit. "topmost course of stones" (Austin and Olson on Ar. *Thesmo.* 58), refers to eaves, cornices, or similar features imagined by the spectators, or to the temple as a whole by synecdoche (cf. 172, 1321). On the view taken here, θριγκούς (Wilamowitz), like οἴκους, is obj. of ἐς, by the type of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction Kiefner 1964 calls *Versparung* (that is, a word, in this case the prep. ἐς, that belongs with two phrases is "held in reserve" until the second); for another example in *Ion*, see 1275. With L's θριγκοῖς, there is *uariatio* in the constructions after χρίμπτειν.

**158-60 μάρψω σ' αὐτόξοις, ὦ Ζηνός | κῆρυξ, ὀρνίθων γαμφηλαῖς | ἰσχὺν νικῶν**: in a memorable passage of the *Iliad*, the eagle is Zeus's ἄγγελος and favorite bird, and it has superior strength (κράτος) and speed (24.290-316); for birds as messengers, see further 154, 179-81nn. The eagle is a fearless raptor, and μάρπτω a good verb for the way it hunts (cf. Ar. *Knights* 197), but if this one comes any closer, it will be Ion's turn (αὖ) to be the predator.

**161-3 ὅδε . . . ἄλλος ἐρέσσει | κύκνος** "here rows another bird, a swan": for winged creatures that "row," see *IT* 289, A. Ag. 52, Ar. *Birds* 1203-4, 1229; the reverse image (ships that "fly") is also traditional (e.g. *Med.* 1, *IT* 1345-6, *Hel.* 147, West on Hes. *Op.* 628). For the use of ἄλλος, see Smyth §1272.

**φοινικοφαῖ | πόδα**: the colorful but ornithologically incorrect detail (Arnott 1996: 115-16) links Apollo's special bird and the pigeon that later saves Ion, relaxing its φοινικοσκελεῖς χηλὰς in death (1207-8). For the color red here and in 168-9 (αἰμάξεις . . . ὠιδάς), see Harris 2012.

**164-5 οὐδέν σ' ἄφórμυγξ ἄΦοίβου | σύμμολπος τόξων ῥύσαιτ' ἄν**: at *h. Ap.* 131-2, Apollo claims lyre, bow, and prophecy as his special domains. His famous lyre (the effect of the def. art. with φόρμυγξ) sings along with (σύμμολπος) the swan but cannot save it from the bow if the bird refuses to leave the oracular precinct. For the association of swans with Apollo, see next note, Diggle on *Pha.* 76 (= fr. 773.34), Bond on *Her.* 678.

**167 λίμνας ἐπίβα τᾶς Δηλιάδος**: Ion directs the swan to Apollo's other most important sanctuary and its small, sacred lake associated with swans (*IT* 1102-5; cf. Call. *H.* 2.59 and especially 4.249-54, where singing swans circle Delos seven times during Apollo's birth, as a result of which he fits



seven strings to his lyre). This looks like a light-hearted adaptation of an ἀποπομπή, a type of prayer in which sending away a malevolent spirit requires specifying an alternate victim (Lloyd 1986: 36; cf. Fraenkel on A. Ag. 1573).

**168–9** αἰμάξεις . . . | τὰς καλλιφθόγγους ᾠδάς: lit. “you will bloody those beautiful songs of yours,” that is, sing them amid blood. With its demonstrative force, τὰς suggests that Ion alludes to the belief that the swan sings beautifully and prophetically just before death (Dunbar on Ar. *Birds* 769). This, along with the context of threats and bow, brings death to mind and eases the bold expression; perhaps we are to imagine songs and blood issuing simultaneously from the swan’s throat. For the syntax, cf. *Ph.* 1298–9 πέσσεα δάι’ αὖ- | τίχ’ αἰμάξετον “they will at once bloody their hostile fallings,” i.e. “as enemies, they will fall amid blood.” That tragic poets should strive for variety in expressions involving blood is unsurprising. Some, believing the present example too bold, read αἰάξεις (Nauck), “you will wail your beautiful songs” (cf. 1205). For the combination of compound adj. and noun of related meaning in καλλιφθόγγους ᾠδάς, cf. 452–3n.

**171–8** Ion tells the third, unnamed, bird to go to Alpheus’ streams (i.e. Olympia) or the Isthmian grove (near Corinth) and reproduce there. These sites are sacred to major gods (Zeus and Poseidon, respectively) and home, like Delphi, to Panhellenic games. The bird must be small, since it has come to build a nest under the eaves, but E. gives too little information for an identification, instead using εὐναίας | καρφυράς θήσων τέκνοις and (172–3) παιδούργει (175) to stress sex and reproduction, thoughts that worry the chaste Ion (150n.). To bring home the point, καρφυράς “nests made of twigs,” a word recovered from Hesychius (κ 939 Latte) and not found elsewhere, is given the epithet εὐναίας “pertaining to beds/sex.” παιδούργει “make children” suggests human reproduction; it occurs nowhere else, the related noun παιδουργία only once (S. *OT* 1248), where the context (incest) makes it sound contemptuous, like Ion’s word here. For the need to keep temples pure of anything to do with human birth or death, see Parker 1983: 32–73. Greeks were aware that birds and beasts do copulate in sanctuaries (e.g. Hdt. 2.64); Parker infers from Clem. *Strom.* 7.4.23.4–6, the source for E. fr. 266, that the topic received attention in E. *Auge*, whose heroine gave birth in a temple. But whereas Auge may have defended her transgression by “sophistic” reasoning from animal behavior, the innocent Ion tries to impose human norms on birds (Mirto 2001: 34; cf. Dover on Ar. *Clouds* 1427–9). ψαλμοί “pluckings” (173) is a poetic word used of both bow and lyre (Bond on *Her.* 1063). For the hiatus after παιδούργει (lyric paroemiac, no sense-pause), cf. 860, 907, Diggle 1981: 95–6.

177–8 ὥς ἀναθήματα μὴ βλάπτηται | ναοὶ θ' οἱ Φοίβου < >: for the “harm” Ion would prevent, see 106–7n.; for the syntax, 65n. The supplements given in the apparatus restore meter (two heavy syllables for a paroemiac, three for an anapaestic dimeter), and each chooses a key word to repeat, as Ion has done throughout his song.

179–81 κτείνειν . . . αἰδοῦμαι “I scruple to kill”: αἰδώς, a complex emotion encompassing inhibition, shame, and respect, is a becoming quality in a young man; even in places where the word is not used, the feeling may be understood to motivate Ion (e.g. 589–606, 1380–4; cf. Cairns 1993: 270–1). The play’s overt discourse of αἰδώς focuses mainly on Creusa (336–7, 860–1nn.).

τοὺς θεῶν ἀγγέλλοντας φήμας | θνατοῖς: the clearest statement yet of this thematically important function of birds (154, 158–60nn.). Ion later comments on the benefit of messages the gods send willingly (380), and indeed one such will save his life. People in and around Delphi doubtless sought signs of divine will by every known method, with or without the blessing of the authorities, but observation of the flights of birds did not belong to the routine operation of the oracle (Amandry 1950: 57–9); see further [374–7], 378–80nn.

181–3 οἷς δ' ἔγκειμαι μόχθοις | Φοίβω δουλεύσω: μόχθοις is dat. by “inverse attraction” to the case the rel. pron. οἷς takes with ἔγκειμαι (Smyth §2533); the “toils” would otherwise be acc., in apposition with the main clause Φοίβω δουλεύσω (so K–G II.437; cf. 102–3n.). The sequence of heavy syllables lasting until the cadence in 183 θεραπεύων lends solemnity to the closing credo, with its repetition of the toil, service, and nurture themes (121–4, 128–40, 132–3, 134–5, 137nn.).

κοῦ λήξω | . . . θεραπεύων: for the formula, see 151–3n.; here it is also closural, like related declarations at the ends of several Homeric Hymns. Closest in expression is *h. Ap.* 177–8, at the point of transition between the Delian and Delphic sections of that poem.

## 184–236 ENTRANCE SONG (*PARODOS*) OF THE CHORUS

As Ion stands to the side or continues to work, the Chorus arrive to admire Apollo’s temple and its sculptures (present only in imagination, not scene-decoration: Introd. §3). At the end of their song, they identify themselves as servants of the Athenian royal house, with which they associate Creusa in words that announce her arrival (234, 235–235bis, 236nn.). In a unique variation on a common pattern, they interact with the character who has just been singing, but not before devoting three stanzas to thematically significant sightseeing (219–36n.). What they see is shaped by what they know from home. In the third stanza, the first

detail they pick out of the battle of gods and Giants is “Pallas, my goddess” (211). Their ability to identify Iolaus because “stories are told about him amid my weaving” indicates both a certain parochialism and female solidarity, important aspects of their role (196–7n.). Their exchange with Ion in the last stanza focuses on boundaries regulating behavior in Apollo’s precinct, cueing us to attend to such things as who goes in and out of the temple and who does not.

In structure, the description of sculpted scenes mirrors Ion’s monody. His sweeping and sprinkling correspond to the Heracles and Bellerophon scenes, the first in each case described at rather greater length than the second. In the last part of his song, Ion “battles” an eagle, a swan, and an unnamed third bird, just as in the Gigantomachy Athena faces Enceladus, Zeus Mimas, and Dionysus an unnamed third Giant. The similarities make it all the easier to notice an important difference: Apollo is glaringly absent from the Chorus’ song. He is to be expected in any large-scale Gigantomachy, especially one depicted on his own temple, but in this play, he is represented by surrogates. On the so-called Alcmaeonid temple built late in the sixth century BCE and standing in E.’s day, there was in fact a sculpted Gigantomachy, but in the west pediment, whereas in *Ion* the *skene* represents the east side of the temple. The actual subject of the east pediment was the arrival of Apollo in his chariot, which the Apollo-like Ion evoked at the start of his monody (82–5n.; for the Alcmaeonid temple, see Hdt. 5.62.2–3; for its pediments, de la Coste-Messelière 1931: 16–62). A Gigantomachy represents the triumph of civilization over chaos (205–18n.); so also Heracles and Bellerophon slaying the snaky Hydra and Chimaera, respectively, scenes not known to have been among the temple’s sculptures, but comparable, in general import, to Apollo’s defeat of the serpent Python. This last myth, however, plays no part in *Ion*, where monstrosity and (potential) rebellion against the Olympian order are associated rather with Creusa and her family, children of the Earth like the Giants (Introd. §6.2).

The freedom E. shows in selecting scenes is typical of ecphrasis (the description of visual art in poetry). A second important ecphrasis in *Ion* is the Servant’s description of Ion’s tent at 1141–65(n.), which like this one is rich in meaningful detail. An unusual feature of both is that they are fairly static (despite the use of verbs of motion to describe the celestial objects depicted on Ion’s tent, 1147–58n.), with little of the tendency found in many ecphrases to “improve” on visual art by narrating movement, incorporating sound and speech, and so on. This suits their dramatic function as emblems of cosmic order and stability; see further Müller 1975: 25–39, Mastronarde 2003: 300–1, Rosivach 1977, Zeitlin 1994: 147–56, Athanassaki 2010. The literary tradition of ecphrasis goes back to the shield of Achilles at Hom. *Il.* 18.483–608; cf. the descriptions of palaces at *Od.* 4.43–7, 7.81–135. In E., briefer descriptions of palaces

and temples occur at *Hel.* 68–70, *IT* 69–75, and *Hyps.* 752c; see also *IA* 164–302, where women from Chalcis describe the Greek army camp they have come to admire (Zeitlin 1994: 157–71).

L attributes various lines in the first three stanzas to Ion; modern editors recognize distinct voices within the Chorus instead (details in Diggle's apparatus), but there is no way to tell whether the parts are taken by soloists or groups. By the second antistrophe, the Chorus seem to revert to one voice, but at each of the places corresponding to speaker change in the strophe, anapaests from Ion interrupt the flow of their song.

*Meter.* Picking up on the first sung part of Ion's monody, the first strophic pair is straightforward aeolic, in three periods. Aeolic continues for the first half of the second pair; then iambic, increasingly varied and syncopated, as is typical of iambic lyric, here possibly conveying excitement in the strophe, halting progress in the antistrophe, as the Chorus and Ion discuss ritual rules and boundaries. In the second pair, determination of period-end is complicated by textual corruption, change of speaker(s), and Ion's anapaestic interruptions (above). The anapaests are "recitative" (despite the sequence of four shorts in 226, characteristic of the lyric variety) and, remarkably, rhythmically continuous ("in synapheia") with the Chorus' lyrics. The responsion of dovetailed and divided glyconic at 188 ~ 199 is well attested; likewise the responsion of anaclastic and regular forms of glyconic at 209 ~ 223, 210 ~ 223bis, and later 466 ~ 486 (West 1982: 117).

σ — — υ υ — υ —

οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ζαθέαις Ἀθά-  
 ὀρῶ. καὶ πέλας ἄλλος αὖ-

184 gl f  
 194

— | — — υ υ — υ —

ναις εὐκίονες ἦσαν αὖ-  
 τοῦ πανὸν πυρίφλεκτον αἶ-

185 gl f  
 195

— | υ — υ υ — υ —

λαὶ θεῶν μόνον οὐδ' ἀγυι-  
 ρει τις· ἄρ' ὃς ἐμαῖσι μυ-

186 gl f  
 196

— υ — | υ υ — — ||<sup>h1</sup>

ἀτιδες θεραπεῖαι  
 θεύεται παρὰ πῆναις

187 ph  
 197

— υ — υ υ — υ — |

ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Λοξίαι  
 ἀσπιστὰς Ἰόλαος, ὃς

187bis gl  
 198

— — — υ υ — υ —

τῶι Λατοῦς διδύμων προσώ-  
κοινοὺς αἰρόμενος πόνους

188 gl (j in str.)  
199

— — — υ υ — — ||

πων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς  
Δίωι παιδὶ συναντλεῖ

189 ph  
200

≡ — — | υ — — |

ἰδοῦ, τᾱιδ' ἄθρησον  
καὶ μὲν τόνδ' ἄθρησον

190 ia<sup>^</sup> ia<sup>^</sup> (ba ba)  
201 (mol ba)

ϑ — υ υ — υ — — |

Λερναῖον ὕδραν ἐναίρει  
πτεροῦντος ἔφεδρον ἵππου

191 hag  
202

— — ϑ — υ υ — — |

χρυσέαις ἄρπαις ὁ Διὸς παῖς  
τὰν πῦρ πνέουσας ἐναίρει

192 hag<sup>..</sup>  
203

υ — υ υ — — |||

φίλα, πρόσιδ' ὅσσοις  
τρισώματον ἄλκάν

193 r  
204

ϑ — — υ υ — υ —

πάνται τοι βλέφαρον διώ-  
σέ τοι, τὸν παρὰ ναὸν αὐ-

205 gl j  
219

— | ϑ — υ υ — υ —

κω. σκέψαι κλόνον ἐν τύποι-  
δῶ· θέμις γυάλων ὑπερ-

206 gl j  
220

≡ — ≡ — υ υ — — ||<sup>b2</sup>

σι λαῖνοισι Γιγάντων  
βῆναι λευκῶι ποδί γ' <οὐδόν>

207 hag<sup>..</sup>  
221

— υ υ — υ — υ — — ||<sup>b1</sup>

ῶ φίλαι, ῶδε δερκόμεσθα  
ἐκ σέθεν ἄν πυθοίμεθ' αὐδάν

208 <sup>..</sup>hi (as emended)  
222 (see commentary)

— — — υ — υ υ — ~ — — — υ υ — υ — |

λεύσσεις οὔν ἐπ' Ἐγκελάδωι  
ἄρ' ὄντως μέσον ὀμφαλόν

209 gl<sup>..</sup>  
223 gl

— — — — — υ υ — ~ — — — — υ υ — υ — ||<sup>?</sup> (change of speaker)

γοργωπὸν πάλλουσαν ἴτυν 210 gl<sup>..</sup>  
γᾶς Φοίβου κατέχει δόμος 223bis gl

— — — υ υ — — ||<sup>h2</sup>, change of speaker

λεύσσω Παλλάδ', ἐμὴν θεόν 211 ph  
οὕτω καὶ φάτις αὐδᾶι 225

υ — υ — υ | — υ ~ |

τί γάρ; κεραυνὸν ἀμφίπυρον 212 2ia  
ἔχω μαθοῦσα· θεοῦ δὲ νόμον 230

— υ υ — υ υ |

ὄβριμον ἐν Διὸς 213 2an  
οὐ παραβαίνομεν 231

υ — υ — υ — — ||<sup>b1</sup>, change of speaker

ἐκηβόλοισι χερσίν 213bis 2ia<sub>^</sub>  
ἃ δ' ἐκτὸς ὄμμα τέρπει 231bis

υ — — — υ — |

ὀρῶ· τὸν δάιον 214 ia<sub>^</sub> <sub>^</sub>ia (ba cr)  
μεθεῖσαν δεσπόται 233

υ — υ ~ υ — υ — |

Μίμαντα πυρὶ καταιθαλοῖ 215 2ia  
με θεοῦ γύαλα τάδ' εἰσιδεῖν 233bis

— ~ υ — υ | ~ υ ~

καὶ Βρόμιος ἄλλον ἀπολέμοι- 216 2ia f  
Παλλάδι σύννοικα τρόφιμα μέλα- 235

υ | — υ — υ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

σι κισσίνοισι βάκτροις 217 2ia<sub>^</sub>  
θρα τῶν ἐμῶν τυράννων 235bis

υ — — — υ — υ — — |||

ἐναίρει Γᾶς τέκνων ὁ Βακχεύς 218 ia<sub>^</sub> <sub>^</sub>ia ia<sub>^</sub> (sync 3ia)  
παρούσας δ' ἀμφὶ τᾶσδ' ἔρωτᾶις 236

**185–6** εὐκίονες . . . αὐ- | λαὶ θεῶν “courts of the gods with beautiful columns”: this is the Chorus’ most general expression, as we follow their gaze (in imagination) from panorama to particular structures on the way

to or in front of the temple, to relief sculptures on the building itself (cf. 190n.). Where English uses the pres., Greek uses the imperf. (οὐκ . . . ἦσαν), usually with ἄρα, for sudden realization of what was and still is the case (*GP* 36–7).

**186–7 ἀγυι- | ἀτίδες θεραπέϊαι** “altars [or ‘pillars’] in the service of Apollo Agyieus”: these stood in front of homes (whence Apollo is also προστατήριος, e.g. *S. El.* 637) and protected the entrance; for their shape (pointed column, base broad enough to serve as an altar, or both), see Mastronarde on *Ph.* 631. Using abstract pl. θεραπέϊαι to refer to the familiar object both elevates the language and resonates with the “service” (109–11n.) of Ion, who is still on stage. Many fifth-century dramas call for an image of Apollo just outside the entrance to the stage building, and it is unclear whether this had the aniconic form typical of Apollo Agyieus or was, by stage convention, a statue or bust (Finglass on *S. El.* 635). The question does not arise here if the Chorus describe objects only imagined by spectators, but Ion himself could stand so as to resemble such an image while these words are sung. If, on the other hand, there is a property representing Apollo, it can be addressed by Ion at 436–7(n.), and conceivably by Creusa at 907(n.). A third possibility is that the Chorus refer to the altar in the center of the orchestra to which Creusa later flees (1250–60; cf. Müller 1975: 25–6).

**188–9 διδύμων προσώ- | πων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς** “light, with fair eyelids, of twin faces”: probably an allusion to the temple’s pediments, which surpass other architectural features in the size and importance of their sculptural decoration; the phrase evokes marble gleaming in the morning sun and the raking cornices that, like eyelids, shade the sculptures below (Stieber 2011: 291–6). If this is right, the Chorus have already left realism behind, for visitors arriving at the east side of Apollo’s temple via the Sacred Way would not yet have seen the west pediment. Others explain the “twin faces” as sights on either side of the Sacred Way, façades of two different temples, or the façades of Apollo’s temple and altar. The adj. καλλιβλέφαρον, here only “with fair eyelids” (later a noun, “eye-liner”), is a correction of L’s καλλίφαρον, which is a syllable short, the result of a common type of scribal error.

**190 ἰδού, τᾷδ’ ἄθρησον**: the Chorus use demonstratives and similar words here and at 194, 201, 208, 212, and 216 to focus on particular (parts of) sculpted scenes they are to be thought of as examining, and the question arises whether these scenes can be assigned to particular zones of temple sculpture like metopes, pediments, or friezes. While the Chorus repeatedly mention, and doubtless mime, seeing (here ἄθρησον; further verbs of seeing at 193, 194, 201, 205–6, 208, 209, 211, 214), they use no architectural terms, and nothing indicates the specific direction or movement of their gaze. A widely accepted view is that the Heracles

and Bellerophon scenes belong to metopes, the Gigantomachy to a pediment, so that the choral gaze, having swept through the area before the temple and taken preliminary notice of both pediments (previous note), now moves up the façade represented by the *skene*. Stieber 2011: 297–302, after showing that E.’s contemporaries could have imagined any of the scenes in any of a temple’s sculptural zones, argues that because they immediately follow mention of the “twin faces,” the Heracles and Bellerophon scenes belong to the pediments, and the Gigantomachy must be sought elsewhere. She suggests an Ionic frieze; these are rare on Doric temples, but the Parthenon provides an obviously relevant example. It is wiser, however, not to seek such specificity, especially on the view Stieber shares with most scholars that the spectators do not see anything resembling a temple’s actual sculptures.

**191–2** Λερναῖον ὕδραν ἐναίρει | χρυσέαις ἄρπαις ὁ Διὸς παῖς: the scene of Heracles (identified only as “son of Zeus” here and at 200) killing the Hydra occupies the last third of the strophe and the first two thirds of the antistrophe. The old story is found in literature beginning with Hes. *Th.* 313–18. It is the subject of pedimental sculpture found on the Athenian Acropolis and dated to the early sixth century BCE, and is included in series of metopes depicting Heracles’ labors on the Athenian Treasury at Delphi (c. 500), the temple of Zeus at Olympia (c. 460), and the Hephaesteum at Athens (mid-fifth century). The only detail attached to the Hydra here is that it belongs to Lerna, a marshy area south of Argos. E. is in fact the first to attest explicitly that its many heads, once severed, could grow back (*Her.* 1274–5) and that the torch Iolaus lifts in 194–6 was used to prevent this by cauterizing the necks (*Her.* 419–21), though contemporary art may allude to these motifs (Gantz 1993: 384–6). The epic verb used of the slaying, ἐναίρειν, is nearly confined in E. to lyric (again in 203, 218, and three times in other plays; in excited trochaic tetrameters at *Her.* 866). Heracles accomplishes the slaying χρυσέαις ἄρπαις. The sickle is traditional (West on Hes. *Th.* 175), the pl. poetic (of a weapon again in 217; cf. *S. Aj.* 230–1 [lyr.], *Pi. P.* 4.242); “golden” glorifies Heracles and may allude to conventions of painting or gilding in the plastic arts.

**194–200** E. dramatizes the process of decoding a work of art: after noting the second figure’s position near Heracles and his attribute, a fiery torch, the Chorus draw on stories they have told while weaving to identify him as Iolaus. Again in the next stanza, they use attributes to identify Athena (shield), Zeus (thunderbolt), and Dionysus (thyrsus); cf. 271–4n. Pierson restored the word πανός “torch” here on the strength of *Ath.* 15.700e (cf. 1294, *A. Ag.* 284). It is probably not the same word as φανός, with which it is easily confused, and its etymology is unknown; attested uses are all in Attic drama.



**196–7** ὅς ἐμαῖσι μυ- | θεύεται παρὰ πήναις: Iolaus' story is told “amid my weaving” (lit. “spools of thread incorporated in the shuttle”), or perhaps “in my woven story-cloths” (Barber 1992: 112); cf. 507 ἐπὶ κερκίσιν. Creusa later calls the Chorus “faithful slaves working my loom and shuttle” (747–8). Female solidarity is a theme of their Fourth Song (1048–1105), and a piece of Creusa's weaving decorated with a “mythical” subject is among the birth tokens by which she and Ion are reunited (1421–3). Weaving is emblematic of the lives of women both slave and free (*Hec.* 466–74, *Tro.* 199–200, *IA* 789–90, Cropp on *Hyps.* fr. 752f.9–11) and an important site of the education of women and children through storytelling (Bremmer 2004).

**198–200** Iolaus is ἀσπιστάς, as befits a warrior (cf. *Hclld.* 216), though the shield is merely decorative here. συναντλεῖ “drains along with” suits the swampy Hydra; the compound is unique, but E. is fond of figurative expressions involving ἀντλος “bilge” (cf. 927–8n.).

**201–4** πτεροῦντος ἔφεδρον ἵππου | . . . ἄλκάν: Bellerophon, mounted on Pegasus, kills Chimaera; none of the three is named. The four-line description is in responsion with Heracles' killing of the Hydra (190–3), with parallelism marked by the close similarity of 190 and 201 and repetition of ἐνείρει, and probably reflected in the choreography (cf. 236n.). Thematically, both incidents represent triumphs of civilizing heroes over primitive monsters, but the Chorus do not mention that the Chimaera was part-snake, and the complex mythical tradition, including E.'s own earlier *Stheneboea* and *Bellerophon*, does not encourage aligning Bellerophon and Pegasus with the Olympian realm too simply, as do some who read these temple sculptures symbolically (cf. 184–236n.). The three figures were cast in bronze for an akroterion of the temple of Athena Nike on the Acropolis (cf. 455–7n., Stieber 2011: 298); early literary accounts include Hom. *Il.* 6.179–83 (no mention of Pegasus), Hes. *Th.* 319–25, fr. 43a.84–8 (no mention of Bellerophon riding Pegasus), Pi. *O.* 13.84–90; the fire-breathing and hybrid form (lion, goat, snake) are standard (e.g. *El.* 472–5). “Three-bodied strength” (τρισώματον ἄλκάν) is allusive and mildly riddling, in E.'s lyric manner (Bond on *Her.* 394); for the type of periphrasis (abstract for concrete), see Breitenbach 1934: 178–9, Bond on *Her.* 181. For καὶ μάν “calling attention to something just seen,” see *GP* 356–7.

**205–18** The Chorus describe a battle of gods and Giants, one of the most popular subjects in Greek art. In monumental sculpture at Delphi, there were Gigantomachies in the west pediment of the Alcmaeonid temple and on the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury (c. 525 BCE); in Athens, on the east metopes of the Parthenon and the inside of Athena's shield in Phidias' cult statue, possibly in the east pediment of the temple of Athena Nike, and earlier in the east pediment of the sixth-century temple of Athena; see, in general,

*LIMC* IV.1.191–270, 2.108–58. For the surprisingly scarce references in early poetry, see Gantz 1993: 445–8; later, Apollod. 1.6.1–2 provides a full narrative. The Olympian gods and goddesses all appear in Gigantomachies; already in the archaic period, the demi-god Heracles plays a crucial role (in poetry, e.g. Hes. fr. 43a65; cf. Pi. *N.* 1.67–72, S. *Tr.* 1058–9, E. *Her.* 177–80, 1190–4, 1272). A poet could magnify the role of Apollo (e.g. Pi. *P.* 8.17–18, Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.53–64). In Athens, a Gigantomachy was woven into the *peplos* presented to Athena once every four years at the Greater Panathenaea, and perhaps annually at the Lesser Panathenaea (Strattis fr. 73; cf. Pl. *Euthphr.* 6bc, Σ Ar. *Knights* 566a, [Virg.] *Ciris* 21–35, Mansfield 1985). Although the Chorus evoke their own weaving at 196–7, they make no allusion to the *peplos* here, as does happen in E. at *Hec.* 466–74 and *IT* 222–4 (though both times with Titans replacing Giants; cf. Stamatopoulou 2012). Our sources vary when they name or characterize the opponents of individual gods; here the Giants have neither weapons nor the serpentine form they acquire only in the fourth century. Their essential traits are that they are children of Earth (218; cf. 987–90, 1529), ancestry they share with Creusa’s family (Introd. §6.2), and that they are defeated. In Hesiod, Earth gives birth to them and other monsters after being impregnated by the severed genitals of Ouranos (*Th.* 182–7).

205–7 πάντα τοι βλέφαρον διώ- | κω “I am eagerly looking everywhere, you know”: a response to “look at this” in 201 (hence τοι, *GP* 541). The verb is properly “set into rapid motion” (cf. διώκειν πόδα at *Or.* 1344, A. *Se.* 371, *Eu.* 403), and βλέφαρον (properly “eyelid”) = “eye,” as often in poetry; for related expressions, see Mastronarde on *Ph.* 462. κλόνος “rout” is an Iliadic and lyric word, found here only in E. and twice in A. (lyr.).

ἐν τύποι- | σι λαῖνοισι “in stone reliefs”: Dindorf’s conjecture gives good sense (LSJ τύπος IV, Cropp on *Hyps.* fr. 752c.2) and exact response with 220. Diggle 1981: 97 defends τείχεσσι (Murray’s epic spelling of L’s τείχεσι), but at 1994: 472 acknowledges doubt about the meter (“dragged” glyconic at 206 in response with regular glyconic at 220). In terms of sense, “reliefs,” “walls,” or “skill” (τέχναισι Willink) will do; none points to a particular architectural zone, but λαῖνοισι (a favorite word of E.’s, used in parody or quotation at Ar. *Ach.* 449) means that we do have the first (and last) reference to stone sculpture since the Chorus began describing specific scenes.

208 †ὥδε δερκόμεσθ’, ὦ φίλαι.†: the rhythms of this line and the corresponding line in the antistrophe (222) differ, and neither is plausible in context. Murray’s transposition (given in the apparatus) yields an acceptable aeolic colon (“anaclastic hipponactean,” with epic correction and *brevis in longo*), with which 222 can be made to respond (see note there), but certainty is unattainable.

**209–11** ἐπ’ Ἐγκελάδωι: named as Athena’s opponent at *Her.* 907–8; cf. Seaford on *Cy.* 7. For Enceladus in art, cf. *LIMC* III.1.742–3.

**γοργωπὸν πάλλουςαν ἵτυν:** in a play on a popular etymology of Athena’s alternate name Pallas, the Chorus see the goddess “brandishing” her shield; E. glances at this etymology at *Her.* 1003 (via the synonym κραδαίνειν) and possibly at fr. 1009a (for the method, cf. 9, 802–3nn., 1555–6). The actual etymology of Pallas is disputed; while the dictionaries of Frisk 1960–72, Chantraine 1999, and Beekes link it with παλλακή (classically “concubine,” but etymologically = κόρη), some argue for borrowing from Hittite or a Semitic language. Calling the shield ἵτυς is a bold synecdoche since the word means “rim,” whereas the device that makes the shield “terrible to behold” is normally its boss. The γοργ- element means “terrible” (γοργός); later we learn that Athena killed Gorgo on this very occasion and fashioned her hide into the aegis (987–1017); in art, a Γοργόνειον (Gorgon’s head or face) regularly appears at the center of Athena’s aegis and/or shield (997n.). For ἑμὲν θεόν, cf. 453–4 ἑμὲν | Ἀθάναν.

**212–15** τί γάρ; κεραυνὸν ἀμφίπυρον | ὄβριμον “and the mighty thunderbolt flaming at both ends”: in this purely transitional use in question and answer, γάρ has no explanatory force (*GP* 83). E. describes thunderbolts as ἀμφίπυροι at *Hipp.* 559 and *Hec.* 473, and they are regularly so depicted in art; the adj. recurs in a different meaning at 716(n.). ὄβριμος is an epic word, rare in tragedy; it is not used of Zeus or his thunderbolt elsewhere, but Zeus thunders “mightily” at *Hes. Th.* 839, and when one of his thunderbolts falls at Athena’s feet at *Hom. Od.* 24.539–40, she is called ὄβριμοπάτρη.

**ἐν Διὸς | ἐκηβόλοισι χερσίν:** the adj. may draw attention to Apollo’s absence, since it is his regular epithet in epic, but in tragedy it is used mostly of weapons (and once of Artemis, *S. fr.* 401). The ancients understood it as “shooting from afar” (ἐκάς), modern etymologists as “striking at will” (ἐκῶν).

**τὸν δάιον | Μίμαντα:** the opponent of Ares at *Ap. Rhod.* 3.1225–7, of Hephaestus at *Apollod.* 1.6.2; cf. Nisbet and Rudd on *Hor. Carm.* 3.4.53, *LIMC* VI.1.569. On a fragmentary black-figure dinos by Lydus (Athens, Acropolis Museum 607, c. 560–550 BCE), “Mimos” faces Aphrodite. καταίθαλοῖ is a strong verb, “reduces to smoke, incinerates.”

**216–18** Βρόμιος: through his associations with lions, bulls, earthquakes, and ecstatic music, Dionysus is “Roarer” (*Ba.* 66, *Cy.* 1, etc., *Pratin.* 708.3 *PMG*, *Pi. fr.* 75.10; cf. *h. Dion.* (7) 45, *Anacr.* 365 *PMG*, *Ar. Clouds* 311–13, *Thesmo.* 990–1000). In Gigantomachies, he is often aided by wild animals. For Athenians watching a play, his patronage of theater comes to mind; in *Ion*, he is mentioned at 550–4, 713–18, 1125–7(nn.); cf. 1074–7, 1204–5nn.

**ἀπολέμοι- | σι κισσίνοισι βάκτροις:** i.e. the thyrsus, a long fennel stalk with a bunch of ivy leaves at its top (Dodds on *Ba.* 113), which Dionysus uses to dispatch Eurytus in Apollodorus' account (1.6.2; for the pl., cf. 191–2n.). In *Ba.*, Dionysus calls it a κίσσινον βέλος (25), and his maenads use thyrsi as weapons (762, 1099). ἀπόλεμος is ambiguous; it is paired with ἄμαχος and, like that word, means “invincible” twice in *A.* (*Ag.* 768–9, *Ch.* 55). Here that possible meaning is paradoxical, as the thyrsus' power is unlike that of ordinary weapons. The word can also mean “unwarlike,” evoking Dionysus' gentle aspect (cf. *Ba.* 861 δεινότητος, ἀνθρώποισι δ' ἡπιώτατος).

**219–36** While continuing to show an interest in the sights (231–3), especially the ὀμφαλός (223–4), the Chorus ask about boundaries, so as to avoid transgressing divine law. Only now do they notice Ion, whose solo song preceded their entrance, and their address to him is rather curt (next note). They are thus unlike the sympathetic choruses who respond to monodies and involve the singers in lyric exchange in other plays (82–183n.). They later become wary of both Ion and Apollo, and by the time of their Fourth Song, they will have adopted Creusa's and the Old Man's perspective so thoroughly as to call Ion “Apollo's vagabond” (1087–9n.). Still, they accept his guidance here and later advise Creusa to trust in the protection of the god's altar (1250–60).

**219–20** **σέ τοι, τὸν παρὰ ναὸν αὐ- | δῶ:** the pron. in initial position, the particle τοι or δῆ, and a verb like αὐδῶ, λέγω, or καλῶ are all regular in this peremptory style of address (Barrett on *Hipp.* 1283–4, Finglass on *S. El.* 1445–6). The appositional phrase can be contemptuous, especially when used in place of a name known to the speaker (*Med.* 271, *S. Aj.* 1228, *Ant.* 441; cf. 907n.). Here τὸν παρὰ ναὸν is businesslike, hailing Ion by his actual place and function, but it may remind us that in fact he has no name (74–81; cf. 309–11).

**220–1** **θέμις γυάλων ὑπερ- | βῆναι λευκῶι ποδί γ' <οὐδόν>:** “Is it proper to cross <the threshold> of the γύαλα [76n.] with our white foot?” θέμις ranges from ritual propriety, as here and at 232, to something more like universal principle (cf. 1256); similarly 230 θεοῦ . . . νόμον. The supplement <οὐδόν> provides the two syllables required by meter and an acc. obj. for ὑπερβῆναι, as is usual. It allows us to delete οὐδ' ἄν at the beginning of 222 as a vestige of the true reading here, thereby bringing 222 closer to responsion with 208. Its main disadvantage is that elsewhere in extant tragedy, it appears only in the Attic form ὁδός (*S. OC* 57, 1590). Whether or not they mention a threshold, the Chorus seem to be asking about the entrance to the temple represented by the *skene*-door; that they have access to the entire playing area is evident from 510, where they await Creusa just outside that door. They ask, then, if they may do what a tragic chorus almost never does, leave the playing area. Because there is

no crisis here, as when choruses at e.g. *Med.* 1275–6 and *A. Ag.* 1350–1 contemplate entering the *skene* to halt violence, the effect seems playful (Winnington-Ingram 2003: 53; cf. Arnott 1982: 35–6). For γύαλα = “temple,” see 76n.

ΛΕΥΚῶΙ ΠΟΔΙ: “white” signifies “bare” (Dodds on *Ba.* 664–7) or “feminine” (an ornamental use of the adj. much favored by E.: Parker on *Alc.* 159–60). It is unlikely that the Chorus’ sex explains Ion’s reply that they may go no further (Introd. §8.2). Indeed, he states in 226–9(n.) the conditions on which they may proceed to other areas of the precinct if they want to ask the god a question. Creusa soon arrives with the goal of making her own inquiry, which Ion blocks not because of her sex, but because he thinks putting it would damage his relationship to Apollo (369–80n.).

222 †οὐδ’ ἄν ἐκ σέθεν ἄν πυθοίμαν αὐδάν;†: after deletion of οὐδ’ ἄν (220–1n.), a small adjustment (πυθοίμεθ’ for πυθοίμαν) brings this line into respension with the emended 208. The solution is tempting but cannot be regarded as certain; for other suggestions, see Lee here and on 208, Kovacs 2003: 15–16.

223–4 ἄρ’ ὄντως μέσον ὀμφαλὸν | γᾶς Φοῖβου κατέχει δόμος; the addition of γᾶς to μέσον ὀμφαλὸν evokes the story of Delphi as center of the earth (5–6n.), but Ion’s answer concerns the sacred stone venerated inside the temple. He calls it στέμμασι γ’ ἐνδυτόν “clothed in woolen bands,” like the ὀμφαλός seen on classical vases (e.g. Taplin 2007: nos. 6–10) and the marble sculpture of Hellenistic or Roman date on display in the Delphi museum. On or around it (ἄμφι) are Gorgons. No other source links Gorgons with the ὀμφαλός, and their presence here has been variously explained. They reflect a preoccupation with Athenian themes and monstrosity (184–236, 209–11, 987–1017, 1421–3nn.) and could have an apotropaic function (Wilamowitz). Beyond this, E. may identify as Gorgons the images (εἰκόνες) Strabo saw, or heard of, on or near (ἐπί) the ὀμφαλός he describes when telling the story of Zeus and the eagles (5–6n.). Since the birds were crows or swans in some versions of the story, modern scholars speculate that the actual images may have been abstract, worn, or rarely seen (Rutherford 2001: 393–5). The only other detail that Strabo, here agreeing with E., provides about the ὀμφαλός is that it was τεταινιωμένος “beribboned.” Literary and artistic sources confirm a profusion of στέμματα in and around Apollo’s temple; cf. *A. Eu.* 39 and especially *Ar. Wealth* 39, where the paratragic line τί δῆτα Φοῖβος ἔλακεν ἐκ τῶν στεμμάτων amounts to “What did Apollo prophesy?” In *Ion*, besides adorning the ὀμφαλός here and the ἀντίπηξ at 1338 and 1389, fillets lend holiness to Ion’s broom (104) and costume (522), as well as Creusa’s place of refuge at Apollo’s altar (1310). For ὄντως “really” (sometimes skeptical, here probably enthusiastic), see Bond on *Her.* 610 and cf. 265 ἀληθῶς.

**226–9** εἰ μὲν ἐθύσατε πελανὸν πρὸ δόμων | . . . | πάριτ' ἐς θυμέλας· ἐπὶ δ' ἀσφάκτοις | μήλοισι δόμων μὴ πάριτ' ἐς μυχόν: Ion describes rituals required for two further stages of access if the Chorus want to put a question to Apollo. To proceed to the θυμέλαι, they must have already sacrificed the πελανός (here presumably a thick liquid or batter, whose ingredients might include meal, honey, oil, milk, and water; later a technical term at Delphi for “sacrificial tax”: Amandry 1950: 86–103); from there, they may proceed to the μυχός if slaughter of animal victim(s) occurs (Amandry 1950: 104–14). Here θυμέλαι may refer to altar(s) or hearth(s) inside the temple (cf. 46n.). The μυχός “recess” is probably what other sources call the ἄδυτον “inner sanctum”; the latter word occurs in *Ion*, but in the broader meanings “temple” (662) and “precinct” (1309). The πελανός is to be sacrificed πρὸ δόμων and before entry (aor. ἐθύσατε, a correction of L's ἐλύσατε); the ἐπὶ + dat. construction leaves unclear where and when the animal slaughter occurs, but most assume it was inside at the θυμέλαι (in the sense the word has here). The reasons Ion gives for blocking Creusa's inquiry at 369–80 show that we are not meant to wonder whether she has gone through these preliminaries, nor are they mentioned when Xuthus arrives; the sacrifice alluded to at 417–20(n.) has a different purpose.

**230** ἔχω μαθοῦσα: the effect of the periphrasis is “I now have the knowledge in my possession”; cf. 615, 736, Mastronarde on *Med.* 33.

**231bis** ἃ δ' ἐκτὸς ὄμμα τέρπει “what is outside will delight my eye”: for the separate arrivals of Creusa and her servants, see 236n. At *An.* 1085–7, we hear that Neoptolemus and his entourage spent three days sightseeing at Delphi.

**234** δμῳαὶ δὲ τίνων κλήιζεσθε δόμων; by giving two answers to this question, in effect “the Athenian royal house” and “Creusa,” the Chorus virtually identify the two and make their loyalties clear from the start.

**235–235bis** Παλλάδι σύννοικα τρόφιμα μέλα· | θρα τῶν ἐμῶν τυράννων “the halls that nourish my rulers share a roof with Pallas”: the reference is to the Erechtheum, nearing completion when *Ion* was produced. The unusually complex temple is believed by most to have housed the ancient olive-wood image of Athena and an altar to Poseidon and Erechtheus in its non-communicating eastern and western compartments (Hurwit 1999: 202–3). For such an arrangement, συνοικία is a technical term (LSJ III); this supports Badham's easy change of L's Παλλάδος ἔνοικα to Παλλάδι σύννοικα. For Athena and Erechtheus “dwelling together,” see Hom. *Il.* 2.546–52, *Od.* 7.78–81.

**τυράννων**: in *Ion*, τύραννος and related words are mostly neutral or positive, as at 1464, where Ion as τύραννος is implicitly contrasted with an interloper like the current ruler, Xuthus. The negative associations of “tyranny” are relevant at 621, 626, 829; on τύρανν- in tragedy, see further Page on *Med.* 348, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 828, Mastronarde on *Med.* 119.

**236 παρούσας δ' ἄμφι τᾷσδ' ἑρωτᾷς:** the metrical responsion between this announcement (deictic τᾷσδ') of Creusa's arrival and Dionysus' slaying of one of the children of Earth (218) may have been reflected in mimetic choreography (Wiles 1997: 100–3). This would be a good reason for the unusual use of choral lyric for the announcement (cf. *Alc.* 233–4 with Parker's note, *S. Tr.* 962–70, *Ph.* 210–18); another is that the arrival of the Chorus before Creusa allows E. to exploit the contrast between their mood and hers (231bis, 237–46nn.).

## 237–451 SECOND SCENE (FIRST *EPEISODION*)

Ion addresses Creusa, who has just arrived through the *eisodos* on the spectators' left. After a pair of nearly balanced speeches and eight lines of distichomythia (stylized dialogue in pairs of lines) comes a long passage of stichomythia (stylized dialogue in single lines) in which Ion and Creusa share information sympathetically. After Ion blocks Creusa's secret mission to ask the oracle about a son she says a "friend" bore to Apollo and left to die, Creusa denounces the god's injustice and asks Ion not to reveal to her husband what she has said (369–400). The last part of the scene, which begins with Xuthus' arrival and ends with exits in three different directions (401–51n.), brings a parting challenge to Apollo from Creusa (425–8) and a speech in which Ion, left alone, ponders Creusa's disturbing story (429–51).

E. used stichomythia increasingly in his later plays. At 105 lines, the example beginning at 264 is the longest in surviving tragedy (cf. 938–1028, the second longest at ninety-one lines). Combining exposition for the spectators and exchange of information between the characters, it develops the characterization of Ion and Creusa and draws attention to key themes. While abounding in the irony found in other encounters between unrecognized φίλοι (e.g. *El.* 220–89, *IT* 494–569), it goes further than these in dramatizing the instinctive sympathy of mother and son. Although the strict form of stichomythia can seem artificial, and short stretches of it regularly occur at the climax of acrimonious contest scenes, longer scenes like this one, which are feats of technical virtuosity, develop mutual understanding or cooperation between sympathetic characters.

Changes of topic coincide with changes in the conversational dynamic, making for variety and a clear structure. The first section has two parts, with Ion asking first about Creusa's family and an Athenian landmark dear to Apollo (265–88), then about Creusa's journey, marriage, and childlessness (289–307). Creusa then takes the lead with questions about Ion's background and situation (308–29). The third section begins when Creusa observes a similarity between Ion's mother's experience and that of another woman, her "friend." While Ion returns to the role of

questioner here, Creusa retains the emotional lead, so to speak, with revelations and accusations that shock Ion. Then Ion discovers a reason for blocking Creusa's inquiry; this brings the end of stichomythia, a speech of self-justification from Ion (369–80), and a bitter rejoinder from Creusa (384–91). On stichomythia, see 510–65, 931–69, 970–1047nn., Schwinge 1968a, Seidensticker 1971, Collard 2007: 16–30, Heath 1987: 128–30, Schuren 2015, and on this scene in particular, Spira 1960: 46–51.

Throughout the scene, Ion displays curiosity and the devotion to Apollo we have seen already, but in asking Creusa to drop the painful subject of his mother (361), he mirrors her evasions at 256–7, 288, and 306, and there is evident tension between his refusal to put Creusa's question and his acknowledgment of the injustice suffered by Creusa's "friend," a tension not resolved until the end of the play. Our first impression of Creusa is that she is stuck in the past and full of conflicting feelings about her present purpose. We see her shame, hesitation, and weakness, and we see her on the way to overcoming them, with results that will prove to be mixed. The short scene with Xuthus makes it clear that he is not meant to elicit our sympathy in the same way as Creusa and Ion.

**237–46** The fact that Ion speaks to Creusa before she says anything reflects both his eagerness to interact with visitors (cf. 640–1n.) and her absorption in her feelings. Much more often, a character who has just arrived through one of the *eisodoi* initiates dialogue contact with those already on stage (Mastronarde 1979: 20–2, Halleran 1985: 103–4). After Ion comments on Creusa's dignified bearing (237–40), she draws further attention to her silence by bursting into tears (241–2n.); her first speech then culminates in an obscure complaint about divine injustice (252–4). This sequence invites comparison with Cassandra's arrival in *A. Ag.* (cf. Taplin 1977: 318–19). Like Cassandra, Creusa expresses herself in lyric, but not until a much later stage of her confrontation with the *skene* and what it represents (859–922n.).

**237–40** **γενναιότης σοι:** as transmitted, Ion's first words to Creusa are ungrammatical and abrupt. Positing a lacuna before 237 and supplying e.g. <ὦ χαῖρ', ἄνασσα καὶ γὰρ οὖν μορφῇι τ' ἔνι>, Lloyd-Jones 1990: 436 solves both problems. The greeting is now appropriately formal (and traditional: Richardson on *h. Dem.* 213ff.); the continuation explains (γάρ) the honorific ἄνασσα and provides a construction for γενναιότης σοι (cf. fr. 757.853–5, *S. El.* 663–6). Bothe's simpler substitution of γενναιότητος for γενναιότης mends the grammar but does nothing to mitigate the abruptness. On the text, see further next note; for γενναιότης, 935n.

**τρόπων τεκμήριον | τὸ σχῆμ' ἔχεις τόδ':** Ion takes Creusa's appearance as evidence (τεκμήριον, 329n.) of her "ways" and says one can generally recognize "nobility" from appearance (for σχῆμα, see Mastronarde on *Ph.*



250–2). The proposal to delete 239–40 (Kraus 1989: 38–9) is unconvincing. They suit the context and are transmitted together in Phld. *Po.* 1, col. 89.18–90.7 (cf. Janko 2000: 165–89, 290–3). Unfortunately, a lacuna in this text prevents it from shedding light on the problems in 237 (above); for L’s πολλά γ’ in 239, it has πόλλ’ ἄν, which Janko prefers.

ἦτις εἶ ποτ’, ὦ γύναι: (ὦ) γύναι is the proper, unmarked way for a man to address a respectable, unrelated woman (Dickey 1996: 243–5). Ion uses it often enough (× 10 in this scene) for his few departures from it to stand out (338–9n.; cf. 429–30, 1220–1nn.); at the same time, it reminds us that Ion and Creusa do not recognize their true relationship, as does “whoever you are” (formulaic in pre-recognition scenes, 324n.). For forms of address used by other characters, see 247–8, 413–16nn.

241–2 ἔα | ἀλλ’ ἐξέπληξάς μ’: the actor playing Creusa has begun to mime weeping, probably turning away or veiling himself as an approximation of closing the eyes (ὄμμα συγκλήισα σόν), which like weeping (242) is not literally possible for a masked actor and must be signaled in words and gestures (so again weeping at 876, 967, 1369). The closing of the eyes probably conveys shame, an emotion that becomes explicit at 336–7(n.) and remains important (860–1, 934, 1484nn.; cf. Cairns 1993: Index s.v. “*aidos* in the eyes”; Harder on *Cresph.* fr. 457); it heightens the contrast between Creusa and the Chorus, for whom seeing was a delight (231bis). The exclamation ἔα “expresses surprise at a new aspect of the situation that the speaker has just noticed” (Mastronarde on *Med.* 1005a); for aor. ἐξέπληξας used of a sudden access of present emotion (“I am astonished that you . . .”), cf. 308n., 403.

243 ἄγνὰ Λοξίου χρηστήρια: the point of the adj. is that weeping is foreign to Apollo’s nature and threatens the purity of his sanctuary; cf. *Su.* 975–6, *A. Ag.* 1074–5, 1078–9.

244 τί ποτε μερίμνης ἐς τόδ’ ἦλθες . . .: “Why are you in such distress?”: the idiom ἐς τόδε/τοῦτο/τοσοῦτο + gen. of abstract noun + verb of going (often + result clause), found only occasionally in other poets (e.g. *S. OT* 771–2, *Ar. Clouds* 832), is common in E. (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 963) and prose (K–G 1.278–9).

247–8 ὦ ξένη . . . δακρύων ἐμῶν πέρι “your attitude shows you are well brought up, stranger, to wonder at my tears”: Creusa calls Ion ξένος throughout this scene (× 6, the only departure coming at 320), with obvious irony. Moreover, the anomaly that she, a visitor to his land, calls him ξένος is a subtle reminder that her thoughts are in Athens (251), and perhaps also that Ion really belongs elsewhere (Zacharia 2003: 21; cf. Dickey 1996: 146–9). It is ironic that Creusa praises Ion’s upbringing, since she ought to have participated in it but did not (cf. 358, 948–9nn.).

τὸ μὲν σόν οὐκ ἀπαιδεύτως ἔχει | ἐς θαύματ’ ἐλθεῖν: the construction whereby τὸ σόν (“your attitude or behavior,” Diggle 1981: 106) is subj.

of ἔχει + adv., which is then followed by an explanatory inf. phrase that could itself have been subj. of ἔχει, has aroused suspicion. Deletion of 248 would simplify it, leave 247 exactly parallel to *IA* 1402, and eliminate the unusual use of θαύματα, normally “objects of wonder,” to mean “state(s) of wonder” (Cropp 1986). This is tempting, but the transmitted construction is paralleled at *Ar. Thesmo.* 105–6 (paratragic), and pl. use of abstract nouns signifying emotions is a tragic mannerism (K–G 1.16, Bruhn §3). Ion reacts sensitively both to Creusa’s appearance and to her tears; the precision brought by 248 fits well with 249–51, which explain only the tears.

**249–51** A compact statement of the way Athens and the past shape Creusa’s experience of Delphi and the present; cf. 283–8, where Ion asks about the Long Rocks and stirs the same painful memory. E. is the only tragedian to use ἀναμετρεῖν (× 6), here “retrace,” at 1271 “take the measure of,” which is closer to the mathematical and scientific meaning it acquired in the fifth century (cf. *Ar. Clouds* 203, *Birds* 1020); the sole Homeric occurrence is of Odysseus repeating his painful journey past Charybdis (*Od.* 12.428).

ἐκεῖσε τὸν νοῦν ἔσχον ἐνθάδ’ οὐσά περ “though here, I directed my attention there”: the pithy formulation results from three textual interventions, the most significant of which is Owen’s ἐκεῖσε for L’s οἴκοι δέ. For similar expressions, see 1370, *Ph.* 1418, *Or.* 1181, and passages collected by Diggle on *Pha.* 265 (= fr. 781.56) and Diggle 1981: 97–8; Kraus 1989: 39–41 defends οἴκοι δέ.

**252–4** ὦ τλήμονες γυναικες ὦ τολμήματα | θεῶν: not addressed to Ion, but not spoken “aside” either, as his response shows. If Creusa is still refusing to look at Apollo’s temple (241–2n.), she will seem to be lost in thought, musing aloud. But if she turns and faces the temple, she will seem accusatory and potentially defiant (next note, 256–7n.). By τλήμονες, she means “wretched, suffering”; by τολμήματα (a Euripidean word, not in A. or S.), “audacious deeds, hard-heartedness.” Later, the ambiguity of words derived from root τλα- comes into play, as Creusa herself moves from (passive) suffering to (active) audacity (960n.; cf. 1–4, 278nn., Finglass on *S. El.* 273, Wilson 1971).

ποῖ δίκην ἀνοίσομεν, | εἰ τῶν κρατούντων ἀδικίαις ὀλούμεθα; “Where shall we refer justice, if we are to be ruined by injustices of the powerful?” Creusa repeats the charge of injustice at 358 and 384 (cf. 426 ἀμαρτίας), and Ion accepts it at 355 (cf. 341) and 436–51, where he too reflects on the gods’ κράτος and role in setting a standard for mortals. For ἀναφέρειν “refer to something as to a standard,” see LSJ II.6.b.

**255** τί χρῆμ’ ἀνερμήνευτα δυσθυμῇ . . .; “Why do you feel this unexplained sadness?” When Creusa says something puzzling or, as in her next lines, blocks inquiry, sometimes Ion presses for an explanation (as here),

sometimes not (as after 257–8, 264, 268, 288). ἀνερμήνευτα (Wakefield, for L's unmetrical ἀνερεύνητα) has associations with prophecy and interpretation. In drama, only E. uses τί χρῆμα (× 9) to mean “why?”; it is well attested as subj. or (as at 266 and 276) obj. of a verb (Stevens 1976: 21–2).

**256–7 οὐδέν· μεθῆκα τόξα** “it’s nothing: I’ve let my arrow fly”: these words support interpretation of 252–4 as aimed at Apollo’s temple rather than spoken by Creusa “to herself.” When τοξεύειν, ἐξακοντίζειν, and the like are used metaphorically of speech, the degree of hostile intent varies but can be high (e.g. *Su.* 456, fr. 494.1–2, *S. Ant.* 1084–6); examples like this one where the speaker or target is an archer also suggest a “live” metaphor (cf. *A. Eu.* 676). When Creusa says τοῦδε τοξεύω at 1411, however, she is anything but hostile. τὰπὶ τῷδε = “hereafter,” lit. “as for what comes after this.”

**ἔγω τε σιγῶ καὶ σὺ μὴ φρόντιζ’ ἔτι:** Creusa’s resolve to keep silent, like her instruction to Ion to “think no more of it,” turns her “inexplicable sadness” (255) into a dramatic secret that must eventually come out. In this scene, we get further riddles, complaints, and attempts at suppression; only in her monody does Creusa finally unburden herself.

**258–61** Ion asks four questions, the third of which is ἐκ ποίας πάτρας | πέφυκας; (258–9). This subtly imports the nuance “born from the earth,” relevant for autochthonous Creusa, though Ion does not yet know it (and Creusa had human parents); cf. 267, 542nn. Creusa gives three replies: name, father, city; for examples of this “formal identification-triplet,” see Mastronarde on *Ph.* 288–90. For defense of L’s text, see Diggle 1981: 98; Kovacs 1984: 240 argues for L. Dindorf’s ἐκ ποίου πατρός.

**262–3 ὦ κλεινὸν οἰκοῦσ’ ἄστρ’ . . . θαυμάζω:** praising Athens fulsomely (30n.), Ion comments on Creusa’s nature (γενναίων τ’ ἄπο | . . . πατέρων) and nurture (τραφεῖσα). θαυμάζω here = “honor, admire” (LSJ 2.b).

**264 τοσαῦτα κεύτυχοῦμεν** “thus far I *am* fortunate”: *GP* 322. For the long stichomythia that begins here, see 237–451n.

**265–6 πρὸς θεῶν, ἀληθῶς . . . θέλων;** the urgency of πρὸς θεῶν (e.g. *Hipp.* 219, *IT* 509, 658, *Hel.* 660) and ἀληθῶς (223–4n.) covers Ion’s failure to respond to the hint of Creusa’s misfortune in 264. In 266, L’s ἐκμαθεῖν θέλω could be defended as a common type of “filler” (*Su.* 1060, *IT* 257, 493, *Ant.* fr. 223.63), but ἐκμαθεῖν θέλων (Badham) is better, as it reinforces Ion’s enthusiasm.

**267 πατρός σου πρόγονος . . . πατήρ:** it is unclear here and at 999–1000 whether Erichthonius is Erechtheus’ father (“your forebear, your father’s father”) or a more distant ancestor (πρόγονος πατήρ together as “forefather,” πατρός “of your father”). Later lists and accounts put Pandion I between them, but E. focuses on the autochthonous Erichthonius and Erechtheus and has no use for Pandion, who is not mentioned in *Ion*.

**269–70** ἡ καὶ σφ’ Ἀθάνᾳ γῆθεν ἐξανείλετο | ἐς παρθένους γε χεῖρας; by raising Erichthonius up from/out of the earth (from Ge) into her virgin hands, Athena accepts the role of “mother” (for the story, cf. 20–1n.). ἀνελεῖσθαι is the regular word not only for picking up an abandoned child (Ar. *Clouds* 531, Men. *Epit.* 330, *Peric.* 134, 782), but also, at least from the time of Menander, for deciding to raise rather than expose one’s own (Gomme and Sandbach on *Sam.* 355); in Roman contexts, it denotes the practice by which a father acknowledges paternity by lifting a child from the ground (Lat. *tollere, suscipere*). For adjectival use of the status-noun παρθένος, cf. 1373 οἰκέτην βίον, K–G 1.271–3.

**271–4** The story of the daughters of Cecrops is picked up from the prologue (23–4n.) and expanded with significant details. The τεῦχος (“vessel,” a general term) is reminiscent of Ion’s ἀντίπηξ (19n.), the girls’ disobedience prefigures Creusa’s resistance to Apollo’s plan (923–4n.), and their death resembles that with which Ion later threatens Creusa (1266–8n.; cf. 1111–12n.). Ion knows the story from both painting (ἐν γραφῇ) and storytelling (ἤκουσα). The detail he attributes to painting is not the girls’ disobedience, as most often in surviving art (*LIMC* 1.1.283–98, 2.210–16, Shapiro 1995), but the moment when the helpless infant’s “mother” hands him over to others, an analogue of his own abandonment by Creusa (Zeitlin 1994: 155). For interpretation of the historic pres. δίδωσι as a sign of Ion’s engagement with Creusa, see Schuren 2015: 146–7.

ὥσπερ ἐν γραφῇ νομίζεται: Ion eagerly seeks knowledge of things he cannot possibly know first-hand; contrast *Hipp.* 1004–6, *Tro.* 686–7 (Hippolytus knows about sex, Hecuba about ships, only from words and pictures). For other tragic references to painting providing familiarity with “myth,” cf. *Ph.* 128–30, A. *Eu.* 49–51, Stieber 2011: 218–32; see also 194–200, 507–9nn. on attributes, storytelling, and weaving. Cecrops and his daughters are depicted in one of the art objects with which Ion adorns his tent (1163–4n.).

Κέκροπός γε σώζειν παισὶν οὐχ ὁρώμενον: σώζειν recalls 24; the detail that Erichthonius was “not (to be) seen” is new. Also new is what happened next: all three girls, it seems, disobeyed and were punished. Other sources vary as to how many and which girls disobeyed and how they were punished. By keeping the story simple, E. increases the bleakness of Creusa’s family history, as again in 277–82(n.). In 271, Ion begins a question that Creusa completes and thereby answers in 272. The compactness of stichomythia often leads to such “cooperative syntax,” of which γε is a marker (Mastronarde 1979: 54–6, Schuren 2015: 38–40); cf. 550–2.

**275–6** εἶέν· | τί δαὶ τόδ’; ἄρ’ ἀληθὲς ἢ μᾶτην λόγος; Ion in effect asks Creusa’s permission to keep asking questions, and she grants it. εἶέν marks his readiness to introduce a new topic (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 1615; cf.

756n.), the colloquial τί δαί his enthusiasm (*GP* 262–4); τόδ’ = “the following.” For ἀληθές, cf. 265–6n., 281; μάτην λόγος = “a story (spoken) in vain,” with a common quasi-adjectival use of μάτην, in origin an internal acc. The word is used adverbially at 1537, *S. Ph.* 345, etc. Creusa’s οὐ κάμνω σχολῇ means “I am not pressed in respect of leisure,” i.e. “I am not in a hurry.” More commonly, the dat. after κάμνειν represents the thing by which one is distressed or wearied (*Med.* 1138, *El.* 1358, *A. Ag.* 482, etc.); for σχολή, see 634–5n.

**277–82** E. is our earliest source for the mythical war of the Athenians against the Eleusinians and their Thracian allies, led by Poseidon’s son Eumolpus. In *Erech.*, a Delphic oracle reveals that Erechtheus can save Athens by sacrificing one of his daughters (*Lycurg. Leoc.* 98–100 = *Erech.* test. 11), and Creusa’s mother Praxithea strongly supports the patriotic act (fr. 360). Erechtheus has three daughters (fr. 357, 360.36) and sacrifices one; the others, having joined their sister in a vow that all would die together, die either quasi-sacrificially or by throwing themselves off a cliff (Cropp 1995: 150–1). In *Ion*, as in some later accounts, Erechtheus kills more than one daughter; the number is not given, but Creusa alone escapes death. In *Erech.*, Praxithea urges a killing she expects will save her city, husband, and other two daughters (fr. 360.34–7), but the girls’ pact and Erechtheus’ death in battle (281–2n.) tragically frustrate her hopes. In *Ion*, Creusa’s mother succeeds in saving Creusa by an act pointedly different from Creusa’s treatment of her own infant (280n.). The events related here and in *Erech.* became very popular as prototypes of patriotic Athenian resistance against foreign invaders; for the sources, some nearly contemporary with E., and discussion of the myth’s significance, see Parker 1986: 201–4, Gantz 1993: 242–4, Cropp 1995: 148–94, Sonnino 2010.

**278** ἔτλη πρὸ γαίας σφάγια παρθένους κτανεῖν “he brought himself to kill the girls as sacrificial victims on behalf of the land”: whereas Athena received Erichthonius *from* the earth/Ge (269), Erechtheus performs sacrifice πρὸ γαίας. This is not the same as an offering “to Earth,” but it clearly resonates with the play’s concern with autochthony, including Erechtheus’ descent *into* the earth (281–2n.). No source names a recipient of Erechtheus’ sacrifice, and the detail is optional in stories of this type, of which there are several more in E. (notably *Hcld.* and *IA*, with related subplots in *Hec.*, *Ph.*, and one or both lost *Phrixus* plays) and Athenian myth (the daughters of Hyacinthus and Leos). For the ambiguity in ἔτλη, see 252–4n.; the verb \*τλάω occurs often in descriptions of human sacrifice (*IT* 617, 862, *IA* 98, 887, *A. Ag.* 224–5, *S. El.* 531); it and related words are used of Creusa’s exposure of Ion at 958, 960, 1497 (cf. 1378).

**280** βρέφος νεογνὸν μητρός ἦν ἐν ἀγκάλαις: at 31, Ion was a “newborn babe”; at 1598–9, he is a “babe” taken by Hermes “into his arms.” A mother’s ἀγκάλαι “bent arms” are where an infant finds protection, comfort,

and nurture (761–2, 962, 1375, 1454). Through these repetitions, E. makes sure we remember that Creusa did not provide Ion the benefits he got from Hermes and she got from her own mother. Creusa's mother's other certain appearance in *Ion* is in Creusa's monody, where Creusa cries out to her as she is being raped by Apollo (893n.; cf. 897–8, 1489–91nn.). For babes in arms escaping family disaster, cf. *Cresph.* fr. 448a.25–8, A. Ag. 1605–6. For ἦν, the newer form of the first pers. sing. imperf. indic. < εἰμί, here guaranteed by meter, see *Hipp.* 1012, *Her.* 1416, Parker on *Alc.* 655. The older form, ἦ, is transmitted at 641 and restored by conjecture at 638, as is παρῇ at 781.

**281–2** πατέρα δ' ἀληθῶς χάσμα σὸν κρύπτει χθονός; in *Erech.*, the sacrifice secures victory for the Athenians; Eumolpus falls, probably at Erechtheus' hands, but Erechtheus too dies in battle (fr. 370.12–22). In the *exodos*, Poseidon strikes the Acropolis with his trident and causes an earthquake; appearing on the theatrical crane, Athena begs him to stop, saying it should be enough that he has hidden (κρύψας) Erechtheus beneath the earth (fr. 370.45–60, Apollod. 3.15.4). In a familiar pattern, the mythical antagonism of Poseidon and Erechtheus coexists with cultic complementarity. In E.'s play, Athena says that Erechtheus will receive sacrifices “being now named (ἐπωνομασμένος) Poseidon Erechtheus.” For details of the cult and discussion of the relationship between god and hero, see Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 66–87. While Erechtheus was worshipped in the agora along with other eponymous heroes of the Cleisthenic tribes, the cult of Poseidon (and) Erechtheus was housed on the Acropolis (in the Erechtheum, once it was completed), where later sources locate the hero's grave, a split in the rock where he was struck by Poseidon's trident (or by a thunderbolt that Zeus hurled at Poseidon's request, according to Hyg. *fab.* 46). Owen on 277–82 writes that “a hole in the rock between the so-called grottoes of Pan and Apollo may be the supposed grave of Erechtheus.” This idea, repeated by Lee, seems to be based on nothing other than mistaken inference from ἐκεῖ in 283 that Erechtheus must have been killed on the north slope amid the Long Rocks; see Kontoleon 1949: 7–10. For ἀληθῶς, see 265–6n.

**283–8** For Μακραί (283), see 11–13n. Mention of this place, like the sight of Apollo's temple, stirs painful memories, and after another unhappy outburst, Creusa moves to block discussion with οὐδέν (288), again adding a dark hint (ξύνοιδ' ἀντροισιν αἰσχύνην τινά) that Ion temporarily ignores (cf. 256–7n.).

**285** τιμᾷ σφε†Πύθιος†ἀστραπαὶ τε Πύθιαι: the link between the Long Rocks, honor, and Pythian lightning is apparently the Athenian practice of sending a delegation called a Pythais to Delphi when prompted by weather signs. The delegation took sacrificial victims and ἀπαρχαί (“first fruits” [401–3n.], later money) to Delphi and returned with a sacred

tripod and a female “fire-bearer.” Strabo 9.2.11 reports that officials called Pythaïstai looked towards Harma on Mt. Parnes, near the Attic deme Phyle and the Boeotian border town Tanagra, and sent a Pythaïs when they saw lightning; observation took place during three months of the year, on just three days and nights each month. Sightings, and thus delegations, were rare enough to give rise to a proverb ὅταν δι’ Ἄρματος ἀστράψῃ, equivalent to “once in a blue moon.” According to Strabo, the Pythaïstai watched from the hearth-altar of Zeus Astrapaïos, in the wall between the Python and the Olympieion. This site in southeast Athens is nowhere near the Long Rocks; either the officials (also) watched from a spot on the north slope of the Acropolis in E.’s day (conceivably also known as a Python, Travlos 1971: 91, but see Nulton 2003: 15–23 for strong arguments against this), or E. admits imprecision for the sake of Ion’s pious remark and Creusa’s reaction. To say that Apollo, rather than Zeus, honors the spot similarly stretches a point. For the Pythaïs, see Parker 2005: 83–7. Most of the conjectures for L’s unmetrical Πύθιος replace it with something meaning “Apollo” (Ἀπόλλων, Φοῖβος, γ’ ὁ θεός, δαίμων). More convincingly, Diggle suggests that someone wrote Πύθιος to show that Πύθιαι is to be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with κεραυνός and ἀστραπαί, and σφε Πύθιος later displaced κεραυνός σφ’.

**286** †τιμᾶι τιμᾶι† ὥς μήποτ’ ὠφελόν σφ’ ἰδεῖν: Hermann’s τιμᾶι; τί τιμᾶι; (and omission of ὥς) would neatly restore meter and give a tone of outraged disbelief that coheres well with “I wish I’d never seen them!” For line-initial repetition of another speaker’s word, see 338–9, 948–9nn.; for the lively colloquialism τί τιμᾶι; (“What do you mean, ‘honors?’”), *Alc.* 807, *IA* 460, Stevens 1976: 40 (cf. 932–3n.). Note, however, that the two devices do not elsewhere occur together.

**287** τί δὲ στυγεῖς σὺ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ φίλτατα; ironic, since τὰ φίλτατα (here Apollo’s “favorite place”), which often refers to family members and is formulaic in recognition scenes, could describe Ion himself (521, 1437–8nn.). For punctuation of the line as a single question, see Kovacs 2003: 16.

**288** αἰσχύνην τινά “a certain disgraceful deed”: the accusation is deliberately evasive, and Ion does not inquire further. An explicit charge of shamelessness (ἀναίδεια) comes only later, at the height of Creusa’s monody; see further 367–8, 894–5nn.

**289** πόσις δὲ τίς: Ion tactfully changes the subject, as reflected in the fronting of topic-word πόσις rather than interrogative τίς.

**290–3** οὐκ ἀστός ἀλλ’ ἐπακτός . . . ἐγγενῇ: here ἀστός is equivalent to ἐγγενής (293, cf. 63n.), and both are opposed to ξένος “foreign.” At 673–5, Ion speaks of someone who is both ἀστός and ξένος; there, ἀστός = πολίτης (see 674n.). ἐπακτός “immigrant” recurs at 592 (cf. 590 ἐπείσακτον); cf. *Erech.* fr. 360.7, where the gloss ἐπαγώγιμοι (360.10) confirms that the derivation < ἐπ-άγειν “import” is still felt. This applies in a special sense

to Xuthus, who helped Athens (59–60n.). ἐπακτός and ἐπάγειν are often derogatory, unmistakably so when they refer to adultery (S. *Aj.* 1296, *Tr.* 378; cf. A. *Ag.* 1446). Ion expresses mild surprise (καὶ πῶς: 958–9n.; cf. next note on καῖτα) that even a well-born (291 εὐγενῆ) foreigner has married an Athenian woman (cf. Collard on *Su.* 134). Later, when convinced that Xuthus is his father, he approves the lineage, but worries anachronistically about the effect of immigrant status on his political career (591–2, 668–75nn.). The excellence of Xuthus’ family is also recognized by Creusa (392, 1540) and Athena (1562).

**294–8 Εὐβοί’ . . . πόλις:** for the war between Athens and Euboea, see 59–60n.; for the poetic use of πόλις for the island Euboea, Strabo 8.3.31 cites our passage and Critias fr. 16; similarly Stes. fr. 263 *PMG* = 318 Davies and Finglass (Pisa), S. fr. 411 (Mysia), both also cited by Strabo; E. *Ba.* 58 (Phrygia), fr. 730 (Peloponnese); Ar. *Peace* 251 (Sicily), etc. In a familiar extension of the patronymic (23–4n.), the Athenians are Κεκροπίδαι, as at *Ph.* 855, Ar. *Knights* 1055; cf. 936, 1571.

**ἐπικούρος ἐλθών; καῖτα σὸν γαμῆ λῆχος;** Ion is surprised at so great a reward for an “ally” (1299n.). καῖτα and κάπειτα are possibly colloquial combinations favored by E. and Ar. to introduce “surprised, indignant, or sarcastic questions” (*GP* 311; cf. Collard 2005: 364). There are five further examples in *Ion* (548, 946, 1286, 1300, 1408), all in stichomythia and all but one (946) spoken by Ion, perhaps to suggest “naïveté” (Lee). In her reply, Creusa describes herself, or marriage to her, as φερναί “dowry,” properly the property she brings to her marriage with Xuthus. Tragedy also uses ἔδνα in this sense, but avoids προίξ, the prose word for dowry as monetary settlement (Friis Johansen and Whittle on A. *Su.* 979). Whether Creusa has any feelings about how she came to be married to Xuthus is not made clear here or elsewhere (57–8n.).

**300–2 σηκοῖς δ’ ὕστερεῖ Τροφωνίου** “but he is delayed at the precincts of Trophonius”: Xuthus’ errand allows Creusa to arrive on stage before him and encounter Ion alone; for the answer he receives and its role in the play, see 407–9n. Trophonius was a son of Erginus or Apollo (Hes. fr. 245, Paus. 9.37.5), a legendary master-builder (along with his brother Agamedes) of famous buildings including the fourth temple of Apollo at Delphi (*h. Ap.* 294–9), and a Boeotian cult figure (Schachter 1981–94: III.66–89, Bonnechere 2003). Pausanias gives a first-hand account of the elaborate, time-consuming, and awe-inspiring process of consulting his subterranean oracle at Lebadea, about 15 miles from Delphi, in the second century CE (9.39.5–14). For putting the same question to more than one oracle, see Hdt. 1.46, 8.133–5, Bonnechere 2010; and cf. 407–9n. The text is uncertain. If ὕστερεῖ (Badham) can mean “he is delayed,” it is a good replacement for L’s senseless εὖ στρέφει and justifies the slight additional change of σηκούς to locative dat. σηκοῖς (Scaliger); see further 401–3n.



**303** καρποῦ δ' ὑπὲρ γῆς ἦκετ' ἡ παίδων πέρι; common reasons for consulting oracles. For crops, cf. S. *OT* 68–72, Hdt. 4.151.1, 5.82.1; children, 67n.

**305–6** οὐδ' ἔτεκες οὐδὲν πώποτ' ἀλλ' ἄτεκνος εἶ; after Creusa has just said ἄπαιδές ἐσμεν, Ion does not “need” to ask this question, but it sets up Creusa’s evasive “Phoebus knows my childlessness,” which Ion must take as a kind of oath, while we recognize both the veiled accusation Creusa intends and the irony that it is indeed Apollo, not Creusa, who knows the true state of affairs. By equating οὐδ' ἔτεκες and ἄτεκνος εἶ, Ion lends the adj. a biological precision it does not otherwise have. Elsewhere in *Ion*, including where the two roots occur near one another (613–20, 817–24, 1302–3, 1463; cf. 680), E. uses ἄπαιδ- and ἄτεκν- interchangeably to mean “childless.” No passage requires taking ἄπαις as “without an heir,” a meaning it often has in Attic oratory and sometimes elsewhere (e.g. Hdt. 5.48), though Creusa does want an heir for the house of Erechtheus (cf. 790–2, 1463–7nn., Barone 1987).

**308** σὺ δ' εἶ τίς; ὥς σου τὴν τεκοῦσαν ὠλβισα “But who are you? How lucky your mother is!” Creusa now takes the lead and asks the questions (237–451n.). She varies the traditional idea that children bring happiness to their parents by mentioning only Ion’s mother. This suits the importance of the mother–son bond throughout the play and enhances the obvious irony, exactly paralleled at *Hyps.* fr. 752d.5 ὦ μακαρία σφῶιν ἡ τεκοῦσ', ἥτις ποτ' ἦν (Hypsipyle to her unrecognized sons; cf. 324, 564, *IT* 472–5). For congratulation of parents on their children, see e.g. Hom. *Od.* 6.154–5, Hdt. 1.31, Ar. *Wasps* 1275–6, 1512, Xen. *HG* 4.4.19; formulae include ὀλβίζω, μακαρίζω, εὐδαιμονίζω and related words, and variations occur in *Ion* at 472–4, 562, 1354, 1460–1 (nn.). The gen. σου can be explained as either causal with ὠλβισα or obj. after τὴν τεκοῦσαν. The aor. verb has traditionally been explained as “instantaneous” (or “dramatic” or “tragic”), describing the sudden access of emotion (cf. 241–2n., 403, K–G 1.163–5, Schwyzer 11.282). The reexamination of this category by Lloyd 1999 in the light of politeness theory bears on a handful of important passages in *Ion*. In explaining this passage, he assimilates Creusa’s congratulation to expressions of thanks and approval; these represent “face-threats” to the hearer, but the aor. politely distances the speaker from them (Lloyd 1999: 40; cf. 1614–15n.). This works, but it is compatible with suddenness, as the stichomythia abruptly changes direction in this line. Similarly, other nuances are present alongside politeness at 557–61 and 1606–8(nn.).

**309–11** τοῦ θεοῦ καλοῦμαι δοῦλος, εἰμί τ'. . . | οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἐν' Λοξίου κεκλήμεθα: the nameless slave’s identity derives from his master, and in the pious Ion’s case, the “one thing he knows” really does sum up his

existence (hence “I am called . . . and I [truly] am”: cf. *A. Pe.* 655-6). For spectators, 311 does more than restate 309, since it can be taken in a way Ion does not intend, as “I am called (son) of Loxias” (cf. 9, 1218nn.). On naming and anonymity, see 74-5, 661, 802-3, 1372nn.; οὐκ οἶδα πλὴν ἓν is a tragic formula (× 6 E., *S. OC* 1161, paratragic at *Ar. Peace* 228).

**313** ὥς μὴ εἰδὸθ’ ἦτις μ’ ἔτεκεν ἐξ ὄτου τ’ ἔφυν: like *Hermes* (49-51) but unlike *Creusa* (308), Ion mentions both mother and father. He says *Creusa* pities him “as one not knowing”; the ptcpl. is generic, hence negated by μὴ (*Moorhouse* 1982: 331-2). μὴ εἰ- scans as one syllable by synizesis.

**315** ἅπαν θεοῦ μοι δῶμ’: on Ion’s unfettered existence in *Apollo’s* precinct, see 52-3, 819-22nn.

**319-21** οὐπώποτ’ ἔγνων μαστόν: like “mother’s arms” (28on.), the nourishing breast recurs several times as a symbol of the emotional bond between mother and child (761-2, 961-2, 1370-2, 1492-3), a traditional idea (*Hom. Il.* 22.80-3, *Stes. fr.* S13.5, *A. Ch.* 896-8, etc.). The thought of Ion being denied the breast moves *Creusa* to the address ὦ ταλαίπωρ’, an adj. she uses of her “friend” (i.e. herself) at 364, and the only time in the scene she calls Ion something other than ξένος (247-8n.). She recognizes the kinship of his suffering (νόσος, a word used of a wide variety of afflictions, cf. 364, 579, 591-2, 620, 752-5, 808, 1523-7) and her own, as Ion does at 359. In 321, Ion continues the syntax of *Creusa’s* τίς-question, so that in relation to his beginning in 319, Φοίβου προφήτις is an antecedent attracted into a rel. clause (K-G II.416-20); understand ταύτην as obj. of νομίζομεν. For the quasi-familial bond between Ion and the Priestess, see 1324n., 1363. She raised him without nursing him, as *Athena* raised *Erichthonius* (*Pedrick* 2007: 174-6).

**323-30** Because 326 belongs with 322-3 in content (Ion’s livelihood) and its matter-of-fact tone answers poorly to Ion’s speculation in 325 that he may be the ἀδίκημα of some woman, most editors agree that 324-5 must be moved. The order adopted here, besides keeping the lines on τροφή and βίος together, produces two good new junctures. When Ion says he has no clue to help him find his parents (329), *Creusa* responds with an expression of sympathy for his mother, “whoever she was” (324); and when he says he may be an ἀδίκημα (325), she exclaims and remarks on the similarity between his mother’s case and that of her “friend” (330). See *Diggle* 1994: 112 n. 69; *Kraus* 1989: 41-3 defends the transmitted order (cf. 330n.).

**323** βωμοί μ’ ἔφερβον οὐπιών τ’ ἀεὶ ξένος: cf. 52 ἀμφὶ βωμίους τροφάς. Delphians employed in *Apollo’s* cult benefitted from designated portions of sacrifices and other offerings made in kind and coin; cf. 226-9n., *Richardson* on *h. Ap.* 529-30, 535-7.

**328 οὐδ' ἦιξας εἰς ἔρευναν ἐξευρεῖν γονάς;** “And did you not turn eagerly to the search to discover your parentage?”: Xuthus uses similar language at 572 when Ion, thinking he has found his father, immediately longs for his mother (563–5). ἐξευρεῖν is either epexegetic or governed by ἦιξας εἰς ἔρευναν as if it were ἠρεύνησας, which takes an inf. at Theoc. 7.45. For the latter possibility and the meaning of αἰσσεῖν in E., see 572n.

**329 τεκμήριον:** E. teases the spectators, as “evidence” is before Ion’s very eyes. Talk of τεκμήρια is typical of both Ion (237–40, 348–52nn.) and recognition scenes (A. *Ch.* 205, S. *El.* 904, E. *El.* 575, *IT* 808, 822, Men. *Epit.* 456, Sic. 143).

**324 τάλαινά σ’ ἡ τεκοῦσ’ ἄρ’, ἥτις ἦν ποτε:** in response to Ion’s ἀπορία, Creusa expresses sympathy with Ion’s mother, an irony underscored by the pre-recognition formula ἥτις ἦν ποτε (cf. 238, 564, *Alc.* 1062, *IT* 483, 628, *Hyps.* fr. 752d.5, Men. *Epit.* 310). In Porson’s restoration of the text, the position of σ’ (object of τεκοῦσ’) is idiomatic (Diggle 1981: 99–100, comparing 671, *El.* 264).

**325 ἀδίκημά του γυναικὸς ἐγενόμην ἴσως:** if 330 belongs after this line, it shows that Creusa understands Ion to mean “perhaps I was born as the wrong (i.e. fruit of the wrong) done to some woman”; “some woman” is objective gen. (του = τινος), and Creusa’s πέπονθέ τις . . . ταῦτ’ ἄλλη γυνή “another woman had the same experience” is an apt reply. The injustice suffered by Creusa’s “friend” is a constant theme of the following dialogue (341, 358, 355, 384, 442, 447, 449, 450). But “some woman’s wrong” in 325 could also be “the wrong done by some woman” (subjective gen.), and this meaning, though less obvious in context, need not be excluded. Ion would still embody the ἀδίκημα, the word now referring to the exposure that deprived him of family ties and its further effects, anonymity and slavery (cf. 963, 1369–77).

**330–68** In the final section of the stichomythia, Creusa and Ion discuss the reason for Creusa’s arrival at the temple before her husband: she wants to inquire about a child fathered by Apollo on a mortal woman. The woman is of course Creusa herself, but shame moves her to tell the story as that of a “friend.” Ion reacts with shock (339 μὴ λέγ’, ὦ ξένη), denial (341 οὐκ ἔστιν), and insinuation that the “friend” is lying (341). This resembles the rationalizing skepticism some characters in E. display towards “myth” (e.g. *Her.* 353–4, 1341–2, *Hel.* 17–21, 257–9, *IA* 794–800, *Ant.* fr. 210), but Ion eventually takes the possibility that the story is true seriously and is troubled by its moral implications (355–6, 367–8, 370–2, 436–7, 439–51nn.).

**330 φεῦ:** as before 960 and in 1369, an emotional reaction to what has just been said. Especially when outside the meter, as here, the word can also mark a pause before general reflection (1312–13n., Denniston on *El.* 367), but Kraus 1989: 42–3 is wrong to claim this as an argument

against placement of 324–5 before 330; the new topic introduced by 330 is neither general nor separate from what precedes, as σὴι μητρὶ ταῦτ’ “the same things as your mother” shows.

**331 τίς; εἰ πόνου μοι ξυλλάβοι, χαίροιμεν ἄν:** if the text is correctly restored (see apparatus), irony and anticipation of a happy ending after shared πόνος (“effort”) come at the expense of logic, as there is no reason to think an unknown woman looking for her son would be any help to Ion looking for his mother. For συλλαμβάνειν τινί τινος “assist someone in something,” see *Med.* 946, *Ar. Wasps* 733–4 (cf. *IA* 160).

**334 μάντευμα κρυπτὸν δεομένη Φοίβου μαθεῖν:** Creusa’s desire to consult the oracle in secret shows a proper sense of shame (336–7n.), but also an independence that, to a Greek way of thinking, is more ominous (Intro. §8.2). In reality, the oracle’s regular operations would make it hard for her to keep the fact of her inquiry secret (as opposed to the oracle’s response, cf. 532n.).

**335 λέγοις ἄν· ἡμεῖς τᾶλλα προξενήσομεν:** here and at 1336, λέγοις ἄν is a mild command; the tone is sharper at 1404 (cf. 668n., K–G 1.233–4, Finglass on *S. El.* 637). Visitors to Delphi required the services of πρόξενοι “sponsors” in a technical sense, locals representing the interests of particular foreign communities (Parke and Wormell 1956: 1.32, Roux 1976: 75). That meaning probably informs 551 and 1039 and could occur to spectators here; Ion must, after all, be in a position to block Creusa’s inquiry (369n.). He does not, however, serve as πρόξενος for Xuthus, if θυμέλαι at 228 refers to an area inside the temple (226–9n.) and if Xuthus, when he arrives, has not yet performed the sacrifice there, one of the tasks for which a πρόξενος seems to have been required (*An.* 1100–3; cf. 417–20n.). In that case, 413–16(n.) suggest that Ion is never πρόξενος for anyone. E. is of course free to manipulate the arrangements, and there is a good dramatic reason not to have Ion enter the temple with Xuthus (55–6n.). As for προξενεῖν, the verb can be used non-technically (*Med.* 724, *Hel.* 146, *S. OC* 465, LSJ I.2, II.1), to indicate Ion’s eagerness to help, like ὑπουργήσω in 333.

**336–7 ἀλλ’ αἰδούμεθα:** before and after her monody, Creusa adheres to the “discourse of shame” expected of a Greek woman (Scafuro 1990: 138–51, Huys 1995: 97–8; cf. 179–81n.). Shame may motivate her earlier weeping (241–2n.), her attempts to shut down inquiry (256, 288), and her present desire for secrecy (cf. 395–7); see also 340–1, 860–1, 934, 977, 1484, 1557–8nn.

**ἀργὸς ἡ θεός:** Ion turns Αἰδώς into a goddess (cf. *Her.* 556–7, with Bond’s notes documenting actual cult of Αἰδώς at Athens) and calls her “ineffectual” (cf. *S. fr.* 928); on the traditional ambivalence of αἰδώς, see Barrett on *Hipp.* 385–6, Cairns 1993: 324. The more or less casual deification of personified abstracts is a tragic commonplace; Mikalson 1991: 135 n. 7 lists over thirty examples.

**338–9 Φοίβωι μιγῆναι φησί τις φίλων ἐμῶν:** Creusa now commits herself to the fiction that the “other woman” (330) “on whose behalf” (332) she wants to consult Apollo is not herself, but a “friend.” Similarly, E.’s Melanippe tries to save infants she says an unmarried girl bore and exposed through fear of her father without admitting that they are her sons by Poseidon (fr. 485). μιγῆναι = “had intercourse with” (not “was raped”); though passive in form, the euphemistic verb is quasi-intransitive (cf. fr. 223.101, where Zeus himself is its subj.); likewise ἡνύασθη(ν) at 17, 1484 (cf. 342–3n.). Incredulous and indignant, Ion repeats Creusa’s most shocking word, Φοίβωι, in the same emphatic place at the beginning of the line (cf. 286, 948–9nn., Diggle 1981: 50–1). For a moment, he wants to hear no more and distances himself from Creusa by addressing her with the words ὦ ξένη (237–40n.).

**340–1 λάθραι πατρός:** a common motif used sparingly, and somewhat puzzlingly, in *Ion* (14–15n.). Note that it is introduced by conjecture here (see apparatus).

**ἀνδρὸς ἀδικίαν αἰσχύνεται** “she is ashamed of the wrong done to her by a man”: Ion accuses Creusa’s “friend” of a fabrication like the one of which Semele’s sisters accused her and her father Cadmus (*Ba.* 26–31) and Acrisius probably accused Danae (fr. 322, 324–8 with Karamanou 2006: 78–9). He makes a similar surmise, more tactfully, about Creusa herself at 1523–7(n.); for further examples of the motif, see Kakridis 2009: 636. Formally, either the “friend” or Apollo could be subj. of αἰσχύνεται; Ion does attribute shame to Apollo at 367–8(n.), but “she herself denies it” in 342 makes better sense if Creusa’s “friend” is subj. here.

**342–3 πέπονθεν . . . δράσας:** tellingly, Ion assumes that if Creusa’s “friend” suffered, it is because of something she did. His verb συνεζύγη is euphemistic and, like μιγῆναι in 338–9(n.), more stative-intransitive than passive, but we may recall ἔξευξεν γάμοις | βίαι from the prologue (10–11n.).

**346 ταῦτα καὶ μαντεύομαι** “that is exactly what I am asking the oracle”: *GP* 307–8.

**347 εἰ δ’ οὐκέτ’ ἔστι:** when οὐ is “adherescent” (that is, belongs so closely with a verb that, rather than negating it, it effectively produces a verb of opposite meaning), as in the fixed expression οὐκέτ’ ἔστι = τέθνηκε (again in 388), it, rather than μή, is used even after εἰ (Smyth §§2696, 2698).

**348–52 θῆράς σφε τὸν δύστηνον ἐλπίζει κτανεῖν** “she supposes wild animals killed him, the poor boy”: Hermes said Creusa expected her baby to die (18, 27), and now we have it from Creusa’s own mouth (disguised as the story of her “friend”). The evidence, which interests Ion (349, cf. 329n.), was clearly insufficient. στίβος (351) is a mostly poetic word meaning “path” (as here and again 743) or “footprint.” In 352, οὐ φησι = “she says not, denies,” as in 342 and often. What Creusa saw when she “went

over the ground again and again” (πόλλ’ ἐπεστράφη πέδον, LSJ ἐπιστρέφω II.2) could in fact have convinced her that Apollo acted as she later says she thought he would (965n.). That she hopes and yet cannot quite believe her child survived is deft characterization (see also 354n.). For the recurrent, escalating visions of Creusa’s baby destroyed by beasts (and birds), see 503–6n., Huys 1995: 279–83; for the pathetic σφε τὸν δύστηνον, 897–8n.

**353 χρόνος δὲ τίς τῷ παιδί διαπεπραγμένω;** “how long has it been since the child was destroyed?”: LSJ διαπράσσω III. For the construction (expression of time, dat. of person concerned, circumstantial ptcl.), found in poetry and prose, see K–G 1.424–5; with dat. but no ptcl. at 1393–4.

**354 σοὶ ταῦτ’ ἦβης, εἶπερ ἦν, εἶχ’ ἄν μέτρον:** pathetic, as the contrafactual form refuses the hope that her lost son is still alive (Segal 1999: 77), and obviously ironic, as he stands before her. For the soundness of the transmitted text, see Diggle 1994: 109 n. 61; for the epic formula ἦβης (...) μέτρον, Hom. *Il.* 11.225, Hes. *Op.* 132, *h. Dem.* 166, Thgn. 1119, etc.

**357 τί δ’ εἰ λάθραι νιν Φοῖβος ἐκτρέφει λαβών;** more irony, as what Ion asks about is exactly what Apollo did (λαβών echoing 31) and is doing (raising Ion: 314–27; cf. 49–50n.). For the form of his question, an elliptical and colloquial “what if . . .,” see Stevens 1976: 30–1.

**358 τὰ κοινὰ χαίρων οὐ δίκαια δρᾷ μόνος:** even after Creusa and Ion are reunited, it remains true that Apollo alone (μόνος placed last for emphasis, and framing the line with τὰ κοινὰ) enjoyed what ought to have been the shared pleasure of bringing Ion up. Later, after the false recognition between Ion and Xuthus, the supposed fact that Creusa and Xuthus no longer have childlessness in common receives a great deal of attention (566–8, 608–9, 697–8, 771–5, 817–18, 1101–3nn.; cf. 577, 651–2, 857–8, 1284nn.); eventually, shared children will be born to them (1589 γίγνεται κοινὸν γένος).

**355–6** If these lines are correctly placed and restored, Ion agrees that Apollo is committing an injustice (*sc.* against Creusa’s “friend”), ἄδικεῖ νυν ὁ θεός, ἡ τεκοῦσα δ’ ἄθλῖα, and the implications for our understanding of both Ion and Creusa can hardly be exaggerated. Ion accepts what he just declared impossible (341) and concludes that Creusa’s “friend” is indeed miserable (355 ἄθλῖα ~ 342 πέπονθεν ἄθλῖα). Creusa’s accusation of injustice receives an unequivocal endorsement (cf. 972). In its transmitted place and form, 355 refers to injustice Apollo supposedly did to the child (νιν) by letting him die. Editors since Hermann have objected to L’s sequence of lines and proposed various rearrangements. The main problems are (1) 355 is unmotivated as a reply to 354, (2) its verb (ἄδικεῖ) should not be pres., and (3) after 355–6 establish Creusa’s “friend’s” bereavement and later infertility, the return in 357–8 to the

possibility that Apollo may after all have brought the child up secretly is inept. The case for putting 355–6 after 358 is made convincingly by Diggle 1994: 109–12, who rightly insists on consequent change of *νιν* (to *νυν* or *μέν*). For an argument in favor of *νιν* even with Diggle's order of lines, see Kraus 1989: 44–6; for a proposal to move 355–6 after 352 (and retain *νιν*), Lee 1991. If either of these solutions is adopted, the lines accuse Apollo of an injustice we know he has not actually committed. For Badham's <γ'> in 356 (nearly invariable after emphatic οὐκουν), see 746, GP 424.

**359 προσωιδός ἡ τύχη τῶμῳ πάθει** “her misfortune is in harmony with my suffering”: Ion means that her loss of a son complements his loss of a mother, but the “harmony” is more complete than he knows (cf. 331n.). For the metaphor, cf. *Ph.* 1498, *S. Ph.* 405; συνωιδά at *Med.* 1008, *Ar. Birds* 634.

**360 καὶ σ', ὦ ξέν', οἶμαι μητέρ' ἀθλίαν ποθεῖν**: Creusa has no motive to be evasive here (contrast 306), and the focalization provided by ἀθλίαν strongly suggests that she intends “I suppose your poor mother longs for you, too (as my friend longs for her son).” But the scene's many ironies, including the preceding line, encourage us to hear in the formally ambiguous line the secondary meaning “I suppose you, too, long for your poor mother.”

**361–2 ἄ μή μ' ἐπ' οἶκτον ἔξαγ' οὐ' ἡλεήσμεθα** “ah, don't carry me away to grief for what I had forgotten”: Ion's desire to suppress the past recalls Creusa's efforts at 256–7 and 288, and she readily consents (σιγῶ). Line 361 has been emended to produce a regular form of sharp protest (ἄ) followed by prohibition (Barrett on *Hipp.* 503–4); for ἐξάγειν (“lead on, carry away, excite,” LSJ IV), cf. *Alc.* 1080, *Su.* 79, *Her.* 1212, fr. 131.1, etc.

**πέραινε** means “complete” and the verb in ὦν σ' ἀνιστορῶ πέραν is used not of a question Creusa is asking, but loosely of her implied request that Ion put her “friend's” question to the oracle (cf. 334).

**363–4 οἶσθ' οὖν ὃ κάμνει τοῦ λόγου μάλιστά σοι**; “So do you know where your case is weakest?” In ending his question with σοι (dat. of interest with κάμνει or possession with τοῦ λόγου), Ion seems almost to forget Creusa's “friend”; by including ἐκείνη in her reply (“What is *not* a source of trouble for that poor woman?”), Creusa puts her firmly back in the picture. For figurative meanings of κάμνειν and νοσεῖν like the ones they have here, see *IA* 965–6, *IT* 1018, Bond on *Her.* 101; on νοσεῖν, see also 319–21n.

**365–6 πῶς ὁ θεὸς ὃ λαθεῖν βούλεται μαντεύσεται**; Ion develops the theme of unwilling revelation in the coming *rhexis* (369–80). Here and at 1537, μαντεύεσθαι = “give an oracle”; at 100, 346, and 431, the more common “consult an oracle.” In her reply, Creusa emphasizes Apollo's responsibility by calling the tripod (91–3n.) “common to (all) Greece”; εἴπερ = “if, as is the case” (LSJ II).

**367–8 αἰσχύνεται . . . | ἄλγυνεται δέ γ’:** Creusa’s use of a rhyming word in her reply has something in common with the stichomythic technique of angrily throwing an opponent’s words back in his teeth (1295, 1300–1n.; cf. 286, 1334–6nn.). For δέ γε in “retorts and lively rejoinders,” see 518, 1330, *GP* 153.

**αἰσχύνεται τὸ πρᾶγμα· μὴ ’ξέλεγχέ νιν:** Ion does not say why he thinks Apollo is ashamed. It could be for having intercourse with Creusa’s “friend” (as suggested by Ion’s shock at 339), bringing up the child alone (355), letting the child die, letting the mother suffer, or a combination of these. Whether Apollo “actually” feels shame cannot be determined (cf. 72–3, 288, 340–1, 894–5, 1557–8nn.). The attribution of shame to gods occurs elsewhere in E. but is not common (*Hipp.* 1331–4, *IT* 711–13; cf. *Hel.* 884–6, which attributes to Aphrodite a desire not to be exposed or revealed (ὥς μὴ ’ξέλεγχθῇ μηδὲ . . . φανῇ, cf. 370–2, 1471nn.)).

**369–80** Ion’s reasoning here shows that he is not ready to relinquish the benefits he enjoys in Apollo’s service; only later do we learn that the god’s injustice still troubles him (429–51n.). His claim that Apollo would “justly” punish one who furthered Creusa’s embarrassing inquiry (370–2) backs away from his judgment at 355, and his concluding generalization about the gods’ generosity recalls themes of his monody (109–11, 137, 138–40, 181–3nn.).

**369 προφητεύσει:** the verb evokes προφήτης, the title of one or more Delphic officials attested in literary sources since Herodotus (8.36.2, 37.1), but not in inscriptions, and possibly the same as the ἱερεῖς who, we learn from inscriptions beginning in the second century BCE, were two in number and served for life (Amandry 1950: 118–23, Fontenrose 1978: 218–19). Since it is Ion who blocks Creusa’s inquiry, he seems to include himself in “no one will προφητεύειν for you” (cf. 413–16n.). If so, he either uses the word loosely of “all who preside over and assist in the mantic rites” (Fontenrose 1978: 217), or he is in fact a προφήτης (unrealistically, since he is a slave, but cf. 54–5n.). The προφήτης here has a role in putting questions to the oracle; many scholars also give him a role in mediating the god’s answers (as etymology implies: 42n.), but sources for operations at Delphi say nothing of either function.

**370–2 ἐν τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῦ δώμασιν κακὸς φανείς:** to put Creusa’s question to the oracle would bring publicity (φανείς, cf. 367–8, 1557–8nn.) and be an offence against hospitality (“in his own house”); worst of all, the question assumes that Apollo is κακός, guilty of rape and either neglect or selfishness (Yunis 1988: 128). In 372, ἀπαλλάσσου = “leave off, cease” (again in 524, LSJ ἀπαλλάσσω B.II.7), often with separative gen. in this and related meanings (“depart from” life at [847]).

**τὸν θεμιστεύοντά σοι:** a gloss on 369 ὅστις σοι προφητεύσει. The rare verb denotes activity concerned with θέμις (220–1n.) or θέμιστες (“oracles,



decrees”) and means roughly “govern” at Hom. *Od.* 9.114, 11.569, trag. adesp. 664.30; “give an oracle” at *h. Ap.* 253 (cf. 393–6: Apollo’s ministers ἀγγέλλουσι θέμιστας), Lys. fr. 23, Plutarch (× 9); “celebrate” holy rites at *Ba.* 79 (where meter requires the alternate form θεμιτεύων). For the goddess Themis as Apollo’s predecessor at Delphi, cf. *IT* 1259–60, A. *Eu.* 2–4.

[374–7] These lines seem to say that consulting the oracle on a matter contrary to the god’s interest (373) is as foolish as forcing unwilling gods to reveal what they do not wish to reveal “by the slaughters of animals at altars or through birds, by wings [i.e. omens].” For the impossibility of forcing gods to prophesy, cf. *Hel.* 752–4, S. *OT* 280–1, fr. 919, *h. Herm.* 546–9, Xen. *Cyr.* 1.6.46; for “wings” = “omens,” S. *OC* 97, Call. *H.* 5.124. But there are problems with the phrasing, and the progression of thought is better if 373 τῶι . . . θεῶι τάναντί’ leads directly to 378 βίαι . . . ἀκόντων θεῶν “in spite of unwilling gods.” Moreover, 374–7 and 378–80 say essentially the same thing, the former by comparing oracular consultation with other specific (but irrelevant) means of divination (unless any mention of bird-signs is considered welcome anticipation of 1196–1208, cf. 179–81n.), the latter by generalizing about harms and benefits sent by the gods. The objections to the language are (1) τοσοῦτον either refers to nothing or produces an awkward connection between 374 and 373, (2) the construction of ἐκπονεῖν with an inf. (“put pressure on . . . to reveal”) is unparalleled and its interpretation strained, and (3) the expressions joined by ἢ are not parallel, since “by slaughters” mortals aim to elicit signs, whereas “by omens” the gods reveal them. The corruption in 375 is not a serious problem, since ἄκοντας (Brodaeus: ἐκόντας L) is an easy correction and gives good sense. The lines may have entered the tradition as a (mangled?) parallel for “seeking revelation from unwilling gods” (378 ἀκόντων θεῶν ~ 375 τοὺς θεοὺς ἄκοντας); see Kovacs 1979: 113–15, Kraus 1989: 46–7.

378–80 ἂν γὰρ βίαι σπεύδωμεν ἀκόντων θεῶν, | ἄκοντα κεκτήμεσθα τὰγάθ’ “whatever we strive for in defiance of unwilling gods, we get those good things as unwilling”: the pointed rhetoric of ἄκοντα . . . τὰγάθ’, after ἀκόντων θεῶν and before 380 ἐκόντες, involves a bold expression possibly modeled on Solon’s description of πλοῦτος that is “won over” and “follows” unjust deeds οὐκ ἐθέλων (fr. 13.12–13); cf. S. *OT* 1229–30 (κακά that are ἐκόντα κούκ ἄκοντα) and, more distantly, 1002 below (μέλλον . . . ἔπος), S. *OC* 266–7 (ἔργα that are πεπονθότ’ . . . μᾶλλον ἢ δεδρακότα). The idea is that “unwilling” good things bring no lasting benefit; with ἀνόνητα (Stephanus), balancing 380 ὠφελοῦμεθα, the point is explicit but dull. In 378, βίαι + gen. “in defiance of” (LSJ βίαι II.2) hints at Creusa as θεομάχος (Intro. §8.2).

381–3 Choral reflection provides a moment to absorb Ion’s *rhesis* before Creusa’s begins. The episodes of tragedy are often articulated by short speeches of the Chorus-leader; their content may be bland and

general or partisan and context-specific. The pessimism here reflects the sympathy with Creusa evident throughout this Chorus' role, both in spoken "tags" like this one (566-8, 648-9, 832-5, 857-8, 923-4, 1510-11) and in song. These lines are preserved, with inferior variants and misattributed to "*Iphigenia*," in Stob. (4.34.43a).

**πολλαί γε πολλοῖς . . . ἓνα δ'**: the emphasis on multiplicity (underscored by polyptoton, 690n.), misfortune, and difference in the opening line and a half provides a foil for the conclusion that it is scarcely possible to find "one (entire) life" that is fortunate. For defense of L's ἐν δ' ἄν εὐτυχές, along with supralinear βίω (i.e. βίωι) at the end of 383, yielding the even more pessimistic "one single piece of good luck . . . in the life of mortals," see Kraus 1989: 47-8.

**384-400** Elements of this speech are arranged in ring composition with Creusa's first words at 247-54. Talk of "here" (Delphi) and "there" (Athens) recalls 251 (ἐκεῖσε . . . ἐνθάδ' ~ 384 κακεῖ κἀνθάδ'). Creusa's very first words, ὦ ξένη, were addressed to Ion and preceded a complaint about divine injustice (252-4); here she decries Apollo's injustice before turning back to Ion (392 ὦ ξέν'). At first, tears and evasions suggested a struggle to bury the past; here Creusa ends with another plea for silence (cf. 256-7), aimed at preserving her reputation (392-7). But much has changed already. While 252-4 generalize broadly, 384-91 present, in four lucid and balanced couplets, a precise summation of what the stichomythia established about Apollo and Creusa's "friend." For the first time, Creusa addresses Apollo directly, and the fiction of her "friend" wears thin (384-5, 386-7, 390-1). Later, after 410-12 and 425-8, Ion can speak of Creusa's "riddling abuse" of the god (429-30n.), but this speech is not at all obscure, and it prefigures the attack on Apollo in her monody. The scene is rounded out, as often, with an entrance announcement and a generalization (392-400, 398-400nn., Mastronarde on *Ph.* 438-42).

**384-5 ὦ Φοῖβε . . . οὐ δίκαιος εἶ**: after this emotional address and accusation, an actor could play "towards the absent woman" as an afterthought covering up a near-slip in Creusa's disguise; cf. *El.* 290, *Hel.* 125, *S. Ph.* 736-9, and the comic routine at *Ar. Frogs* 635-73. Then, in a play on absence and presence that recurs at 1277-8(n.), Creusa continues ἥς πάρεσιν οἱ λόγοι, which could mean "about whom we have been talking" (objective gen. after λόγοι, K-G 1.335; cf. 748-9n.), but is more easily taken as "whose words are present" (possessive gen.), as indeed they are, in both an intended and an unintended sense.

**386-7 ὅς γ' οὕτ' ἔσωσας τὸν σὸν ὃν σῶσαί σ' ἐχρῆν**: *sc.* in Athens, followed in 387 by what Apollo refuses to do in Delphi; in the text as emended, οὕτ' . . . οὕθ' reinforces the artful balance. Eliminating intermediaries (her "friend" and Ion), Creusa accuses Apollo himself of refusing

to speak “to the inquiring mother” (ἱστορούσῃ μητρὶ). For the accumulation of s-sounds (“sigmatism”) in 386, seemingly expressive of Creusa’s frustration, cf. 1276, *Med.* 476 with Mastronarde’s note; for the rare ellipse τὸν σόν (*sc.* παῖδα), *Hel.* 226, *Ph.* 1123.

**388–9** These lines, like the previous two, are perfectly balanced (εἰ μὲν οὐκέτ’ ἔστιν/εἰ δ’ ἔστιν); Creusa is speaking logically and sympathetically. ὀγκωθῇ τάφῳ “to raise up the child with a grave-mound” (implied by the passive here) is a poetic variation on “to raise a grave-mound over/for the child” (cf. *Or.* 402, 1585); such inversion, a kind of defamiliarization (here contributing the additional nuance “honor, exalt” the child by “raising” him), is a constant feature of tragic language (cf. 1–2, 52–3nn.); likewise the periphrasis ἔλθῃ . . . εἰς ὄψιν (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 194–5). For οὐκέτ’ ἔστιν in protasis, see 347n.

**390–1** †ἀλλ’ ἔαν χρή τὰδ’† “but I must let this go”: the situation calls for some such declaration, but L’s text is unmetrical, and no fully convincing solution has been found. Badham’s ἀλλ’ αἰνέσαι μὲν χρή τὰδ’ “but I must accept this” is tempting, but far from the transmitted text.

εἰ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ | κωλυόμεσθα μὴ μαθεῖν ἃ βούλομαι: word order suggests that πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ expresses the agent by whom Creusa is blocked (κωλυόμεσθα) rather than the source from which she wants to learn (μαθεῖν). Thus she again blames the god rather than his servant and again, with βούλομαι, neglects to distinguish between herself and her “friend” (384–5, 386–7nn.). The difference in number between κωλυόμεσθα and βούλομαι is probably simple variation; sing. and pl. forms can even be used in concord (548–9n.).

**392–400** During the nine lines covering Xuthus’ entrance, anticipation of the news he will bring from Trophonius builds. By asking Ion to keep quiet about what she has said, Creusa strengthens the bond between them and repeats the key themes of secrecy and shame (334, 336–7nn.). Her fear that she may lose control of her λόγος, and her closing generalization about men’s unfair judgments of women, are hints of things to come (859–922, 1090–1105nn.).

**393–4** τὰς Τροφωνίου | . . . θαλάμας “the cave(s) of Trophonius”: a distinctive feature of Trophonius’ oracle (300–2n.) was that one “descended” to consult it. For θαλάμη/-αι of sacred cave(s), see Dodds on *Ba.* 120; the word refers to a serpent’s lair at *Ph.* 931, a tomb at *Su.* 980.

**396–7** διακονοῦσα κρυπτά “for providing secret help”: *sc.* to her “friend.”

καὶ προβῇ λόγος | οὐχ ἥϊπερ ἡμεῖς αὐτὸν ἐξελίσσομεν “and (so that) the story (may not) proceed otherwise than as we were unwinding it”: ἐξελίσσειν is an apt word for Creusa’s careful control of her (“friend’s”) story; at *Su.* 141 it is used of interpreting an oracle.

**398–400** τὰ γὰρ γυναικῶν δυσχερῇ πρὸς ἄρσενας: probably “women’s situation is difficult compared to men’s,” with πρὸς ἄρσενας = πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἀρσένων, a so-called “compendious comparison” (Smyth §1076, K–G II.310–11); cf. Thuc. 1.71.2 ἀρχαιοτρόπα ὑμῶν τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα πρὸς αὐτούς “your ways are old fashioned compared to them,” i.e. “theirs.” The interpretation “in relation to men,” i.e. “because men are prone to judge them” or (taking δυσχερῇ “actively” as “irritating, hateful”) “in the judgment of men,” coheres well with what follows but is more difficult syntactically. The idea that men unfairly lump women together and judge them all harshly recurs at *Hec.* 1183–4, fr. 493, 494.22–9, 657 (cf. *Hipp.* 406–7, 664–8, fr. 498). The Chorus develop Creusa’s theme at 1090–8; see, in general, Loraux 1993: 189–93. For other speech-ending general reflections in *Ion*, see 673–5, 854–6, 1045–7, and cf. 1619–22n.

**401–51** Enter Xuthus through the *eisodos* on the spectators’ left. Only here are the three principals on stage together, for just twenty-four lines before Xuthus exits into the temple. Then Creusa exits after a short speech, Ion after a longer one. If Creusa and Ion use different *eisodoi*, the staging reflects how far they and Xuthus are from constituting a stable family. The closest parallel is *Her.* 332–47 (Halleran 1985: 105). Both scenes cast a spotlight, so to speak, on the character who stays on stage last to deliver a “challenging-nouthetic” speech (429–51n.). Xuthus may be accompanied by attendants; if so, they can enter the temple with him, even if this deviates from Delphic reality (Stanley-Porter 1973: 78).

**401–3** πρῶτον μὲν ὁ θεὸς . . . σύ τ’, ὦ γύναι: Xuthus’ greeting to Apollo is pious and proper (A. Ag. 508–10, 810–13, E. *Hipp.* 88–113, *Her.* 599–609, etc.), unusual only in its figurative use of the word ἀπαρχαί “first fruits” (typically sacrifices or dedications, not greetings). The addition “and you, wife [*sc.* χαῖρε]” is brisk, but not impolite. For the common combination πρῶτον/πρῶτα μὲν . . . τε, see *GP* 374–5.

**μῶν χρόνιος ἐλθὼν σ’ ἐξέπληξ’ ὀρρωδία;** “can it be that I have struck you with terror by arriving after a long time?” Besides indicating how the actor playing Creusa is to deliver 394–400, Xuthus’ question again reflects his concern for ritual propriety: Creusa may be worried about missing the chance to consult the oracle. That, at any rate, is his best guess (the effect of μῶν, which does not necessarily mean that he expects a negative answer: Barrett on *Hipp.* 794, Parker on *Alc.* 484). For χρόνιος, see 64n.; the tense of ἐξέπληξ’, 308n.; ὀρρωδία is a rare and expressive word (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 1388–9). Xuthus’ delay is a mere dramatic convenience (cf. 334n.); the wording here supports ὅστερ’ at 300 (300–2n.).

**404–6 οὐδὲν γ’ ἀφίγμην δ’ ἐς μέριμναν** “not at all, but I had become concerned”: Creusa rejects Xuthus’ word “terror” but admits to μέριμνα, the word her tears suggested to Ion at 244. For ἀφίγμην (Badham), see

Diggle 1981: 100–1. Some defenders of L’s ἀφίκου detect in the words “but you were worried” the sarcastic reply of an irritated wife to a thoughtless husband (Kraus 1989: 50–1, Holzhausen 1999: 227–8), but a further indication of Creusa’s absorption in her own (serious) concerns better suits the mood of the present scene (cf. 410–12, 425–8).

παίδων ὅπως νῶιν σπέρμα συγκραθήσεται: that male and female “seed” combine to produce offspring was probably the majority view in E.’s day among ordinary people as well as doctors and natural philosophers. Notoriously, Apollo argues at A. *Eu.* 657–66 that only the father is a true parent, while the mother merely nourishes the seed he “plants.” For the evidence for both beliefs in the fifth century and earlier, see Sommerstein’s note there.

407–9 οὐκ ἤξιώσε τοῦ θεοῦ προλαμβάνειν | μαντεύμαθ’: such evidence as we have suggests that the oracle of Trophonius took care to preserve good relations with its influential neighbor (Bonnechere 2003: 341–2); cf. 300–2n. μαντεύμαθ’ is John Milton’s correction of L’s unmetrical text. For his other conjectures in *Ion*, to which his poem *Ad Joannem Rousium* (1646) makes an extended allusion, see Kelley and Atkins 1961.

ἐν δ’ οὖν εἶπεν “but *one* thing he *did* say”: in separating Xuthus and Creusa (οὐκ ἄπαιδά με | . . . οὐδὲ σ’), Trophonius’ oracle, as reported by Xuthus, differs from Creusa’s question “how the seed is to be combined for the two of us (νῶιν).” Still, it is clear and contradicts the Chorus-leader’s later misrepresentation of Apollo’s oracle (761–2n.). The convenient “forgetting” of Trophonius by the Chorus and Creusa there may reflect Creusa’s short-sightedness and blind mistrust of Apollo. The prediction of Hermes reported by Helen at *Hel.* 56–9 and then apparently “forgotten” is comparable.

410–12 ὦ πότνια Φοίβου μήτερ: the invocation reflects Creusa’s maternal preoccupations. Mentions of Leto in her monody may also have a polemical edge (885–6, 907, 919–22nn.).

ἃ τε νῶιν συμβόλαια πρόσθεν ἦν | ἐς παῖδα τὸν σόν “and the dealings the two of us had previously with your son”: Xuthus is meant to take συμβόλαια (“contracts” or, more generally, “dealings”; cf. fr. 494.4, Men. *Dysc.* 469, LSJ II) as something like sacrifices or prayers for the conception of a child, but Creusa also alludes to her “encounter” with Apollo, of which Xuthus knows nothing (cf. LSJ συμβάλλω II.3 “fall in with, meet”; by the time of Plutarch, συμβόλαιον can mean “sexual intercourse,” LSJ III). She again uses dual νῶιν, but what she has in mind this time is not shared with Xuthus (404–6n.). The image in μεταπέσοι βελτίονα is of dice “falling” (Bond on *Her.* 1228) and producing a change (μετα-) for the better.

413–16 ἔσται τάδ’ ἀλλὰ τίς προφητεύει θεοῦ; in answer to Xuthus’ question, Ion in effect claims the title προφήτης (369n.), at the same time introducing an inside/outside distinction not found in sources describing

actual arrangements at Delphi. In the theater, this is the distinction that matters: those who see to “matters inside” (τῶν ἔσω) never appear and are forgotten when Xuthus discusses his mantic session with Ion (531-41). For historians of religion, the details that they are “leading men of the Delphians whom the lot has chosen” and “sit near the tripod” are not as informative as might have been hoped. Some identify them with the Ὀσίοι known from inscriptions and Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 292d; these were five men, members of families said to descend from Deucalion, who assisted the προφῆται and served for life (Jay-Robert 1997). For ἔσται τάδ’, a strong expression of confidence or assent, common in poetry and prose, see Collard on *Su.* 1182; after a wish or prayer, as here, it comes close to “Amen!” (cf. 425-8n.). In 415, Ion’s ὦ ξένε is unmarked (cf. 247-8n.); the repetitions at 520 and 526, after Xuthus has claimed him as his φίλτατα, are more pointed (cf. 338-9n.).

**417-20 καλῶς** “thanks”: the only word Xuthus speaks directly to the temple servant in this scene. It is polite, colloquial (Stevens 1976: 54-5), and strikingly different from the sympathetic first encounter of Creusa and Ion.

**χρηστήριον πέπτωκε τοῖς ἐπήλυσιν | κοινὸν πρό ναοῦ:** χρηστήριον here means “victim sacrificed before consulting the oracle” (at 512 “place where oracles are given,” at 532 “oracular response”); this shared victim is not the same as those required of individuals entering the μυχός (226-9n.). In Plutarch’s day, priests doused a nanny goat with cold water to see whether it would reveal the day as auspicious (αἰσία: next note) by trembling throughout its body (*De def. or.* 435b-c, 437a-b, 438a-b). Some, combining Plutarch with the present passage, believe the goat was then slaughtered outside the temple (πρό ναοῦ, perhaps on the Chian altar) on behalf of all visitors (τοῖς ἐπήλυσιν κοινόν); others caution against accepting Plutarch’s testimony as valid for the classical period (Amandry 1950: 104-6, Parke and Wormell 1956: 1.30-1, Roux 1976: 82-4). For ἐπήλυσιν, cf. 607n.

**421 αἰσία:** Plutarch cites Callisthenes (nephew and collaborator of Aristotle) and Anaxandrides (a Delphian writer of the third century BCE) for the information that the oracle originally operated only one day a year, on the seventh day of Bysios (February-March), considered Apollo’s birthday. Later, it could be consulted on the seventh day of each (or each non-winter) month, and possibly at other times (*Quaest. Graec.* 292ef, Roux 1976: 71-5). Plutarch does not date the change (he only says ὀψέ “late”), but it probably preceded the Persian Wars (Parke 1943).

**422-4 ἀμφὶ βωμούς . . . δαφνηφόρους:** the “laurel-bearing altars” are to be imagined off stage, and Xuthus’ instructions provide a convenient reason for Creusa to exit after a parting shot at Apollo. Xuthus himself turns to enter the temple after 424; whether or not the door has closed

behind him when Creusa speaks 425–8, he has left “dialogue-contact” (Mastronarde 1979: 30). The Chorus’ Second Song is a kind of surrogate for the prayers Xuthus enjoins.

**425–8** ἔσται τάδ’, ἔσται: Creusa means that she will do as Xuthus bids. Since his instructions are tantamount to a prayer, she may also be perceived as saying “Amen!” to εὐτέκνους . . . χρησμούς “oracles portending fair offspring” (413–16n.).

νῦν ἀλλὰ τὰς πρὶν ἀναλαβεῖν ἀμαρτίας “to make good his earlier mistakes, now at least”: Creusa’s exit lines are heard by Ion (429–30n.), for whom “mistakes,” if not entirely puzzling (429–30, 432nn.), can only refer to the childlessness of Creusa and Xuthus. For Creusa and spectators, her words mean more (Introd. §2.3). For ἀλλὰ νῦν, see *GP* 13; the order νῦν ἀλλὰ is unusual. For ἀναλαβεῖν (“make good,” not “take back”), *S. Ph.* 1249 with Jebb’s note, *LSJ* II.2; for δέξομαι, 561, 1606–8nn.

**429–51** Alone except for the Chorus, Ion is torn between sympathy for Creusa and loyalty to Apollo. As he thinks through the situation, he hits on several troubling points; some of his suppositions are later shown to be false, but not all, and the speech marks an important stage in his progress from Delphi to Athens. Reluctant to draw harsh conclusions about Apollo, Ion formulates the offenses implied by the experience of Creusa’s “friend” as questions (437–9), and he believes “friendly chiding” (Paley’s expression, based on 436 νοουθετητέος) will bring the god back in line. Because his reasoning and advice depend mostly on premises we know to be true (in the world of the play), the passage has long been a centerpiece in discussions of E.’s supposed criticism of the gods, with one scholar calling it the fiercest attack on Greek religion in E. and almost without parallel anywhere in Greek literature (Nestle 1901: 128–9). This exaggeration is no more convincing than the opposite view, that the speech is “a piece of cleverness intended to amuse: it is sophisticated fun, or wit” (Winnington-Ingram 2003: 49; cf. Burnett 1970: 55: “The boy is playful in his reproach”). For more balanced discussions, see e.g. Schadewaldt 1926: 133–4, Yunis 1988: 129–33, Swift 2008: 43–4. The speech attracted the attention of ancient readers, and parts of it are quoted by [Justin.] *De mon.* 5 (433–51), *Stob.* 1.3.5 (440–1), and *Clem. Al. Protr.* 7.76.6 (442–7).

**429–30** τί ποτε λόγοισιν ἢ ξένη πρὸς τὸν θεὸν | κρυπτοῖσιν αἰεὶ λοιδοροῦσ’ αἰνίσσεται; “Why does the stranger constantly hint at the god and rebuke him with obscure words?” Ion found Creusa cryptic from the start (255n.), but now he understands that she is reviling Apollo. That she “hints, riddles” (αἰνίσσεται) makes her resemble the god she attacks, at least as he is seen in the literary and popular imagination, e.g. *A. Ag.* 1255, *S. fr.* 771, *Ar. Knights* 1085, *Heraclit.* 22 B 93 DK ὁ ἄναξ, οὗ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς,

οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει, ἀλλὰ σημαίνει; see further 533n. For Creusa as ξένη, cf. 237-40, 338-9nn.; for her "blame" of Apollo, 885-6n., Introd. §2.3.

432 ἡ καὶ τι σιγῶσ' ὧν σιωπᾶσθαι χριών: Ion's guess that Creusa may be "keeping quiet one of the things that must be kept quiet" hits upon the truth and reminds us that shame is still (barely) inhibiting Creusa.

433-6 Ion tries to dismiss thoughts of Creusa by returning to his work. He similarly rejected the story of her "friend" at first (339, 341), but as he kept listening there, so he keeps thinking here. His agitation is reflected in choppy sentences, with mid-line transitions in 434 (ἀλλὰ) and 436 (δέ); see further 437-9n.

ἀτὰρ θυγατρός τῆς Ἑρεχθίδος τί μοι | μέλει; προσήκει γ' οὐδέν: identifying Creusa by a connection with her birth family enhances the palpable irony, as does προσήκει, regularly used of family relationships.

χρυσείαις | πρόχοισιν "with golden pitchers": for the material, see 146-9n. For the spelling and accent of πρόχοισιν, Dover on *Ar. Clouds* 272. The word occurs only here in E.

εἰς ἀπορραντήρια | δρόσον καθήσω: more elevated diction, with "dew" for water (96-7n.) and "let fall" a choice verb for "pour" (1034, *IA* 60, Hom. *Il.* 11.53, 24.642). The word ἀπορραντήρια is found only here in literature but appears in fifth-century BCE Attic inscriptions listing items stored in the Parthenon (e.g. *IG* 13.317, 318, 330). It evidently means the same thing as περιρραντήρια "vessels for lustral water" (Herodotus, others).

436-7 νουθετητίος δέ μοι | Φοῖβος, τί πάσχει "but I must admonish Phoebus, (asking) what's the matter with him": what Ion gives is "friendly advice" (cf. 1332), though νουθετεῖν can be harsher ("order around" would suit 1307 and 1397). The Chorus are present but take no notice; Ion may address an image of Apollo on stage (186-7n.). The conversational tone fits all this and reminds us that Apollo's morality affects Ion intimately. For τί πάσχει (not in A. or S.), see 1385, Stevens 1976: 41, and cf. 439-51n. on μή σύ γ'. For other "nouthetetic-challenging" speeches addressed to gods in E., see Dale 1969: 180-4, mostly concerned with prayers before decisive action in "happy-ending plays," e.g. *IT* 1082-8, *Hel.* 1093-1106, 1441-50, *Androm.* fr. 136 (to which add *Ant.* fr. 223.11-16); related passages include *Hipp.* 114-20, *Her.* 339-47, *IT* 380-91, *Ph.* 84-7, *Cy.* 350-5, 599-607.

437-9 παρθένους βίαι γαμῶν | προδίδωσι; παῖδας ἐκτεκνούμενος λάθραι | θνήσκοντας ἀμελεῖ; Creusa did not say her "friend" was a παρθένος or that Apollo used force, and there is rhetorical exaggeration in the plurals παρθένους and παῖδας, but Ion's premises are mostly true. Punctuating the lines as questions preserves a little of his innocence (Yunis 1988: 129). Also, the things Apollo has actually done (rape a girl, father a child in secret) are expressed in πtcpl. phrases, the things he has not (betray the



girl, neglect the child while he dies) in main clauses. This may help us see Ion as partly misguided (Spira 1960: 53-9, Lee on 429-51), but it does not mean that he has no objection to rape, or to “betrayal” in a sense that includes Apollo’s injustice in bringing up his child alone (355-6n.). For acc. θνήσκοντας (in place of the expected gen.), see K-G 1.366 Anm. 13; note the pathos of the imperfective aspect (“while they die”). Through 440 ἀρετὰς δίδωκε, Ion’s agitation continues to come across in short, enjambed sentences.

**439-51** μὴ σύ γ’ ἄλλ’, ἐπεὶ κρατεῖς, | ἀρετὰς δίδωκε: the injunction “since you have power, pursue virtue” is relevant to an argument Ion does not make until 449-51, “gods set the standards according to which it is right to call men (good or) bad.” Together, these passages recall Creusa’s complaint at 252-4 (439 κρατεῖς ~ 254 τῶν κρατούντων, 449 ἀδικεῖτ’ ~ 254 ἀδικίαις, 450-1 τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλὰ | μιμούμεθ’ ~ 253 ποῖ δίκην ἀνοίσομεν), and the importance of showing that Ion is coming around to her way of thinking accounts for their prominence at the beginning and end of his speech. In between, Ion gives Apollo a different piece of advice, in effect, “you should fear punishment.” His argument for this runs: (1) if a man is bad, gods punish him (440-1); (2) gods ought to be subject to the laws they prescribe for men (442-3); (3) but if they are, the consequences will be devastating (444-7); hence (4) you gods, by behaving lawlessly, are guilty of placing pleasure ahead of prudence (448-9). The emphasis on punishment and especially the occurrence of “prudence” (προμηθία) at the end, where “justice” or “the good” might have been expected, make it seem as if Ion cares less about justice than consequences (impoverishment of the temple, which not coincidentally would deprive him of his livelihood: cf. 369-80n.), but the framing passages 439-40 and 449-51 make it very clear that he also expects Apollo to be just and good. The colloquialism μὴ σύ γ’ “don’t *you*” (with ellipse of a pres. imper. or aor. subjunct.) conveys an earnest appeal (1335, Mastronarde on *Ph.* 532, Collard 2005: 367); the ἐπεὶ-clause explains the emphatic “you.”

**440-1** καὶ γὰρ . . . ζημιοῦσιν οἱ θεοί: contrast 1312-19(n.), where Ion recognizes that sometimes the gods not only fail to punish, but even protect the wicked.

**443** γράψαντας: it is not clear why Ion says gods “wrote” the laws. In a situation like his, Athenians might well appeal to *un*written laws, as Antigone does (*S. Ant.* 454-5, with Griffith’s note). On the other hand, the Athenians certainly had written laws regarding assault and abandonment; perhaps they felt little tension between the knowledge that these had human authors and the notion that ultimate authority for them rested with the gods (Guthrie 1962-81: III.75-9). At the end of the line,

ὀφλισκάνειν = “incur a charge of” (LSJ II.2), and L’s ἀνομίαν “lawlessness” gives a better point than ἀδικίας ([Justin.], Clem.), which has intruded from the surrounding context.

**444-7** εἰ δ’ (οὐ γὰρ ἔσται, τῷ λόγῳ δὲ χρήσομαι) | δίκας βιαίων δώσεται ἄνθρωποις γάμων: with the parenthesis, Ion is careful to clarify that he is engaging in a thought experiment. What “will not be” is that gods pay fines to men; pious though he is, Ion does not doubt that gods rape women. If he did, he could hardly conclude that paying fines will require Apollo, along with Poseidon and Zeus (whom he need not have mentioned), to “empty their temples” (*sc.* because there are so many victims). He knows the stories, then, though he recoiled at Creusa’s (338-9n.); he showed no surprise when she mentioned Xuthus’ descent from Zeus (292; cf. 281-2, which imply knowledge that Poseidon fathered Eumolpus). The concern with fines suits the χρυσοφύλαξ (54-5n.); in ναοὺς . . . κενώσετε, a secondary meaning “empty your temples (of worshippers)” may be present. The separation of βιαίων from γάμων (hyperbaton) would prompt Athenians to think of their own legal remedies for assault (including rape), one of which was a δίκη βιαίων “private suit seeking monetary damages for violent acts” (Harrison 1968-71: 1.32-6; cf. Todd on Lys. 1.32-3, Introd. §2.3).

**448-9** τὰς ἡδονὰς γὰρ τῆς προμηθίας πέρα | σπεύδοντες “being eager for pleasures beyond the limits of prudence”: instead of “prudence,” a word like “justice” or “the good” (cf. *Hipp.* 382) might have been expected, but προμηθία fits the analysis given in 439-51n. and resonates ironically with Apollo’s “nurture,” “benefit,” and “care” of Ion (49-50, 109-11, 138-40nn.); cf. *Ant.* fr. 223.11-13. The whole passage is shot through with moral language, and προμηθία itself displays a characteristic Euripidean tendency to describe moral failings in intellectual terms (916-18, 1312-13nn., Wilamowitz and Bond on *Her.* 347, Yunis 1988: 144). For (non-sexual) pleasure as a component of the quiet life Ion leads in Delphi, see 622-3n.; πέρα (Conington) gives a sharper point than L’s πάρος (“in preference to”).

**450-1** εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλὰ | μιμούμεθ’: the first-person pl. verb reminds us that, lacking parents, Ion looks to Apollo as a model. Saying people imitate what gods “teach” repeats points he has already made about their power (439 κρατεῖς) and authority (443 γράψαντας) in an image suited to his youth. The “sophistic” argument that mortals can be excused for imitating gods is actually used by the Nurse in *Hipp.* (451-9), Theseus in *Her.* (1316-21), and Helen in *Tro.* (948-50), among others. τὰ τῶν θεῶν καλὰ = “what the gods consider good,” as 613 τὰ σά φίλ’ = “what you hold dear.”

ἀλλὰ τοὺς διδάσκοντας τάδε: *sc.* κακοὺς λέγειν δίκαιόν ἐστιν “rather (it is just to call evil) those who set this example,” i.e. the gods.

## 452-509 SECOND SONG (FIRST STASIMON) OF THE CHORUS

Now alone, the Chorus sing a song tightly interwoven with the action. In the strophe, their prayer to Athena and Artemis to come and beg Apollo to grant a favorable oracle stands in for the prayers Xuthus told Creusa to make (422-4); in the antistrophe, they meditate on the value of children. These stanzas prepare the false recognition, but an undercurrent in the antistrophe contains reminders of Creusa's private situation, which – still understood as the experience of "some unhappy girl" (503) – becomes the subject of the darkly evocative and aporetic epode. The emphasis on Athens and its goddess is typical; it prepares for Athena's eventual appearance *ex machina*, a kind of answer to the Chorus' prayer.

The style varies with the purpose of each stanza. The strophe is a literary adaptation of a "cletic hymn" (452-71n.). The antistrophe, sententious and at times almost prosaic, leaves room for the very different lyric expressions of maternal emotion still to come in Creusa's monody and the reunion duet. The epode is of an entirely different and complex character. In heterogeneous rhythms and colorful language influenced by the "new music," it evokes the sunless cave of Creusa's ordeal and the Aglaurids' quasi-ritual dance to Pan's eerie music, before closing with an Iliadic image of a corpse devoured by birds and beasts and an implied challenge to Apollo to do right by his child.

*Meter.* In the strophic pair, the meter is mainly aeolic. In the first half of the stanza, an "enoplian paroemiac" (457 ~ 477) introduces double-light movement that continues in resolved aeolic cola, a typical feature of later Euripidean lyric. These persist in the epode, which introduces dochmiacs, a foretaste of the Third Song (676-724), *amoibaion* (763-99), and reunion duet (1439-1509). The stanza ends with dactyls, perhaps reinforcing the content (507-9n.).

As transmitted, 467 and 487 do not respond, and neither gives good rhythm. The most attractive proposal is to read κασίγνηται σεμνόταται in 467 and τροφαὶ κηδείων (or κήδαιοι) τεκέων in 487 (gl<sup>1</sup>). Also possible is a version longer by two syllables, κασίγνηται σεμνόταται Φοίβου in 467 and τροφαὶ κήδαιοι τεκέων κεδνῶν in 487 (gl<sup>1</sup> <sup>^</sup>ia<sup>^</sup>). Φοίβου would be effective in this position (cf. 1487), but see 467n. Period-end is certain here if either proposed restoration is correct, since both entail hiatus in the strophe; in the epode, *brevis in longo* in 506 provides the only sure close, again after a blunt colon. Throughout the song, pendant cola occur at places where it is reasonable to suspect additional pauses (all marked ||<sup>2</sup> below).

υ - - - - υ υ - |

σὲ τὰν ὠδίνων λοχιᾶν  
ὑπερβαλλούσας γὰρ ἔχει

452 gl<sup>1</sup>  
472

⋈ — — — υυ — |

ἀνειλείθυιαν, ἑμᾶν  
θνατοῖς εὐδαιμονίας

453 tl<sup>..</sup>  
473

υ — — υυ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

Ἀθάναν, ἰκετεύω  
ἀκίνητον ἀφορμάν

454 ph  
474

υ — — — — υυ —

Προμηθεῖ Τιτᾶνι λοχευ-  
τέκνων οἷς ἄν καρποφόροι

455 gl<sup>..</sup>  
475

— — υ — υυ — |

θεῖσαν κατ' ἀκροτάτας  
λάμπωσιν ἐν θαλάμοις

456 tl<sup>..</sup>  
476

υυ — υυ — υυ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

κορυφᾶς Διός, ὦ τῆμάκαιρα† Νίκα  
πατρίοισι νεάνιδες ἦβαι

457 2an<sup>^</sup>  
477

∞ — υυ — υ —

μόλε Πύθιον οἶκον, Οὐ-  
διαδέκτορα πλοῦτον ὥς

458 ∞tl  
478

— — ∅ — υυ — |

λύμπου χρυσέων θαλάμων  
ἔξοντες ἐκ πατέρων

459 tl<sup>..</sup>  
479

∞ — υυ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

πταμένα πρὸς ἀγυιάς  
ἑτέροις ἐπὶ τέκνοις

460 ∞r  
480

— — υυ — υ — |

Φοιβήιος ἔνθα γᾶς  
ἀλκά τε γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς

461 tl  
481

⋈ — υυ — υ — |

μεσόμφαλος ἐστία  
σύν τ' εὐτυχίαις φίλον

462 tl  
482

∞ υ — υυ — υ ∞ |

παρὰ χορευομένωι τρίποδι  
δορί τε γαῖ πατρίαι φέρει

463 ∞gl<sup>∞</sup>  
483

— — ∪ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

μαντεύματα κραίνει  
σωτήριον ἄλκάν

464 r  
484

∪ — — — ∪ — |

σύ καὶ παῖς ἅ Λατογενής  
ἐμοὶ μὲν πλούτου τε πάρος

465 gl<sup>~</sup>  
485

∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — | ~ ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — |

δύο θεαὶ δύο παρθένοι  
βασιλικῶν τ' εἶεν θαλάμων

466 ∪gl  
486 ∪gl<sup>~</sup>

∪ — — — ∪ — ||<sup>h1</sup>

κασίγνηται σεμνόταται  
τροφαὶ κηδείων τεκέων

(conjectural; see above)  
467 gl<sup>~</sup>  
487

∪ — ∪ — ∪ — |

ἵκετεύσατε δ," ὦ κόραι  
τὸν ἄπαιδα δ' ἀποστυγῶ

468 ∪tl  
488

∪ — ∪ — ∪ — |

τὸ παλαιὸν Ἑρεχθέως  
βίον, ὦι τε δοκεῖ ψέγω

469 ∪tl  
489

∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — |

γένος εὐτεκνίας χρονίου καθαροῖς  
μετὰ δὲ κτεάνων μετρίων βιοτᾶς

470 2an  
490

— — ∪ — — |||

μαντεύμασι κῦρσαι  
εὐπαιδος ἐχοίμαν

471 r  
491

## Epode

— — — — ∪ — |

ὦ Πανὸς θακήματα καὶ

492 gl<sup>~</sup>

∪ — — — ∪ — |

παραυλίζουσα πέτρα

493 tl<sup>~</sup>

∪ — ∪ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

μυχώδεσι Μακράϊς

494 r

<p> <math>\sim \cup - - - \cup -  </math>              ἵνα χοροὺς στείβουσι ποδοῖν           </p>	495 $\sim gl''$
<p> <math>- - - \cup - \cup -  </math>              Ἀγλαύρου κόραι τρίγονοι           </p>	496 $gl''$
<p> <math>\sim \cup \sim \cup \cup - \cup -  </math>              στάδια χλοερὰ πρὸ Παλλάδος           </p>	497 $gl$
<p> <math>- - - - -  </math>              ναῶν συρίγγων &lt;θ'&gt;           </p>	498 $do$
<p> <math>\cup - \cup - \cup \cup -  </math>              ὑπ' αἰόλας ἰαχᾶς           </p>	499 $tl''$
<p> <math>- - \cup \cup - \cup -  </math>              ὕμνοῦσ' ὅτ' ἀναλίοις           </p>	500 $tl$
<p> <math>- - - - -  </math>              συρίζεις, ὦ Πάν           </p>	501 $do$
<p> <math>- \cup - \cup - -   ^?</math>              τοῖσι σοῖς ἐν ἄντροις           </p>	502 $ith$
<p> <math>\cup \sim - \cup -  </math>              ἵνα τεκοῦσά τις           </p>	503 $do$
<p> <math>- \cup - \cup \cup - \cup -  </math>              παρθένος μελέα βρέφος           </p>	503bis $gl$
<p> <math>- - - - - \cup -  </math>              Φοίβωι πτανοῖς ἐξόρισεν           </p>	504 $gl''$
<p> <math>- - - \cup \cup - \cup -  </math>              θοῖναν θηρσί τε φοινίαν           </p>	505 $gl$
<p> <math>- \cup \cup - \cup - \cup -   ^b</math>              δαῖτα, πικρῶν γάμων ὕβριν           </p>	506 $\sim gl$
<p> <math>- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup  </math>              οὐτ' ἐπὶ κερκίσιν οὔτε λόγων φάτιν           </p>	507 $4da$
<p> <math>- \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - -    </math>              ἄιον εὐτυχίας μετέχειν θεόθεν τέκνα θνατοῖς           </p>	508-9 $6da_{\wedge}$

**452–71** The strophe largely follows the conventions of a “cletic hymn”: second-person address (452 σέ, 465 σύ); name (454) and cult title (457 Νικά) of Athena, metronymic of Artemis (465 Λατογενής); further epithets (457 †μάκαιρα†, possibly concealing πότνα, 467 σεμνόταται, if correct) and designations (466–8 θεαί, παρθένοι, κόραι); the story of Athena’s birth (452–7); other mentions of family connections (465 παῖς, 467 κασίγνηται); request to leave rich Olympus and come to where help is needed (458–60); and performative language (454 ἱκετεύω, cf. 468 ἱκετεύσατε). One hymnic element that is absent is reminder of past benefactions (ὑπόμνησις), but the Chorus do speak of “my Athena” (453–4) and imply that she has a continuing interest in “the ancient family of Erechtheus” (469–70). On “cletic hymns,” see Furley and Bremer 2001: 1.50–64, 324–5, 11.312–15, Griffith on *S. Ant.* 1115–54.

The Chorus pray to Athena and Artemis as Apollo’s sisters (467). Both were worshipped in Delphi in the lower part of the sanctuary, dedicated to Athena Pronaia. Inscriptions dedicating altars to Eileithyia, Hygieia, and Athena Zosteria near Athena’s temple suggest that in Delphi, Athena was connected with childbirth, a realm regularly and strongly associated with Artemis as well (Demangel 1926: 49–51). Both goddesses are virgins (466), and it is implied that purity will aid their plea for an oracle portending fertility (cf. 468–71n. on καθαροῖς). This paradox is rooted in Greek religion and thematic in *Ion*, and its elaboration focuses on Athena because of her importance within the play. Thus 452–3 insist that Athena has no contact, as mother or child, with labor pains, and 455–7 elide Hephaestus and his axe (see notes). The goddesses are asked to help by entreating Apollo in turn; there is thus a kind of hymn within a hymn (461–4n.), but the Chorus’ indirect approach, perhaps including avoidance of Apollo’s name (461–4, 467, 468–71nn.), reflects Creusa’s troubled relationship with Apollo and presages the dark tones of the epode (492–509n.), as well as Creusa’s later blame of Apollo and reluctance to seek his altar.

**452–3** σὲ τὰν ὠδίνων λοχιᾶν | ἀνελείθουσαν “you who are without Eileithyia in connection with the labor pains of childbirth”: a highly-wrought beginning, with the pron. expanded by an ἀ-privative adj. loosely governing a pleonastic gen. phrase of related meaning (a Sophoclean and Euripidean mannerism: 699–701n., Breitenbach 1934: 192–3). Hesychius (α 4825 Latte) assigns the unique ἀνελείθουσαν to *Ion* and glosses it ἄτοκον, which usually means “never having given birth,” but Eileithyia was also absent from Athena’s own birth, at which Prometheus served as “midwife” (455–7). Paradoxically, Athena has a ritual association with childbirth at Delphi (452–71n.); cf. her role at the birth of Erichthonius (269–70n.). For ἀ(ν)- with a name, cf. *Or.* 621 ἀνηφαίστῳ πυρί (also unique); for “my Athena,” 211 ἐμὴν θεόν.

**455–7 Προμηθεΐ Τιτᾶνι λοχευ- | θεῖσαν κατ’ ἀκροτάτας | κορυφᾶς Διός:** elsewhere (except Apollod. 1.3.6 and Σ Pi. O. 7.35 [65], probably dependent on E.), the god who helps Zeus give birth to Athena from his head is Hephaestus. As far as we can tell, this is true for Athens as elsewhere, but at Athens there is more evidence of cult honors for Prometheus and Hephaestus – separately, together, and with Athena – than anywhere else in the Greek world (Parker 2005: 409), and E. may be drawing on local lore. (For the general similarity of Prometheus and Hephaestus, see Griffith on [A.] PV 14 and 39.) Prometheus’ name echoes 448 προμηθείας “prudence” and suggests stability, since Zeus mastered the Titan generation to which he belongs (Segal 1999: 85). For the birth of Athena, a popular subject in literature (e.g. Hes. *Th.* 886–90, Pi. O. 7.35–7; cf. A. *Eu.* 736–8) and art (e.g. the sculptures of the east pediment of the Parthenon and vase-painting at all periods), see Gantz 1993: 51–2, Deacy 2008: 17–32, LIMC Athena §B1.

**ὦ †μάκαιρα† Νίκα:** Athena is called Nike again at 1529, in the context of her role in Zeus’s victory over the Giants (cf. 205–18, 987–97); warfare, not competition generally, is the primary if not exclusive domain of the goddess in this aspect (Parker 2005: 398). Within the play, Nike looks forward to themes that emerge in this song at 481–4 and in Athena’s speech *ex machina* (1581–8). Athenians will have thought of their ongoing military conflicts and of Athena Nike on the Acropolis, for whom a new precinct and temple decreed in the 440s BCE were completed sometime before *Ion*, with a demotic priesthood and other democratic associations (Henderson on Ar. *Lys.* 317–18). Athena Nike rarely appears in tragedy; besides the two passages of *Ion*, cf. *Hclld.* 347–52, S. *Ph.* 134. Triclinius restored respension with 477 by replacing μάκαιρα with πότνα; equally good is μόλε (Page, Diggle 1994: 112–13; for repeated summons in prayers, cf. S. *OT* 163–6, *Ant.* 1144–54, Ar. *Thesmo.* 1144–59, etc.).

**458–60 Οὐ- | λύμπου χρυσέων θαλάμων | πταμένα** “flying/rushing from the golden chambers of Olympus”: πέτεσθαι can be used of any quick motion. Nike is usually winged, but the cult statue of Athena Nike was wingless (Paus. 1.22.4), as one expects the Olympian goddess to be. For the gen. of separation after uncompounded verb of motion, a high-style relic of earlier Greek usage, see Bers 1984: 99–101.

**461–4** Within the cletic hymn to Athena is a “mini-hymn” to Apollo, whose hearth at the navel of the earth gives oracles that do not fail (the implication of 464 κραίνει, cf. 77n.). The honorific details in effect anticipate the entreaty Athena and Artemis are asked to make. But while the Chorus are respectful, their approach to Apollo is somewhat indirect. If Φοίβου is interpolated in 467(n.), the adj. Φοιβήιος is as close as they come to naming him, and while the dense expression Φοιβήιος ... γὰρ μεσόμφαλος ἐστία is suitably hymnic, it avoids attributing the delivery of



oracles directly to Apollo. This the Chorus do only later, when reporting the oracle they dislike (681–2, 774–5, 780–1, 787–8); cf. 885–6, 907nn. on Creusa’s avoidance of Apollo’s name in her monody.

**γᾶς | μεσόμφαλος ἑστία:** the hearth, symbolic center of the household, is a natural detail to pick out in a prayer for children; cf. 1464, where Creusa says, after recognizing Ion, δῶμ’ ἑστιοῦται. Apollo’s Delphic hearth had great symbolic and cultic importance: after the Battle of Plataea in 479 BCE, the Greeks extinguished their individual city-hearths and relit them from Delphi (Plut. *Aristid.* 20.4–5; cf. Roux 1976: 99–100, Burkert 1983: 122). In effect, Ion likewise refounds Athens on a political as well as familial level. For Apollo’s famous hearth in tragedy, see A. *Ch.* 1038–9, *Eu.* 169, 282–3, 577–8, S. *OT* 965, *OC* 413, E. *An.* 1067. An otherwise unknown Aristonoos wrote a hymn to Delphic Hestia (fourth century BCE), which was inscribed on stone and found at the Athenian treasury (Powell 1925: 164–5, Furley and Bremer 2001: no. 2.3); see also *Homeric Hymn* 24. For the hearth’s location at earth’s “navel,” cf. 5–7n.

**παρὰ χορευομένῳ τρίποδι:** the tripod (91–3n.) is celebrated in ritual dance. For χορεύειν in this sense, cf. 1084 (mid.); Pi. *I.* 1.7, S. *OT* 896, *Ant.* 1152 (act.); S. *OT* 1092 (pass.). These passages typically involve multiple levels of reference (“choral projection”); here, the Chorus are themselves singing and dancing around Apollo’s temple (for which the tripod stands by metonymy); see Henrichs 1994–5, 1996. Aristonoos (previous note) seems to have E. in mind when he has Hestia herself, “delighting in the tripods’ prophecies,” dance around Apollo’s temple.

**465 σὺ καὶ παῖς ἅ Λατογενής:** Artemis is not named, but given an epithet signifying the parentage she shares with Apollo (cf. 125–7, 681, 885–6, 907nn.). As Artemis Loch(e)ia (*Su.* 958, *IT* 1097) and Artemis Eileithyia, she has firmly established connections with childbirth (Parker 2005: 242, 428, 431).

**466 δύο θεαὶ δύο παρθένοι:** the first two limbs, marked by anaphora, asyndeton, and syntactic balance, of a tricolon completed by 467. Such structure, often reinforced by rhyme and precise metrical correspondence (for which “crescendo” form substitutes here), “imparts the solemnity of a religious formula” and is common in tragedy (Diggle on *Pha.* 99 (= fr. 773.56)).

**467 †σεμναὶ Φοίβου†:** σεμνότης (Fritzsche) gives good rhythm with or without Φοίβου (see 452–509n. *Meter*). If the name is correct here, it makes a weighty end to the long invocation (cf. 1482, 1487); however, it may have been interpolated to clarify what the poet preferred to express obliquely (461–4n.).

**468–71 ἱκετεύσατε:** the goddesses are asked to do what the Chorus are doing (454 ἱκετεύω), a performative emphasis typical of hymns. The

sentence is perhaps deliberately constructed so that naming Apollo is unnecessary (461–4n.). For the anachronism in calling the family of Erechtheus “ancient,” cf. 23–4, 735–7nn.; for χρόνιος, here = “at long last,” 64n., 401–3.

**καθαροῖς | μαντεύμασι** “by means of clear/pure oracles”: for the sense “clear,” cf. Barrett on *Hipp.* 1120–5 and adv. καθαρῶς as used at e.g. [*Rh.*] 35, Ar. *Wasps* 631, 1045 (LSJ καθαρός II.4). But καθαροῖς is used instead of the more obvious δῆλοις or φανεροῖς because it also means “pure.” Lineage can be described in terms of purity (673n.), and Ion is concerned with purity throughout the play (cf. 96–7n., Introd. §7.1).

**472–91** The antistrophe gives the reason (γάρ) for the prayer in the strophe, a progression typical of prayers and tragic songs. The Chorus’ sentiments about children are traditional, but their expression is determined by the play’s themes, in ways that are partly ironic. Profit, succession, inheritance, and military aid represent so to speak official reasons for the royal couple’s desire for children. In the end, these benefits are attained by the house of Erechtheus, who produced no sons, by making Xuthus think he has a son when he does not.

**472–4 ὑπερβαλλούσας ... ἔχει | ... εὐδαιμονίας | ἀκίνητον ἀφορμάν** “it means a secure fund of surpassing prosperity/happiness”: financial language, as throughout the stanza. For ἀφορμή, lit. “what one starts from,” as “capital, fund,” see LSJ II.4; for this word, a favorite of E.’s (not in A. or S.), in other figurative uses (mainly rhetorical), see Dodds on *Ba.* 266–9. The relevant sense of κινεῖν is “meddle, divert” (LSJ I.2), common in Thucydides (e.g. 1.143.1, 2.24.1, 8.15.1). When children flourish, prosperity increases, and capital need not be touched. Use of the ptcpl. ὑπερβάλλουσα as an adj. = “exceeding, excessive” (LSJ II.3.b) is also found mainly in prose (but cf. *Med.* 127). The subject of ἔχει is the clause οἷς ἂν κτλ.; the mild anacoluthon (in place of an inf. phrase “to have flourishing children”) is a Euripidean mannerism, though not confined to him (Barrett on *Hipp.* 426–7).

**475–7 τέκνων οἷς ἂν καρποφόροι | λάμπωσιν ἐν θαλάμοις | πατρίοισι νεάνιδες ἦβαι** “in whose ancestral chambers fruitful, vigorous youths of children shine”: a poetic elaboration of the basic idea “who have children,” in which καρποφόροι (for which see Diggle 1994: 114–15) has financial connotations. By mentioning inheritance and strength, the following lines focus attention on male children, and in this light νεάνιδες ἦβαι means “vigorous young men,” but before E. νεάνις is always a noun meaning “girl,” and so we perhaps get a fleeting image of Creusa and her nubile sisters in their father’s halls before he expended most of this “capital” on Athens’ safety (277–80; cf. 484n.).

**λάμπωσιν:** brightness is a conventional attribute of youth, often linked with success, especially athletic success (fr. 282.110, Ar. *Knights* 556–7;

(Finglass on) S. *El* 685, 1130). Light imagery recurs in the reunion duet (1439–40, 1466–7, 1474–6nn.); see also 484n.

478–9 διαδέκτορα πλοῦτον ὥς | ἔχοντες: the picture of sons inheriting from their fathers now comes into focus, with the image of wealth itself as διαδέκτωρ colorfully emphasizing the main goal, persistence of the *oikos*. But because it applies almost literally to the situation of an *epikleros*, who does not so much “inherit” as become “attached to” an estate (ἐπί + κληρος) until it passes to the next generation (ἐτέροις ἐπὶ τέκνοις), the image hints at the particular affliction of the house of Erechtheus. The ptcpl. ἔχοντες agrees *ad sensum* with “children,” expressed periphrastically in 475–7(n.). The traditional wish for wealth passed “from fathers to children” is found in the context of a wedding-song at Theoc. 18.50–3.

484 σωτήριον ἄλκάν: although the Chorus mean fighting sons, we may again recall Erechtheus’ sacrifice of his daughters in time of war (475–7n.). But the repetition of ἄλκᾱ so soon after 481 ἄλκᾱ τε γὰρ ἐν κακοῖς invites emendation. With ἀγλαν (Herwerden), we would have the familiar light of salvation (82–5, 1439–40nn.), and perhaps also the weapon’s gleam.

485–7 Here and at 490–1, the Chorus prefer children to wealth and power. Rejection of wealth and power is common in Greek literature (e.g. Archil. fr. 19, Anacr. fr. 361, E. *Her.* 642–8, [Mastronarde on] *Ph.* 549) and recurs in Ion’s mouth at 621–32; the irony here is that the children relevant to the larger context – the ones the Chorus pray for the house of Erechtheus to get – would be not just heirs and helpmeets, but precisely rich and royal. Such effects matter more than consistent characterization of the Chorus, who as slaves have no prospect of wealth and power. In the shorter restoration of 487 (see 452–509n. *Meter*), κήδαιοι means “caring” if kept in the nom. modifying τροφᾱι, “cared for” if changed to gen. κηδείων modifying τεκέων; in the longer restoration, τεκέων has a modifier (κεδνῶν), so κήδαιοι should be kept in the nom. More usual than either meaning is “funereal, sepulchral” (from κηδος in the sense “mourning”).

488 ἀποστύγῳ: strong expressions of disapproval are a common feature of Euripidean *sententiae* (e.g. 630, 832, *Hipp.* 413, *Su.* 1109–11, *Or.* 518), dear to anthologists and parodied by Ar. at *Frogs* 1427–9; cf. Harder on *Arch.* fr. 248.2.

489–91 ὦι τι δοκᾷ ψέγω: nobody praises the childless life in *Ion*. The Chorus of *Med.* do, at length (1081–1115); for further opinions on the topic, see e.g. *An.* 418–20, fr. 316, 518, 571. The expense of raising children comes up often, a realistic consideration (perhaps implied in 490–1) that usually means nothing to the kings and queens of tragedy. βιοτᾶς | εὐπαιδος ἔχοιμαν = “may I hold fast to a life blessed with children” (LSJ ἔχω C.2).

492–509 The Chorus return from generalization to the case at hand by way of an elaborate evocation of Athens, music, dance, and the grisly exposure of the child of Creusa’s “friend.” Never have they heard of good

coming to children born of gods and mortals. The epode, self-contained like the previous two stanzas, shows more clearly than any other song in *Ion* the influence of the “new music.” The sentence fragment that occupies most of it begins with apostrophe to a place (cf. 714), piles on three dependent clauses, and never reaches a main clause (121–4n.). The details are picturesque and/or self-consciously musical: brooding cliffs, Pan with his pipes, a trio of dancing girls. There is some *recherché* diction (θακήματα, παραυλίζουσα, μυχώδεσι), though not as much as in some later Euripidean lyric. The rhythms are heterogeneous: first more aeolic, then iambic and dochmiac, and finally dactylic, ending with an entire hexameter. Much of this is captured in the parody of E.’s lyrics at Ar. *Frogs* 1309–22; see further Kranz 1933: 228–66, Csapo 1999–2000.

Some believe E. begins the stanza with an idyllic scene to maximize the shock of the child’s abandonment and bloody destruction (e.g. Huys 1995: 172–3). But this idea should not be taken so far as to trivialize Pan and the dancers, and a good case can be made that unsettling undertones are present from the beginning. Pan can be menacing and his music eerie, the Long Rocks are full of dark recesses, and the daughters of Aglauros died violently (23–4, 271–4nn.). The change in the music arrives no later than 497, long before the description of abandonment and death (503–6). Even more than the strophe (cf. 461–4n.), the epode involves “choral projection.” Like the Athenian girls, the Chorus are a band of females singing and dancing before a temple (as well as a band of Athenian males singing and dancing for Dionysus). But the epode undermines the strophe’s prayer and the antistrophe’s praise of children, which are basically optimistic despite underlying tensions. It is, in a word, “dysphemic” (Stehle 2004), and this sets the tone for the false inferences and misguided actions still to come from the Chorus, Creusa, and the Old Man.

**492–4 ὦ Πανὸς θακήματα:** the Athenians began to worship Pan, Arcadian god of mountains and flocks, around the time of the Persian Wars. According to Herodotus 6.105, he appeared to the long-distance runner Philippides and complained that he had no Attic cult although he had helped the Athenians before (by sowing “panic” among the Persian invaders?) and would do so again. The music of his invention, the pan-pipes (σύριγγες), is not always rustic (at *Tro.* 127 it is warlike, at *Hel.* 167–78 mournful), and Athenian Pan is in general a creature of urban fantasy about rusticity rather than of rusticity itself (Parker 1996: 163–8). In *Ion*, the lust with which he and his cave are associated (11–13n.) is more menacing than liberating; contrast Ar. *Lys.* 1–2, 720–1, 911.

**παραυλίζουσα πέτρα | μυχώδεσι Μακραῖς** “cliff neighboring the Long Rocks, full of recesses”: this phrase puts Pan’s cave close to Apollo’s (11–13n.), and μυχώδεσι sounds a sinister note. Arcadian Pan does not seem to have been worshipped in caves (Borgeaud 1988: 50–1).

495–8 ἵνα ... πρὸ Παλλάδος | ναῶν: ἵνα is used loosely, as the Long Rocks and the area before Athena's temple(s) are not one and the same. The "vertical axis" passing from the Acropolis through the caves on its north slope to the περιβολος of Aphrodite in Gardens below (if that is where it was) suggests the ritual of the Arthephoria (Paus. 1.27.3, Introd. §7.2), and the present passage could support the idea that a girls' chorus performed during the accompanying festival.

χορούς στείβουσι ... | στάδια χλοερά: χορούς and στείβουσι form a single idea, "they tread-in-dancing," which governs στάδια χλοερά "the verdant area." The construction is mainly tragic (572n., Page on *Med.* 206) and occurs often in descriptions of ritual activity (Renehan 1976: 51–2). It is unlikely that any area of the Acropolis was ever "verdant," but the adj. perhaps suggests the "Pandroseion" just west of the Erechtheum, where Athena's sacred olive flourished (1433–6n., especially 1435 οὐποτ' ἐκλείπει χλόην), and the "freshness" of a girls' chorus engaged in what was possibly initiatory ritual (Segal 1999: 80–1).

Ἀγλαύρου κόραι τρίγονοι: if the dance on the Acropolis had a real-life counterpart, the girls who died violently after disobeying Athena (23–4, 271–4nn.) now participate in its mythical prototype. Athenian girls would hope to achieve the maturity denied to the Aglaurids, and Creusa has come to Delphi in hopes of a similar transition; cf. Introd. §7.2. The substitution of Aglaurids for Nymphs, Pan's usual companions in Attica, shows that E. is not just painting a pretty picture to contrast with the narrative that begins at 503.

498–500 συρίγγων <θ'> | ὑπ' αἰόλας ἱαχᾶς | ὕμνουσ' "and sing to the changeful tune of the pipes": used of poetry, music, and dance, αἰόλος = "changeful, varied" (e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 248, Theoc. 1.6.44 with Gow's note); it can also mean "nimble" or, of visual impressions, "shimmering"; cf. 548–9n. Page's emendations (see apparatus) give the Aglaurids a voice to go with their dancing. In the transmitted text, defended by Irvine 1999, ὕμνων lacks any such point, requires Pan to sing while he pipes, and presents an inelegant accumulation of genitives.

ἀναλίοις "sunless": the dark and remote setting is stressed by repetition (cf. 494 μυχώδεσι) and placement of the adj. at the head of its clause (hyperbaton); the (absent) sunlight may also evoke Apollo (1439–40n.).

503–6 ἵνα ... ἐξόρισιν: Ion's exposure is again cast in terms of boundaries (ὅροι), here the boundary that should separate humans from wild animals (cf. 46, 1458–9nn.). Creusa did not say that her "friend" exposed her child in Pan's cave, but a Euripidean chorus is not always limited to what it knows as a character (cf. 804–7n., Mastronarde 2010: 112–14).

πτανοῖς ... | θοῖναν θηρσί τε φοινίαν | δαΐτα: according to Creusa, her "friend" believes wild animals killed her son (348–52n.); the Chorus increase the pathos by adding birds and imagining a "bloody feast"

(despite the explicit absence of blood at 351-2). In recurrences of these visions, we find θῆρες twice in iambs (933, 951), birds three times in lyr. (902-6, 916-18, 1494-6). The interest in birds is thematic in *Ion* (154-83, 1191-2, 1204-5nn.). The "feast" returns twice (904, 1495), the second time paired with a word that means "murder victim" (1495 φόνευμα). Coming just before a shift to dactylic rhythm, the echo of Hom. *Il.* 1.4-5 suggests that the Chorus are beginning to set up their song as a rival to the male-dominated tradition, a move they explicitly make later (cf. 507-9n.).

πικρῶν γάμων ὕβριν: the Chorus' condemnation of the child's fate, which links this passage to the previous stanza's praise of children, involves strong words that could have been used of the rape. (Creusa did not say her "friend" was raped, but Ion assumed it (437, 445), and the spectators know it.) It is an "outrage," consequence of a "bitter union." The position of ὕβριν (internal acc. "in apposition to the sentence": 102-3n.) is rhythmically and rhetorically emphatic, as in the similar passage *Ba.* 9.

507-9 In Greek myth as we know it, some sons of gods by mortal women are put to severe tests, but to say that they never share in good fortune is a considerable exaggeration meant to heighten sympathy for Creusa, perhaps with a hint that among themselves, women tell traditional stories differently.

οὔτ' ἐπὶ κερκίσιν οὔτε λόγων φάτιν | αἶον "neither while weaving [lit. 'at/over shuttles'] nor in the telling of stories have I heard": the Chorus mention two settings for hearing stories. One, the daily routine of weaving among other women (mentioned earlier at 196-7; cf. 747-51), is domestic and informal; the other is unspecified. The dactylic rhythm could suggest (public and formal) recitations of epic poetry, or one could think of a rival to epic, something like the woman-friendly song the Chorus call for later (1090-1105n.). The varied syntax, with λόγων φάτιν rather than a dat. noun or prep. phrase to balance ἐπὶ κερκίσιν, is a marker of high style. L's λόγοις gives a parallel construction but no acceptable meaning.

θεόθεν τέκνα θνατοῖς "children born to mortals from gods": the language is compressed but clear. Kovacs construes θνατοῖς as dat. of advantage and translates "children from the gods possess no share of happiness for mortals" (1979: 115-16). Sympathy for Creusa, the relevant mortal, would then be even clearer, but the construction is strained.

### 510-675 THIRD SCENE (SECOND *EPEISODION*)

Ion enters through the *eisodas* on the spectators' right, Xuthus from the temple. The scene then unfolds in two parts. First, Xuthus explains and Ion gradually accepts that the oracle has proclaimed them father and son. Second, Xuthus invites Ion to Athens, Ion explains at length why he would rather stay in Delphi, Xuthus insists on his plan (now seen to

require deceiving Creusa) and bestows a name on Ion, and Ion gives in. The two exit to prepare a farewell feast.

The two parts are formally and tonally distinct. Formally, trochaic tetrameters (510–65n.) are followed by iambic trimeters (566–675). Tonally, the false recognition, especially early on, is full of light touches (510–65n.). These continue, less overtly and amid greater overall seriousness, during the examination of the oracle and Xuthus' past (530–65). The entirely serious second part is as close as *Ion* comes to a contest scene (ἄγων), but since the parties are not hostile to each other and Xuthus is not given a long speech to balance Ion's, we may call it an *epideixis* instead (585–647n.).

Thematic elements in the false recognition include Ion's combination of inquisitive rationality and faith, his longing for his mother, and the mismatch between him and Xuthus. Besides making the scene a foil to the eventual true recognition, these suggest flaws in Apollo's plan. In his *epideixis-rhesis*, Ion dwells on challenges he will face at Athens as Xuthus' bastard (585–647n.), and the Chorus-leader sounds warning notes at 566–8 and 648–9, where she wishes Creusa could be included in the newfound happiness. The "comedy of misunderstanding" thus leads by degrees to the Chorus' brooding Third Song (676–724), the Chorus-leader's decision to violate Xuthus' injunction to silence (666–7, 756nn.), and the dire actions that follow.

**510–65** The scene begins at a measured pace and quickens abruptly when Xuthus enters. Aristotle says that trochaic tetrameters were the original dialogue meter of tragedy. He considers them more suited to dance and less like ordinary speech than iambics (*Po.* 4.1449a21–8); modern scholars speculate that they may have been recited to the accompaniment of the *aulos* (e.g. Pickard-Cambridge 1988: 158–60). In surviving tragedy, they occur in A. in *Pe.* and at the end of *Ag.*; in S. in the possibly spurious close of *OT* (and later, very briefly, in *Ph.* and *OC*); and, in scenes of increasing length and variety, in all E.'s plays from *Her.* on – a good example of his renewal of the genre's traditional resources. E.'s earliest examples (in *Her.*, *Tro.*, and *Hel.*) come at the ends of scenes and bring them to a climax; later examples, and all three in *Ion*, explore other possibilities. The tetrameters at 1606–22 seem mainly to signal closure; they are not really accompanied by heightened tension or emotion (cf. S. *Ph.* 1402–8). The short passage 1250–60 is a fast-paced scene-opener (cf. S. *OC* 887–90). The present passage is the most varied internally, with the leisurely 510–16 giving way to rapid movement when stichomythia (237–451n.) begins at 517. When division of lines between speakers (*antilabe*) begins at 530, the tension rises to a still higher level, but as the scene turns into E.'s longest in this form, the point is perhaps Ion's relentless search for the truth. The meter

finally accommodates even Ion's wistful longing for his mother (563–5). For more on the trochaic tetrameter, see Imhof 1956, Drew-Bear 1968, Mastronarde on *Ph.* 588–637, Centanni 1995.

The varied pace is related to the question of “comic elements” in the scene. The Chorus and Ion wait by the door, which creaks as it opens (515–16n.). Xuthus' entrance then unleashes a flurry of stage business, as his attempt to embrace Ion and kiss his hand produces bafflement and evasive action on Ion's part; this action may have the appearance of a beloved being importuned by a lover (517–27n.). Further situational comedy has been detected in Xuthus' insouciant cluelessness (especially 539–41, 547–8) and the nature of the sexual transgression he confesses under Ion's interrogation (545–53). Verbally, there is more colloquial language than usual (520n.), and at 542, Xuthus' words sound something like a punch-line. On the issues raised by such light touches, see *Introd.* §9. Ion is of course too important to be a mere “straight man.” Depending as it does on his reaction to the new situation, the scene becomes progressively more serious.

**510–16** These lines give Ion time to move into position near the door and linger; Xuthus enters and pauses to take in the sight which, we soon learn (534–6), the oracle has declared to be crucially important. Then, at 517, the stage movements become suddenly brisk.

**510–11** τῶνδ' ἀμφὶ κρηπίδας δόμων | θυσόδοκων: for the κρηπίδες, cf. 38n. The adj. θυσόδοκος is found only here, at 1549 (if correctly conjectured), and at *An.* 1157, all of Apollo's temple at Delphi. The θυ- element refers to burnt offerings, whether incense or animal victims.

**δεσπότην:** if correct, this word (for L's masc. δεσπότην) reminds us that the Chorus align themselves with Creusa more than with Xuthus (cf. 235–7), and that Ion knows it.

**512** τὸν ἱερὸν τρίποδα καὶ χρηστήριον: fulsome, imprecise language. Visitors did not enter into the presence of the oracular tripod itself. For καὶ linking “appositionally related ideas,” see 909–10, *Hec.* 1, *Ba.* 513, *GP* 291 (5).

**514** δῶμ' ὑπερβαίνει: “cross the house” for “cross the threshold of the house” is a Euripidean idiom (Barrett on *Hipp.* 782–3).

**515–16** ὡς δ' ἐπ' ἐξόδοισιν ὄντος, τῶνδ' ἀκούομεν πυλῶν | δοῦπον: “but as if he is on the point of coming out, we hear the sound of the door(s) here”: with ὄντος, understand Ζεύθου (gen. abs.). The Chorus are gathered on the steps, and so this is not quite the New Comic motif of listening at a door, which then makes a suspenseful noise as it opens (Lee). Both phenomena occur in serious tragic contexts (listening: *Hipp.* 575–9; noise: *Hel.* 859–60), and E.'s awareness of their “staginess” is suggested by *Ba.* 638–9, where superior hearing enables Dionysus to predict an entrance even before the door creaks.



**ἐξιόντα:** a key word in the oracle (535), which leads in turn to Ion's name (661n.).

**517–27** Xuthus calls Ion “child” and moves to embrace him. Baffled and indignant, Ion resists and even threatens Xuthus with his bow, prompting Xuthus to say, “if you kill me, you will be the murderer of your father” (527). Now clear as to the reason for Xuthus' behavior, Ion begins to question how it can be true. At *IT* 795–804, Iphigenia's desire not to be kissed and embraced by Orestes produces comparable effects preceding recognition. At *Hel.* 541–56, Helen believes that Menelaus, who is blocking her way, wants to grab her, and her language gives the scene an unmistakable undercurrent of sexuality. Wilamowitz' idea that Ion, whose age and beauty would make him attractive to Greek men, likewise fears sexual assault requires some qualification. Ion's language is less suggestive and fearful than Helen's, but the action is tinged with sexual possibility. Xuthus' actions and endearments leave plenty of room for misunderstanding (517–18n.), and Ion's response – wondering if Xuthus is crazy, and worrying about the god's sacred emblems – is compatible with a sexual interpretation (522n.). The additional light touch need not push the scene over the edge into farce. With or without a sexual component, Ion's antipathy for Xuthus contrasts with his sympathy for Creusa. Another point could be that Xuthus shares with Apollo an aggressive male sexuality (cf. 545–54n.).

**517–18 ὦ τέκνον, χαῖρ':** τέκνον, not attested as an endearment between lovers, is properly a kinship term (Dickey 1996: 65–72). If Ion took it as such and asked for clarification, the sexual possibility would be quickly ruled out. But he does not, and Xuthus says nothing to make his position unambiguous until 527. Xuthus' explanation of his greeting (a Euripidean mannerism: *Med.* 465–6, *An.* 56–9, *Hel.* 1193; parodied at *Ar. Wasps* 1297–8, *Thesmo.* 582–3) may refer to either τέκνον or χαῖρε, the word picked up by Ion in his reply.

**σὺ δ' εὖ φρόνει γε** “you come to your senses!”: the unexpected warmth of 517 is not enough to motivate this scolding response, and we must infer that Xuthus has made a gesture or movement that Ion regards as inappropriate.

**519 χερὸς φίλημα:** hand-kissing occurs in several recognition scenes in the *Odyssey* (16.15–16, 21.225, 22.499–500, 23.87, 24.398); along with *Med.* 1141, they confirm that this, not hand-clasping, is what Xuthus attempts here. For φίλημα “kiss,” cf. *An.* 416, 630, *Su.* 1153, *A. fr.* 135, *S. fr.* 537.

**520 εὖ φρονεῖς μὲν;** after εὖ φρόνει in 518 and Xuthus' renewed effort to embrace him, Ion means, “Are you in your right mind?” In this kind of preliminary question, μὲν implies a condition that must be fulfilled if

discussion is to continue; cf. *Alc.* 146, *Med.* 676, 1129; *GP* 366–7. The usage may be colloquial, and “eight, perhaps nine colloquialisms contribute something to the liveliness and conversational tone” of 517–62, giving them “a flavour of comedy” (Stevens 1976: 47 and 66; add one more at 522[n.], but colloquialisms Stevens detects at 537 and 540 are textually insecure).

**521** τὰ φίλταθ' εὐρών εἰ φιλεῖν ἐφίεμαι: for (τὰ) φίλτατα in recognitions, see 525, 571, 1437–8n. (and cf. 1018n. for a different use); as it can also describe an ἐρώμενος (as probably at *S. Ph.* 434), Xuthus' insistent use of it prolongs Ion's misunderstanding, as does “I desire to kiss,” which can be taken as an internal stage direction. For φιλεῖν “kiss,” cf. *Cy.* 581, *A. Ag.* 1559, *S. OC* 1131. Even after accepting Xuthus as his father, Ion calls only his mother “dear” (563–5n.).

**522** παῦε, μὴ ψάσας τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ στέμματα ῥήξης χερί: the woolen bands (223–4n.), perhaps worn as a headband, mark Ion's person as inviolate; cf. 1286, *IT* 798–9, and *Tr.* 451–4, where Cassandra removes Apollo's sacred emblems while she is still pure, i.e. before becoming Agamemnon's concubine. At 150, Ion's notion of sanctity is linked to chastity. Active παῦε for παύου is probably colloquial (Collard 2005: 378).

**523** κού ῥυσιάζω, τὰμὰ δ' εὐρίσκω φίλα “and I am not laying claim to another's property, but finding my own”: in fact, by claiming Ion as his own, Xuthus both treats him as an object and commits an act of plunder, the very thing he denies. Echoing this passage, ῥυσιάζομαι occurs at 1406(n.); the verb elsewhere in tragedy only at *Hcl.* 163 (by conjecture), *A. Su.* 424, fr. 258.2. A more precise legal meaning (“seize another's property as surety”) is attested from the Hellenistic period but does not suit the tragic instances (Friis Johansen and Whittle on *A. Su.* 412).

**524** τόξα: Ion brandishes the weapon he considered using against the birds earlier (154–83) and, according to one view, will use to threaten his mother later (1320–1n.).

**525** ὥς τί δὴ φεύγεις με σαυτοῦ γνωρίσαι τὰ φίλτατα; “Why do you refuse to recognize me as your dearest?” For φεύγειν + inf., cf. *Tr.* 891, LSJ I.4; for colloquial ὥς τί δὴ (with ellipse of e.g. θέλων or a subjunct. verb), *GP* 211; for defense of L's γνωρίσας and a view of 525–7 involving interrupted syntax, Hartwig 2007.

**526** οὐ φιλῶ φρενοῦν ἀμούσους καὶ μεμνηότας ξένους: by saying οὐ φιλῶ (+ inf. = “I am not in the habit of . . .,” without inf. at 604) and including Xuthus among ξένοι (cf. 520), Ion pointedly rejects Xuthus' “dearest”; φρενοῦν and μεμνηότας continue the thought that Xuthus is out of his mind; ἀμούσος “crass” and ἀμούσια are favorite words of E.'s (× 8, not in A. or S., though S. has ἀμούσωτος), strong language from the temple slave, but a good expression of his Delphic values.

**527 πίμπρη:** the exaggeration is distant preparation for 974 and 1294(nn.); in such defiant statements, “fire,” especially paired with “swords” or “steel,” is also traditional (*Ph.* 521, *Pi.* fr. 232, *Eup.* fr. 175; cf. *E. Tro.* 893, fr. 687).

**528 ποῦ** sometimes replaces πῶς in incredulous or indignant questions.

**γέλως κλυεῖν ἐμοί** “absurd for me to hear”: an internal stage direction for a derisive laugh; γέλως refers to such laughter as often as to the more pleasant kind, and Ion is too serious for the word to contribute to the present scene’s light tone (Zacharia 1995: 54). If L’s ἐμοῦ is correct, it goes with γέλως, and the phrase means “mockery of me”; for aor. κλυεῖν, see West 1984: 179.

**529 τρέχων ὁ μῦθος** “my story, as it runs (forward)”: a colorful variation on “my story, as it proceeds” (cf. 396–7n., *Hipp.* 342, etc.), perhaps because Xuthus wants to assure Ion he can explain *quickly*. For “running” speech, cf. epic ἐπιτροχάδην ἀγορεύειν, *Ba.* 268 εὐτροχος γλῶσσα. A sly allusion to the trochaic meter is possible.

**530–62** Ion is now ready to ask questions and does so vigorously over 33 tetrameter lines divided by *antilabe*, 23 of which pose questions (cf. Schuren 2015: 116–21); the next longest such scene is *IA* 1341–68; cf. *Or.* 775–98, *Ph.* 603–24.

**530 καὶ τί μοι λέξεις;** probably a variation on the Euripidean idiom τί λέξεις, which always looks *back* to something shocking the speaker has just heard, as well as forward to an explanation or elaboration of it (1113, Barrett on *Hipp.* 353).

**532 μαρτυρεῖς σαυτῶι:** the Delphic authorities would not be thought of as witnesses because they conveyed the oracle’s response only to the consultant (Parke and Wormell 1956: 1.33); instead of continuing to doubt Xuthus’ report, however, Ion moves on to another point.

**533 ἐσφάλης αἰνιγμ’ ἀκούσας:** literary oracles are often obscure or ambiguous (429–30n.), but scholars differ as to whether deliberately ambiguous oracles were actually delivered at Delphi (see e.g. Maurizio 2001, Bowden 2005: 48–51, Johnston 2008: 51–6). Xuthus replies confidently, perhaps even sarcastically (ἄρ’), that he is mistaken only if there is something wrong with his hearing, so plain is the oracle’s meaning. He should be regarded as right (69–73n., *Introd.* §8.1).

**534–6** The “first-met” type of oracle turns an apparently chance event into destiny; for other examples, see *Hdt.* 6.34.1 (= Parke and Wormell 1956: II, no. 60), *Ar. Wealth* 32–43 (= no. 252), *Birds* 972–3 (not Delphic); and Parke and Wormell 1956: II, nos. 20, 23, 78, 231, 322, 381, 532.

**536 συμφορᾶς τίνος κυρῆσαι;** Ion’s insistence on chance here and in 539 perhaps indicates his reluctance to accept the news; although it can be neutral, συμφορά hints that it is a “disaster” (*LSJ* II.1 and II.2, respectively).

**537 δῶρον ἄλλων:** for ἄλλων, answered by ἐξ ἐμοῦ, see Diggle 1981: 102. L's ἄλλως is possible, but the disparaging tone of "a mere gift" ill suits Ion's reverence for Apollo.

**539-41** Ion's questions show cautious thoroughness, and perhaps ambivalence; Xuthus' uninformative answers reveal untroubled joy and callous disregard, contrasting with Ion's earlier instinctive sympathy, for the woman on whom he inflicted an experience like Creusa's. The question of his mother's identity returns to preoccupy Ion at 563-5, 668-72.

**τερφθεῖς τοῦτο:** at *Hel.* 536-7, Helen gives the same reason for failing to ask a follow-up question (whether Menelaus, once he arrives in Egypt, will survive). Both instances involve the major issue to be worked out in the play itself.

**542 γῆς ἄρ' ἐκπέφυκα μητρός;** the expression may be proverbial for a "nobody" (cf. 593-4n.), like Latin *terrae filius* (*OLD terra* 4b), but here it alludes ironically to Ion's autochthonous background, and Xuthus' denial that such a thing is possible marks him as an outsider.

**543 ἀναφέρω δ' ἐς τὸν θεόν** "I refer to the god": i.e. "the god is my authority" (cf. 827, Pl. *Ap.* 20e6, LSJ II.6.b). As Xuthus is content with the answer he has received, he is not suggesting an appeal for clarification. Much later, Ion tries to make just such an appeal (1548n.), but for now he hopes to make progress aided by reason alone.

**544 τοῦτ' ἄμεινον, ὦ τέκνον:** relieved that Ion is ready to move on from his last question ("How could I be yours?"), Xuthus calls him "son" again.

**545-55** Xuthus' lack of interest in the circumstances of Ion's engendering leads to careless answers that characterize him and sharpen the contrast between the two. Some believe that on a strict reading he admits two pre-marital encounters: one in Delphi (550-5) and another (545) in a place from which Ion's arrival in Delphi would be perplexing (548) and require a "long journey" (549). The details of 548-9 are better explained as ironic reminders that Ion did come a long way, with divine help (28-40; cf. 1454-5, 1597-1600). On bastardy, see 591-2n.

**545 μωρίαί γε τοῦ νέου:** a conventional excuse (Hom. *Od.* 7.293-4, Garvie on A. *Pe.* 744), quite common in E. (*Hipp.* 118-20, *An.* 184-5, *Su.* 160, 250-1, 580, etc.) and New Comedy (550-4n.); *Alc.* 1052-4 assumes irrepressible sexual energy in the young. For μωρία of sexual transgression (a Euripidean usage), see Barrett on *Hipp.* 642-5.

**546 οὐ γὰρ ὕστερόν γε πω:** a husband's fidelity could not be taken for granted, and Creusa shows her gratitude for this sympathetic aspect of Xuthus at 977. Before that, however, the Old Man assumes the worst (819-21), and he is not opposed by the Chorus, even though they hear what Xuthus says now (cf. 832-5n.). For οὐ . . . πω = "never" (rather than "not yet"), see 1278, Dawe on S. *OT* 105 οὐ γὰρ εἰσεῖδόν γε πω.

**547** ἐκεῖ: not in a particular place, but “in those circumstances.” In τῷ χρόνῳ γε συντρέχει “it matches [lit. ‘runs to meet’] the time,” “it” = “the hypothesis that I fathered you in those circumstances.” The concurrence is not ironic or significant, but simply follows from Xuthus’ fidelity since marrying Creusa; contrast 354.

**548–9** ἀφικόμεθα . . . ἐλθών: concord of sing. and “heroic” pl. is a poeticism used with special freedom by E. (Bond on *Her.* 858; cf. 1250–1, and see also 390–1n.).

τοῦτο καὶ ἀπαιολᾷ “that makes my head spin, too”: the verb (only here in classical Greek) is from αἰόλος “quick, glittering, changeful,” just used of Pan’s music (499). The name of Xuthus’ father Aeolus was sometimes explained in terms of this adj., and as E. may have attached a similar meaning to ξουθός (Dunbar on *Ar. Birds* 213–14), the present passage perhaps illustrates by a pun why the baffled Xuthus deserves the name “Dizzy.”

**550–4** The foolish young Xuthus joined a band of female worshippers (551–2) and was drunk (553): such is the setting of many rapes and illicit affairs in New Comedy (e.g. *Men. Epit.* 451–4, 471–9, *Sam.* 38–50, *Phasm.* 93–107), which got them from E., according to Satyrus fr. 39, col. 7 (cf. hyp. E. *Auge* (test. II.a), fr. 272b). For a full discussion, see Rosivach 1998: 13–50, who emphasizes that one detail, Xuthus’ indifference, does *not* conform to the comic scenario, which always has the young man “do right” by his victim in the end (p. 43). For worship of Dionysus at Delphi, see 713–18n.

**551** προξένων δ’ ἐν του κατέσχες; “did you lodge with one of the sponsors?” This question, like the next two, is mainly a “feed line” for Xuthus’ story. L’s τῷ (i.e. τῷ) is a slip, giving the expected dat. after ἐν instead of the (regular) elliptical expression ἐν + gen. = “in (the house) of” (LSJ ἐν A.I.2); Madvig’s τοῦ (= τίνος “at the house of which of the sponsors . . . .”) focuses on a detail whose relevance has not yet been established. For Delphic πρόξενοι, see 335n.

**552** ἐθιάσους . . . Μαινάσιν γε Βακχίου: “Maenads” are female by definition, but a Dionysiac θιάσος might include members of both sexes (Versnel 1990: 119 n. 94, 133 n. 154, Scullion 2013).

**554** τοῦτ’ ἐκεῖν “that’s it!”: not recognizing the colloquial idiom, L mangles the line (see apparatus). The ἵνα clause, begun by Ion and finished by Xuthus, follows asyndetically, as is usual (Willink on *Or.* 804).

**555** ἔκβολον: here Xuthus hits on the truth, but Ion does not take up the clue. In classical Greek, only E. has ἔκβολος, used to describe that other foundling, Oedipus, at *Ph.* 804.

**556** ἐκπεφύγαμεν τὸ δοῦλον: Ion probably means that Xuthus’ free status determines his own. If we are meant to think that he assumes his mother’s freedom because she was a Delphic girl participating in Dionysiac ritual (551), it is odd that he soon hopes she may prove to be Athenian (670–2) and later fears she may be a slave (1382–3).

**557–61** Even after the genuine relief of ἐκπεφύγαμεν τὸ δοῦλον, Ion is reluctant to embrace Xuthus, as shown by the particles (γοῦν and γε), his manner of reasoning (“certainly it is reasonable not to disbelieve the god,” “what else do I want?”), and the fact that it takes him until 561 to say χαῖρέ μοι, πάτερ, finally answering Xuthus’ greeting at 517. Xuthus’ half-lines, meanwhile, press ahead confidently.

**557** τῷ θεῷ γοῦν οὐκ ἀπιστεῖν εἰκός: γοῦν expresses qualified assent, often (especially in Plato) in combination with εἰκός (*GP* 452; cf. 1027). The double negative also seems lukewarm, though it can be used in strong affirmations, as at 1606–8(n.).

**559** Διὸς παιδὸς . . . παῖς: actually, Xuthus is Zeus’s grandson (63–4, 292), so that his son would be Zeus’s great-grandson, but E., with obvious irony, allows Ion to hit on the truth and Xuthus to confirm it.

**561** χαῖρέ μοι, πάτερ: the gesture accompanying these words is probably an embrace, but it could be a mere handshake, as inferred by some who take γε in φίλον γε φθέγμ’ . . . τόδε as limiting (“this welcome salutation [as ‘father’], at least”) and infer disappointment on Xuthus’ part. The contact is at any rate brief, as Ion turns from Xuthus to address first “the present day” and then, with genuine affection, his absent mother.

ἐδεξάμην: the verb is formulaic for accepting what another says as an omen (Kyriakou on *IT* 793–7); the tense marks “sudden access of emotion” and perhaps also politeness in what is essentially an expression of thanks (cf. 308n.).

**562** ἡμέρα . . . μακάριον: the day has made Xuthus “blessed” because it has made him a parent (308n.). The same idea probably underlies 1354, where Ion apostrophizes “this day blessed for its revelations”; contrast the Chorus’ curse at 720 νέαν δ’ ἀμέραν ἀπολιπὼν θάνοι (*sc.* Ἴων).

**563–5** ὦ φίλη μήτηρ: for the first time, Ion uses a φίλ- word – but of his mother, not Xuthus (521n.). The pathetic periphrasis σὸν δέμας (Bond on *Her.* 1036) and pre-recognition formula ἦτις εἶ ποτ’ (324n.) underscore his longing and the obvious irony that he has in fact already seen her. Later, after recognizing Creusa as his mother, Ion immediately thinks of sharing the joy with Xuthus (1468–9).

πότ’ ἄρα “when, I wonder?": *GP* 45–6.

οὐδ’ ὄναρ: if the text is rightly restored, “not even in a dream” adds pathos. At least in literature, the dead who visit Greeks in dreams were known to them in life (*Alc.* 354–6, *Her.* 517–18, the ghost/dream Polydorus at the beginning of *Hec.*).

**566–8** Trimeters from the Chorus-leader mark the end of the tetrameter scene. After their blandness, typical of such “signposting” lines (381–3n.), the passion of the Third Song (676–724) arrives with all the greater force. But the theme of solidarity with Creusa is clearly present here and

in 648–9, and the Chorus-leader’s wish for the house of Erechtheus echoes the Chorus’ prayer in their last song (567–8 ~ 468–71). For ἐβουλόμεν ἄν κτλ. (“I should have liked my mistress too to enjoy good fortune in regard to children”), see *GMT* §245–6.

**569–84** Half-heartedly promising a search for Ion’s mother, Xuthus invites Ion to Athens.

**569–70** θεὸς | ὀρθῶς ἔκρανε: the verb is not just “accomplished,” but “accomplished in keeping with his authoritative pronouncement” (cf. 77n., 464, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 369), with an ironic allusion to the oracle, which Apollo did not give ὀρθῶς.

**571** σύ τ’ αὖ τὰ φίλταθ’ ἡὔρες: 521, 563–5nn. Xuthus projects his feelings on Ion.

**572** οἱ δ’ ἦϊξας ὀρθῶς, τοῦτο κᾶμ’ ἔχει πόθος “I too desire what you rightly turned to eagerly”: Xuthus’ language is emphatic but insincere: he is willing to put off the search for Ion’s putatively Delphic mother until after they have left Delphi (575). For κᾶμ’ ἔχει πόθος (= κἀγὼ ποθῶ) governing τοῦτο, see 495–8n., K–G 1.322–3, Dodds on *Ba.* 1288. E. is the first to use αἰσσεῖν “rush, dart” in the sense “turn to eagerly”; the regular construction with prep. phrase, as in 328 and 997, supports Herwerden’s οἱ here, though L’s ὁ could be explained as internal acc.

**574** ὁποίας μοι γυναικὸς ἐξέφυς: it may be doubted whether Xuthus cares *what sort* of woman bore Ion, but Ion does (668–75, 1380–3); for the phrasing, cf. 258–61, 802–3nn.

**576** ἀλγείαν τε σὴν “your wandering”: i.e. “homelessness” or “exile” (52–3, 1087–9nn.). The word both suits Xuthus’ rhetoric and reveals his lack of understanding for the environment in which Ion has grown up. Creusa was more observant and sensitive.

**577** κοινόφρων “of one mind”: more wishful thinking on Xuthus’ part, and a reminder of Creusa’s exclusion. For the partnership theme, see 358n.; for the importance of giving due weight to the second element in -φρων-compounds (of which E. is quite fond), Kyriakou on *IT* 1007–9.

**578–81** Xuthus will bequeath his kingly position and wealth to Ion, nor need Ion fear being called low-born and poor, since he will no longer be either. The lines offer both encouragement and food for thought, which comes immediately in Ion’s distractedness (582–4) and later in reflections on power (621–8) and wealth (629–32). Neither the awkwardness of 579–80(n.) nor the redundancy of 581, which is of a common type and allows Xuthus to end on a positive note, justifies deletion (Diggle).

**578** σκῆπτρον . . . πατρός: Xuthus, who owes his position to military skill and marriage (57–64, 293–8), says at 659–60 that bequeathing it to Ion requires Creusa’s approval. The scepter perhaps suggests power that can be contested, in contrast with the more stable θρόνοι on which Athena installs Ion by her instructions at 1572 and 1618 (Hoffer 1996: 315).

**579–80** οὐδὲ θάτερον νοσῶν | δυοῖν κεκλήσῃ δυσγενὴς πένης θ' ἅμα “and, not suffering either of the two (disadvantages), you will not be called both low-born and poor”: οὐδὲ θάτερον νοσῶν = καὶ οὐδέτερον νοσῶν, and the negative is understood again with κεκλήσῃ. It remains odd that Xuthus says, “not suffering either, you will not be called both,” but the point may be that at present, at least in Xuthus’ eyes, Ion does suffer both low birth and poverty. Others take νοσῶν as concessive and do not negate it (“nor, although you do suffer one, will you be called both”), but apart from the bad fit with 581, it seems unlikely that Xuthus anticipates and shares Ion’s anxiety about bastardy (591–2).

**581** ἀλλ’ εὐγενὴς τε καὶ πολυκτήμων βίου: the line restates 580 in positive terms (cf. 132–3). The gen. βίου can be explained either by the notion of fullness in πολυ- (K–G 1.354) or by the freedom tragedy shows in the use of objective gens. (ibid. 371 Anm. 19).

**582–4** σιγᾷς; an internal stage direction, indicating a pause after 581 (cf. *Hipp.* 911, *Hyps.* fr. 757.838). Similarly, Xuthus’ next words indicate that Ion is visibly distracted and upset. Refusal of eye contact occurs with various implications at *Hipp.* 946, *IA* 320, *S. Ant.* 441, *Ph.* 1068–9.

#### 585–647 *Epideixis*

Ion explains why he would rather stay in Delphi than go to Athens. His speech resembles the first half of an ἀγών “contest,” a scene found in stereotyped form in all E.’s plays down to *Tro.* and some later ones, but not the “romantic” group *Ion*, *IT*, *Hel.* (Collard 2003, Lloyd 1992). A defining feature of contest scenes is *opposing* speeches, commonly followed by angry dialogue in which the antagonists’ opposition hardens. *Ion* lacks these: curtailing debate (650) and responding to only one of Ion’s points (654–60 ~ 607–20), Xuthus proceeds with his plan, to which Ion promptly yields (668). A good label for Ion’s *rhexis* or the whole scene is ἐπίδειξις “display” (Wilamowitz on *Her.* 138–9, Lloyd 1992: 10); the term implies rhetorical sophistication, in which the speech abounds. Ion begins with a general reflection and ends by resuming and extending it (585–6, 646–7); he uses γνῶμαι also at 597, 604–6, 616–17, 622–3, and 627–8. Before making a point that could insult Xuthus, he ingratiates himself by welcoming their relationship and, if 588 is rightly emended, calling him “father” (585–9n.), as he does four more times (604, 618, 633, 645). He classifies the citizenry at 595–606, frames a question in terms of what is reasonable (εἰκός) at 611, poses further rhetorical questions at 607–15 and 623–5, and uses the figure προκατάληψις at 629–32(n.). Lists are preceded by “headlines” at 589–90 (ὦν δὲ γιγνώσκω, πάτερ, | ἄκουσον) and 633 (ἃ δ’ ἐνθάδ’ εἶχον ἀγάθ’ ἄκουσόν μου, πάτερ),



marking the Athenian and Delphic parts of the argument, respectively. References to how other people will judge him (593–606) and what they praise (621, 634) and pray for (642) suggest rhetorical competition or at least self-consciousness. On the other hand, items on the lists are not numbered (except in 634, and cf. 618–20n.), and two of the three transitions between larger sections are accomplished simply by  $\delta\epsilon$  (607, 621).

In nearly balanced sections, the speech covers political life at Athens (589–606), troubling prospects at home with Xuthus and Creusa (607–20), the drawbacks of tyranny (621–32), and the goods Ion has enjoyed at Delphi (633–45). The first of these raises issues of relevance and characterization, as Ion imagines competing for influence among classes of people with and without power, with and without an interest in politics, and with chances to speak in public, compete for prestige, and vote. The fifth-century Athenian tone of his description is at odds with the play's heroic setting and, it may seem, with the young Ion's experience as a temple slave in Delphi. But Ion's worldliness is not a complete surprise. Earlier scenes have shown him to be well-informed, curious, contemplative, and skeptical, and it is not hard to imagine real conversations behind "they say" (589). His sympathy for Creusa (607–20) is grounded in what we have seen, as are his rejection of tyranny on grounds of Delphic moderation (632), his pleasure at conversing with (usually) happy pilgrims (638–41), and his satisfaction with his just way of life (642–4; cf. 355, 436–51). As is typical of E., the speech develops these topics without excessive concern for psychological realism (Scodel 1999–2000, Mastronarde 2010: 207–45). Anachronistic blending of heroic and fifth-century elements is frequent in tragedy and must have given particular pleasure in plays on Athenian subjects (cf. *Introd.* §6.1). It is surprising and paradoxical that Ion, a symbol of Athenian imperialism, is reluctant to assume a position of power (*Introd.* §2.2).

585–6 οὐ ταῦτόν εἶδος φαίνεται τῶν πραγμάτων | πρόσωθεν ὄντων ἐγγύθεν θ' ὀρωμένων "the appearance of things is manifestly not the same when they are far away and when they are seen close at hand": Ion has glorified Athens from a distance (262–3), but as he takes a "close look" at life there, he does not like his prospects. Ironically, although he lacks experience and "looks" only in imagination, his (anachronistic and realistic) insights might strike Athenians as all too accurate. For similar reflections on perspective, see *IA* 489–90, *Pl. Prtg.* 356c, *Rep.* 602c. Ion's summation at 644–7 interacts interestingly with this opening (cf. also 621–2n.). There the thought is that what is in fact smaller may be judged superior to what is larger. Both passages are programmatic and invite further reflection on, for example, the changed view Ion will have by the end of the play, the larger theme of divine vs. human perspectives on the action, and Athenian identity as seen from outside Athens. For συμφορά (587), see 536n.

**588 πάτερ:** L's *πέρι* is grammatically defensible, but Dobree's conjecture suits Ion's *captatio benevolentiae* and avoids an awkward construction.

**589–90 τὰς αὐτόχθονας | κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας:** for autochthonous, glorious Athens, see 29, 30, 267, 735–7nn. For οὐκ ἐπέισακτον γένος, cf. 592 πατρός τ' ἐπακτοῦ, 290–3n.

**591–2 ἴν' ἐσπεσοῦμαι:** the place or condition into which one εἰσπίπτει is typically bad (e.g. γῆρας, 700; LSJ I.2–3); the verb can also imply violent intrusion into a place (e.g. 1087–9(n.), 1196; LSJ I.1, II); cf. 699–701n.

**δύο νόσω κεκτημένος:** the two “disadvantages” (for the flexibility of νόσος and νοσεῖν, see 319–21, 363–4nn.) that worry Ion do not match the two Xuthus just said he no longer suffers from (579–81). Ion and Xuthus do not think alike: whereas Xuthus mentions disadvantages his own status removes, Ion fears xenophobia and the stigma of bastardy and thus reveals, perhaps, that he is the true Athenian. Athens often boasted of its openness, but the idea, not rare in tragedy, that resident foreigners (μέτοικοι) ought to be quiet and do as they are told (*Med.* 222–4, *Su.* 891–5, *A. Su.* 195–203, *S. OC* 171–2; cf. *Erech.* fr. 360.11–13) reflects a more complex reality, as do the actual legal disabilities of non-citizens (Harrison 1968–71: 1.187–99, Whitehead 1977, Mills 1997: 43–86).

**νοθαγενής:** the rare compound perhaps lays more emphasis than would νόθος on Ion's interest in the circumstances of his engendering and birth. As Ion imagines it, bastardy inhibits but does not prevent political participation (595–606), and having an Athenian mother would lessen or remove even the inhibition (668–75n.); on bastardy in general, see Ogden 1996.

**593–4 ἀσθενής:** Ion imagines being “weak” as a choice; in political contexts it usually results from poverty (*Su.* 433–7, *El.* 39).

<καὺτός τό> μηδέν κοῦδένων κεκλήσομαι “I will be called a nothing myself and (born) of nobodies”: in this neat restoration, the predicates correspond chiastically to the disadvantages mentioned in 592, and the construction is parallel, with one predicate in the gen., the other, intensified by αὐτός, in the nom. The idea that not just Ion, and not just his unknown mother, but Xuthus (included in pl. οὐδένων) is a “nobody” is insulting, but Ion imputes it to others (“I shall be called”). Variations on “nobody” used in this way are common (e.g. *An.* 700, *Her.* 635, Denniston on *El.* 370, *S. Aj.* 1231); there is no distinction in meaning between οὐ- and μη- forms, which may be varied to suit the demands of style or meter.

**595–606** As Ion imagines the alternative to inactivity, social stigma fades from view, for all politically active citizens, no matter their status, faced the prospect he describes: hatred from the powerless (595–7), blame from those who choose to be inactive (598–601), competition from those who already have power and influence (602–6). A nearly identical tripartite scheme, with elaboration of the idea that the weak hate

the strong, forms the peroration to Pericles' last speech in Thucydides (2.64.4–5). For similar divisions in E., see *Su.* 238–45 with Collard's note, *Bell.* fr. 285.

**595** τὸ πρῶτον . . . ζυγόν: the helmsman's deck, called πρῶτον because it is the place of authority. There is no allusion to a hierarchy of rowers according to the position of *their* benches (cf. *Ph.* 74–5, Hom. *Il.* 4.166, A. Ag. 1617–18 with Fraenkel's note).

**596** τις εἶναι “be somebody (important)”: LSJ τις II.5; colloquial, in tragedy only in E. (*Held.* 973, *El.* 939).

**597** μισησόμεθα “I shall be hated”: passive, a regular use of the so-called “future middle” (Smyth §802, 807–9, Schwyzer 1.756); cf. 603, 611, 760.

**598–601** Ion describes a class of people who choose not to exercise power and scorn those who do. Such people are called ἀπράγμονες in Greek (cf. 599 κοῦ σπεύδουσιν ἐς τὰ πράγματα, where πράγματα connotes both “public affairs” and “trouble”), “quietists” in English (cf. 599 σιγῶσι, 601 ἡσυχάζων), and we hear of several types and various evaluations of them under the Athenian democracy, especially late in the fifth century. To take only examples from Thucydides, Pericles claims tendentiously in the Funeral Oration that Athenians are alone in considering the inactive citizen not ἀπράγμων, but ἀχρεῖος “useless” (2.40.2; cf. 1.70.8), but he knows that there are self-styled ἀπράγμονες in Athens and considers them dangerous (2.63.2–3); one such was Antiphon, who like the men Ion imagines was powerful without holding office or addressing the Assembly (8.68). See further Carter 1986, Demont 1990. For quietism in E.'s lost *Philoctetes* and *Antiope*, see Olson 1991, Podlecki 1996, Gibert 2009.

**598–9** ὅσοι δέ, χρηστοὶ δυνάμενοί τ', ὄντες σοφοί, | σιγῶσι “those who, though bred to rule and powerful, stay silent because they are wise”: χρηστός, from a root meaning “useful” (cf. χράομαι), means “good, virtuous” (the regular word for “useful” being χρήσιμος); as a favorite self-designation of the elite, it often connotes high birth, wealth, and an implicit claim to leadership (Connor 1971: 88 n. 2, but see also Dover 1988: 10–12, who maintains that the “Old Oligarch” is the only fifth-century author to use the word (*passim*) in an unambiguously political sense); see further 854–6n. In the text adopted here, δυνάμενοι is used absolutely (as often, and here contrasted with 596 τῶν μὲν ἀδυνάτων), and the ptcpl. phrase ὄντες σοφοί is causal.

**600** γέλωτ' ἐν αὐτοῖς μωρίαν τε λήψομαι “I will incur their laughter at my stupidity”: there are indications that Ion sympathizes with the quietists (his concern here, ὄντες σοφοί in 598, praise of σχολή in 634–5), but he also worries about remaining inactive and being called a “nobody” (593–4). The nouns here form a kind of hendiadys seen also at *Med.* 218 δύσκειαν ἐκτήσαντο καὶ ραιθυμίαν, *Tro.* 1034–5 κάφελοῦ . . . | ψόγον τὸ

θῆλὺ τ’; for λήψομαι, cf. *Or.* 502, κτάομαι in *Med.* 218 and *IT* 676–7, and ὀφλισκάνω at 443 and often.

**601 ἐν πόλει φόβου πλέαι:** the Athenian democracy was notoriously hard on its political class, and fear regularly appears among the motives for quietism. Thus Diodotus, in Thucydides’ Mytilenean Debate, complains that speakers in the Assembly are routinely charged with corruption, with the result that “the city is deprived of advisors through fear” (*Thuc.* 3.42.4); and according to Plutarch, Pericles himself, when young, “was very wary of the *demos*” (*Per.* 7.1). There seems to be no sufficient reason to alter the text (ψόγου Musgrave, φθόνου Badham, ψόφου Stephanus).

**602 τῶν δ’ αὖ †λογίων τε† χρωμένων τε τῇ πόλει:** Ion turns to the political class, who will maneuver against him if he is successful. His description of them as χρωμένων “having to do with” the city is clear, but the obelized words are unmetrical, and the relevant meaning of λόγιος “eloquent” (a word not found in tragedy) is not attested until later. A good solution is λεγόντων “those who speak” (*sc.* in public, cf. ῥήτορες), opposed to 599 σιγῶσι as χρωμένων is to οὐ σπεύδουσιν. The phrase is probably *gen.* of comparison after 603 πλέον (“if I achieve greater prestige than”). Alternatively, it depends on ἀξίωμα, and ἐς ἀξίωμα βάς = “if I encroach on the prestige of”; πλέον then goes with φρουρήσομαι.

**603–4 φρουρήσομαι | ψήφοισιν** “I shall be hemmed in by their votes”: *sc.* in Assembly or courts; an Athenian might think of the doings of political clubs (ἑταιρεῖαι or ξυνωμοσίαι, cf. *Thuc.* 8.54.4 with Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover’s note). An allusion to ostracism is less likely, as φρουρήσομαι is not an apt description of banishment. With φιλεῖ in 604, understand e.g. γενέσθαι, “tend to happen” (cf. 526n.).

**605–6** Because these lines add little and are attributed to *Glaucus* (that is, *Polyidus*) by *Stob.* 4.4.4, Kraus 1989: 61 would delete them, but their sententiousness suits Ion’s speech, and anthology traditions are particularly prone to errors in transmission and thus attribution.

**οἱ τὰς πόλεις ἔχουσι κἀξιώματα** “those who have control of cities and honors”: on the various shades of meaning of ἀξίωμα, see Hornblower on *Thuc.* 2.37.1.

**607–20** An elaborate rhetorical question fills most of this section of Ion’s speech. Foreseeing that Creusa will react bitterly (πικρῶς, repeated ominously and emphatically at the ends of 610 and 613) to his intrusion on her household (607) and the resulting rift in her partnership with Xuthus (608–9), and that she will therefore hate him (611 μισήσομαι), Ion seems to be building to a conclusion about proverbially dangerous stepmothers (1025n.), but instead, and in keeping with his persuasive goal, he adopts Xuthus’ point of view, first framing a dilemma of conflicting loyalties (614–15), then suggesting that Xuthus himself is in danger (616–17). (The latter is also a piece of ironic misdirection, repeated at 843–5:

at 976–7, Creusa decides against making an attempt on Xuthus' life.) Finally, he pities Creusa's supposed childlessness (618–20). Throughout the section, Ion shows extraordinary empathy. He does not just imagine Creusa's and Xuthus' feelings and express his own. In 612–13 he presents Creusa's feelings as a reaction to Xuthus' feelings (ὅταν . . . τὰ σὰ φίλ' εἰσορᾷ πικρῶς, where τὰ σὰ φίλ' = "what you hold dear").

**607 ἔπηλυσ** "newcomer": compounded of ἐπί and ἔλυθ- as in epic ἤλυθον (cf. ἐλεύσομαι, ἦλθον), this word is neutral at 419, but elsewhere draws attention to the deference expected of guests (*IT* 1021, *Her.* 256–7, *A. Su.* 195).

**608–9 ἄτεκνον**: despite having heard Xuthus' report of Trophonius (408–9), Ion assumes here and at 613 and 618–20 that Creusa will remain childless; this subtly prepares for the sequel (680, 761–2nn.).

**κοινομένη | τὰς συμφοράς σοι πρόσθεν ἀπολαχοῦσα νῦν**: again the partnership theme (358, 577nn.). For the acc. after κοινοῦσθαι, see 857–8n.; ἀπολαχεῖν is "be excluded (by lot)," as Creusa is assumed to be by Apollo's prophecy.

**615 δῶμα συγχέας ἔχης** "have your house in a state of turmoil": well suited to the confusion of loyalties Ion describes, the verb refers to the utter ruination of households at *Med.* 794, *Hipp.* 813. For ἔχω + aor. ptcpl., see 230n.

**616–17** An Athenian hearing these lines might think of Clytemnestra or the Danaids, especially as represented on the tragic stage. The misogynistic assumption and the options "sword" (implied by σφαγὰς) and "poison" are typical (843–6n.). The lines are often deleted, unconvincingly. For their dramatic function, see 607–20n. Insertion of <τε> corrects the metrical fault in 616, and the phrase φαρμάκων <τε> θανάσιμων | . . . διαφθοράς, with defining gen. before abstract governing noun, is of a familiar Euripidean type (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 1491).

**618–20 ἄλλως τε** "and besides": this combination introduces a new argument in rhetorical set-pieces also at *Su.* 417, *IA* 491, and *Hdt.* 8.142.3 (cf. *S. OT* 1114); it is to be distinguished from ἄλλως τε καί "especially." Pity for Creusa was implicit in Ion's description of Xuthus' dilemma; now he expresses it openly, adding characteristically that her nobility moves him (cf. 237–40, 262–3).

**γῆράσκουσιν**: pathetic exaggeration, amplified by the Chorus in 700; Creusa still has child-bearing years ahead of her (1589–94). Similarly, παρθένοι are said to "grow old" when not yet married by the young age (perhaps 15–20) favored in Athens (*Hel.* 283, *S. El.* 185–92, 962; cf. *Ar. Lys.* 596, *Pl. Leg.* 785b).

**621–32** "Tyranny" can be a neutral word for "kingship" in tragedy (235n.), but the ruler Ion has in mind lives in constant fear, consoled only by wealth. Typically, such a tyrant's claim to power is contested and

he incurs hatred by conspicuous abuses, but of course Ion does not say these things to Xuthus. Instead, he picks out just two details: fear drives the tyrant to make friends of the wicked and shun the good (627–8), and wealth is not worth the trouble it brings (630–2). These suit Ion and the Delphic life he describes in the next section of his speech, but nothing he says bridges the gap between the political situation he imagines here and the “democracy” of 595–606. This, however, is not a strong reason to suspect either passage. The language and sentiments are entirely in E.’s manner. For other tragic rejections of tyranny, see *Hipp.* 1013–20, *Su.* 429–32, *Ph.* 549–67, fr. 605 (cf. fr. 362), *S. OT* 584–602, and cf. *E. Ph.* 499–525, where Eteocles shockingly praises it. In Athenian poetry, these ideas take shape against the background of Solon’s rejection of tyranny in favor of “middling” values (fr. 32–4 West).

621–2 τυραννίδος . . . | τὸ μὲν πρόσωπον: tyranny is deified at *Ph.* 506 (cf. fr. 250) and has “lovers” at *Hdt.* 3.53.4 (cf. *Her.* 65–6, fr. 850). By contrasting her “face/ façade” and τὰν δόμοισι “what is in the house” (i.e. the true situation), Ion links this section with the preceding one, on Xuthus’ household, and varies the opening maxim on views “from afar” and “close up” (585–6).

622–3 ἡδύ . . . | λυπηρά: Ion repeatedly frames his opinions in terms of pleasure and pain (630 τερπνόν, 631 πόνους, 632 μὴ λυπουμένωι, 635 ὄχλον, 641 ἡδύς, 646 χάρις, 647 χαίρειν, ἡδέως; cf. 627 ἡδονή [ironic], 597 λυπρά, 610 and 613 πικρῶς). He shares this “hedonism” with Hippolytus and Creon in their speeches against tyranny (*Hipp.* 1013 ἡδύ, 1015 ἀνδάνει, 1020 χάριν; *S. OT* 592 ἡδίων, 593 ἀλύπτου, 596 χαίρω) and the quietist Amphion (fr. 193.2 ζῆν ἡδέως ἀπράγμονα, 196.5 ζῶμεν ὡς ἡδιστα μὴ λυπούμενοι, 197 ἡδέως), and it becomes an important theme in fourth-century and later philosophy and political thought.

624–5 δεδοικώς καὶ περιβλέπων βίαν | αἰῶνα τείνει “in fear, and looking all around him for violence, stretches out his life”: for the tyrant’s fear, see 628, *Hipp.* 1019, fr. 605.4, *S. OT* 585–6, 590, *Xen. Hiero.* etc. In such a context, αἰῶνα τείνει (for which cf. *Med.* 670, *Su.* 1109, fr. 472.9) may also suggest “makes his life tense.” In support of περιβλέπων (*Stob.*), see *S. OC* 996 τοῦνδικον περιβλέποις “look around for justification” and two other Euripidean passages on tyranny, *Her.* 65–6 τυραννίδ’, ἥς μακρὰι λόγχοι περί | πηδῶσ’ ἔρωτι σώματ’ εἰς εὐδαίμονα and fr. 850 ἡ γὰρ τυραννὶς πάντοθεν τοξεύεται | δεινοῖς ἔρωσιν, ἥς φυλακτέον περί, which show that βίαν (*Stephanus*) is a better obj. for it than L’s βίον.

627–8 The tyrant is so corrupt that making the wicked his friends is a “pleasure” (622–3n.); he hates the good and may kill them to avoid assassination. For these ideas, see e.g. *Hdt.* 3.80.4, *Pl. Rep.* 567b–8a, *Collard* on *Su.* 444–6. Ion would rather be like Hippolytus, consorting only with the best (*Hipp.* 1016–20).

**629–32** εἴποις ἄν: in fact, Xuthus responds to very little of what Ion says. Later theorists call anticipation of an opponent's objection προκατάληψις. It and the related figure ὑποφορά (posing a problem or question, suggesting and rejecting various solutions) are very common in E. but not always markedly "rhetorical" (Lloyd 1992: 29–31, Sansone 2012: 180–4, 192–206). Ion, however, is delivering a set piece on tyranny, and ψόγους (630), if correct, again signals his sensitivity to praise and blame (cf. 600, 621), in which he also participates, blaming wealth and praising moderation. For 630 οὐ φιλῶ, cf. 488n.; for the association of wealth and πόνοι, Mastronarde on *Ph.* 552–3.

εἴη γ' ἐμοὶ <μέν> μέτρια μὴ λυπουμένωι: "not being troubled" rebuts the claim that being wealthy is τερπνόν (630); along with leisure, it belongs to the quietists' ideal (634–5n., fr. 193, 196). If correct, <μέν> is not answered by δ' in 633 but contrasts Ion's opinion with an unexpressed alternative (*GP* 381).

**633–45** Ion concludes with a list of good things he has enjoyed at Delphi: leisure and freedom from trouble (634–7), prayer and conversation with pilgrims (638–41), and a life of justice (642–4). He asks Xuthus to let him live on at Delphi humbly but contentedly (644–7). Ion has not claimed that either the democratic or the tyrannical life in Athens will require him to be unjust, but the place he gives to justice on the present list perhaps implies it. The association of power with injustice is traditional (e.g. *Ph.* 549, fr. 910.4), and its development elsewhere, e.g. in Plato's dialogues, often involves a contrast with quietism (*Pl. Ap.* 32e–3a, *Grg.* 470d–81b, *Rep.* Book 2). In general, however, Ion does not invert what he has been saying about Athens so much as list small (647 σμικρά) pleasures of a distinctly elitist cast (634–5, 635–7, 642–4, 646–7nn.). He implicitly answers the traditional question "What is best for mortals?" (cf. Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 899–902). In Sophocles' *Creusa* (fr. 356), someone speaks three trimeters on what is finest, best, and most pleasant, and two of the values (κάλλιστόν ἐστι τοῦνδικον πεφυκέναι and ἡδιστόν δ' ὅτῳ | πάρεστι λῆψις ὧν ἔρᾱι καθ' ἡμέραν) match Ion's. (The third is λῶιστόν δὲ τὸ ζῆν ἄνοσον.) S., in turn, is translating a couplet said by Aristotle to be inscribed at the entrance to the Delian precinct of Leto (*Arist. EE* 1214a1–8; cf. *EN* 1099a27–8, *Thgn.* 255–6). The Sophoclean context, to which fr. 354 also seems to belong, is unknown, but the connection with an Apolline cult center is intriguing; see further 642–4n., Torrance 2013: 66–7.

**633** εἶχον: Ion's use of the imperf. here and throughout (638, 640, 641, 644) perhaps signals his awareness that Delphi now belongs to his past.

**634–5** σχολήν | ὄχλον τε μέτριον: earlier, Ion stressed his toils in Apollo's service (102–8, 128–40nn.), but we have seen that he has time for conversations like those he describes in 638–41. In the fourth

century, σχολή acquires the connotation of “leisure” time put to high-minded use by cultivated individuals; the earlier meaning is “time at one’s disposal” (276; cf. *Hipp.* 384, where Phaedra calls it a “pleasant evil” because the ways of using it are not all high-minded). In the context of his other values, Ion’s praise of σχολή as “dearest to mortals” goes some way towards the later meaning (Carter 1986: 160, Demont 1990: 167). He next praises “moderate trouble” (ὄχλος as at *Med.* 337, *Hel.* 439, *Or.* 282, a colloquialism not in A. or S.). In light of the following lines, the other meaning of ὄχλος, “crowd” (with aristocratic contempt: LSJ 2), comes into play.

**635–7 οὐδέ μ’ ἐξέπληξ’ ὁδοῦ | πονηρὸς οὐδεῖς:** a person of low social status (for πονηρὸς so used, cf. *Su.* 424, LSJ III.3) should yield the right of way to his betters. So says the erstwhile temple slave, perhaps revealing unconscious awareness of his true worth. Ion implies that in Athens, the worse sort (οἱ κακίονες) do not yield, a complaint that the “Old Oligarch” makes about slaves there, who he says are indistinguishable from ordinary citizens ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.10), and that Plato mockingly extends to pack animals, once they have truly got the hang of democratic freedom (*Rep.* 563c). For a study of Oedipus’ encounter with Laius at the crossroads in these terms, see Gregory 1995, and add to her examples Plutarch’s story of the young Alcibiades refusing to give way to a rustic (*Alc.* 2.4).

**638–9 θεῶν δ’ . . . οὐ γοωμένοις** “in prayers to gods and conversations with mortals I was serving the cheerful, not the sad”: for the expectation of cheerfulness in Apollo’s sanctuary, see 243n. (cf. 98–101n.); for the necessity of taking ἧ . . . ὑπηρετῶν together and parallels for the periphrasis (= ὑπηρετούν), Diggle 1981: 102–3.

**640–1 τοὺς μὲν ἐξέπεμπον, οἱ δ’ ἦκον ξένοι:** as visitors have come and gone, Ion has been ἡδύς αἰεὶ καινὸς ἐν καινοῖσιν “always agreeable, a new face among new faces.” The mutuality of these encounters is emphasized by polyptoton (690n.) and the double aspect of ἡδύς, describing how Ion felt and how others felt about him; cf. Creon on his popularity as non-tyrant: νῦν πᾶσι χαίρω, νῦν με πᾶς ἀσπάζεται (*S. OT* 596). In contrast, Ion expects to be hated in Athens under all three headings he has considered: democratic (597, 606), domestic (611), and monarchic (628). The word καινός sometimes signals metatheatricality (Torrance 2013: 222–37), and *Ion* itself has so far revolved around a series of fresh encounters between Ion and visitors; cf. 1340n.

**642–4 ὁ δ’ εὐκτὸν ἀνθρώποισι . . . | δίκαιον εἶναι:** cf. 633–45n., Sol. 13.1–8 and lines 15–16 of Xenophanes’ sympotic elegy (21 B 1 DK): εὐξαμένους τὰ δίκαια δύνασθαι | πρήσσειν. The preceding lines of Xenophanes’ poem call for men to hymn the god εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις (14), recalling the conversations Ion has just described (638–41), as well as his



monody (98–101), which has further points of contact with the elegy, as does the Servant’s later description of the banquet (1165–89n.).

κἄν ἄκουσιν ἧ “even if it is against their will”: or, as we would say, even if they don’t know it. For εἶναι with dat. ptcpl. of a verb expressing inclination or aversion, see Smyth §1487, K–G 1.425–6.

ὁ νόμος ἡ φύσις θ’ ἅμα: the collaboration of these forces whose opposition is a sophistic commonplace expresses the perfect harmony of Ion’s life in Delphi and perhaps implies its impossibility at Athens. See, in general, Guthrie 1962–81: III.55–134, and cf. *Ph.* 538, Dodds on *Ba.* 895–6.

τῷ θεῷ: word order suggests “to the god” (after παρεῖχε), but constructions with δίκαιον, “in the eyes of the god” or “by virtue of my relation to the god” (Yunis 1988: 127), are possible and consistent with Ion’s ideals.

646–7 ἴση γὰρ ἡ χάρις | μεγάλοισι χαίρειν σμικρά θ’ ἡδέως ἔχειν: for χάρις and pleasure in Ion’s calculus, cf. 622–3n.; for “large” and “small,” 585–6n.

648–9 εἴπερ οὖς ἐγὼ φιλῶ | ἐν τοῖσι σοῖσιν εὐτυχήσουσιν φίλοις “if indeed those I hold dear will prosper by what you hold dear”: by οὖς ἐγὼ φιλῶ, the Chorus mean Creusa; their master Xuthus will not prosper by Ion’s choice (τοῖσι σοῖσιν . . . φίλοις neut., as in 613), but he pays no more attention to their solidarity with Creusa here than he did at 566–8. Spectators can detect the unintended meaning “if Creusa prospers among your φίλοι,” as she will when she recognizes Ion as her son.

650 παῦσαι λόγων τῶνδ’, εὐτυχεῖν δ’ ἐπίστασο: Xuthus adopts a patronizing tone and puts an abrupt end to the expectation of a formal ἄγών (585–647n.). With no understanding of Ion’s contentment, or of his critique of the wealthy tyrant’s εὐτυχία (623–6), Xuthus would perhaps agree with Pericles when he says that not poverty itself, but not trying to escape poverty, is shameful (Thuc. 2.40.1).

651–2 ἄρξασθαι . . . | κοινῆς τραπέζης, δαῖτα πρὸς κοινὴν πεσών “to make a beginning of eating together and recline at a common feast”: Xuthus’ impulse to cement the new relationship with “commensality” is sound, and ἄρξασθαι has something of the solemnity of ritual, but the details he goes on to give suggest different types of feast, none of which he gets exactly right (Schmitt-Pantel 2011: 210–11). This and the fact that he “will not share in this shared feast, and the feast is the first step towards the revelation that Xuthus and Ion have nothing in common at all” (Lee) emphasize his status as outsider. For the κοιν- words, see 358, 577nn.; for πεσών, LSJ Rev. Supp. πίπτω, creating a new heading and citing only this passage for “lie down, take one’s place at table,” a regular meaning of ἀναπίπτω (LSJ 5, Arnott on Alex. fr. 295).

653 θῦσαι θ’ . . . γενέθλι’: cf. 805 παιδὸς προθύσων ξένια καὶ γενέθλια. Xuthus plans a sacrifice and feast to celebrate Ion’s birth and, in the later

passage, his status as a new-found ξένος. Both terms resonate thematically: Ion's acquisition of a father is a kind of rebirth that will bring the risk of suffering again at Creusa's hands, and his status as ξένος, here a pretext for introducing him to Creusa's household as a guest (654–5), becomes a sore point with the Athenian characters when they see him as a foreign intruder. Both γενέθλια and ὀπτήρια, used later of the same sacrifice (1125–7n.), evoke rituals associated with the birth of a child, but without technical precision (cf. next note). Another such ritual is the bestowal of a name, performed by Xuthus at 661–3 and in real life at the “tenth-day” celebration (δεκάτη, a term not used in *Ion*). For these ceremonies, see Golden 1986, Ogden 1996: 88–98.

**654 ξένον . . . ἐφίστιον:** Xuthus means “friend of the house” to be innocuous, but the adj.'s allusion to the hearth carries an emotional charge (461–4n.) and in the present context may even hint at the ἀμφιδρόμια, the ritual at the hearth that enacted the decision to rear a child and informally acknowledged its legitimacy (Parker 2005: 13–14, who cites discussions of the confusing details, including who did the “running around”). Some think the ἀμφιδρόμια is already alluded to in mention of the γενέθλια (previous note), but details of both rituals are obscure, and reflecting them accurately is not E.'s purpose.

**657–60** In acknowledging the concern for Creusa's feelings Ion expressed at 607–20, Xuthus proves better than the Old Man's caricature of him (813–29); cf. 977n. To secure Ion's succession, he intends to deploy tact (καιρὸν λαμβάνων) and persuasion (προσάξομαι) to effect Creusa's consent (ἔαν); for discussion of his plan, see Introd. §6.1.

**661 Ἴωνα:** the connection of Ion's name with (ἐξ)ιέναι combines playful and serious purposes (74–5, 80–1nn.); it was prepared at 535 (and, somewhat differently, 81), but is first made explicit here; it is repeated at 802, [830–1]. Greeks took the etymology of names seriously as a revelation of character and fate, even if some examples in S. and E. appear mainly decorative and clever, and the topic interested philosophers from at least the mid-fifth century on (Kannicht and Allan on *Hel.* 13–15); for other examples in *Ion*, see 9, 209–11, 997, 1048–9, 1555–6, 1579–81nn.

**662 ἁδύτων** “temple” (226–9n.).

**663–5 τῶν φίλων . . . πρόσσειπε** “gather all your friends and bid them farewell amid the pleasure that belongs to the sacrifice of oxen”: Ion's φίλοι are of no importance as such. A herald later invites any Delphian who wishes to share in the feast (1166–8), and already here Xuthus' words imply a large public gathering (especially βουθύτωι, since sacrificing oxen was expensive and practically confined to public festivals); see further 1165–89n. For πρόσσειπε “bid farewell,” cf. *Alc.* 195, 610.

**666–7** Given the nearly constant presence of the tragic chorus on stage, it is not surprising that injunctions to silence occur often, varied

to suit particular plays. Here, uniquely and importantly, Xuthus does not have the Chorus' sympathy; indeed, the very abruptness of his command and the severity of his threat may contribute to an expectation that they will disobey him (although his tone is "realistic," as that of a master addressing his slaves). At the same time, while most who seek the Chorus' complicity are plotting violence, Xuthus is moved by concern for his wife's feelings, though he does plan to deceive her at first (654–60). Ironically, the Chorus-leader disobeys him (also unique: 761–2n.) because she shares this concern; see further Barrett on *Hipp.* 710–12, Hose 1990–1: 1.299–307, Mastronarde 2010: 119–21.

668–75 Ion agrees to go to Athens with Xuthus but again thinks of his mother (563–5n.) and pronounces life without her unlivable. He prays that she may prove to be Athenian, so that he may enjoy *παρρησία* (672n.). Otherwise, as a *ξένος* in a "pure" city, he will be a citizen in name only, his speech constrained. Ion's prayer is important for its (anachronistic) articulation of a prized Athenian value and for its palpable ironies. We know that his mother is Athenian, but also that he is wrong to believe he is an *ἄστυς* already by virtue of Xuthus' paternity. It is also ironic that the temple slave who has engaged in much frank speech already (e.g. with Creusa at 338–58, Apollo at 436–51, Xuthus at 530–54) fears the "enslavement" of his tongue at Athens (674–5n.). On Ion's status, see further *Introd.* §6.1).

668 *στάχοιμ' ἄν*: the potential opt., capable of many nuances (Latimore 1979), here conveys resignation; cf. 335n., 981.

672 *παρρησία* "privilege of frank speech": a prized value of the Athenian democracy (Dem. *Phil.* 3.3, Demades fr. 115, Moschion 97 F 4 *TrGF*). The word (< *πᾶν, ῥῆσις*), found first in E. (and never in S.), refers to a confidence to participate in public life without inhibition rather than a "right" to engage in speech that may be unpopular; it betokens freedom and is incompatible with slavery (Democr. 68 B 226 DK, Alex. fr. 150, Pl. *Rep.* 557b, *Leg.* 694b, Aeschin. 2.70; cf. A. *Pe.* 591–4). Athenian associations are clear also at *Hipp.* 421–5, Ar. *Thesmo.* 540–1; cf. *Ph.* 391–5, *Ba.* 668, *Su.* 438–41 (a classic defense of democratic free speech that does not use the word *παρρησία*). Critics of democracy disparage *παρρησία* for allowing "unworthy" speakers and ideas to be heard ([Xen.] *Ath. Pol.* 1.6, Ar. *Frogs* 948–55, Isoc. 8.14); in E., this point of view is represented memorably at *Or.* 902–6. See further Sluiter and Rosen 2004, Saxonhouse 2006.

673 *καθαράν . . . πόλιν*: *καθαρός* means "of pure blood" in Athenian contexts at e.g. Thuc. 5.8.2 (a military force of citizens, without metics or allies), [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 13.5, Dem. 57.55; cf. LSJ 4. Ion showed his awareness of this kind of prejudice at 589–94. Other kinds of purity are important throughout the play (96–7n.). With *ἦν τις ἐς πόλιν πέσσι ξένος*, Ion perhaps focalizes his arrival through the eyes of Athenians who would

regard it as an attack or invasion (721-2, 1056-7, 1087-9, 1292-3nn.; LSJ πίπτω B.I, ἐμπίπτω 2).

**674 τοῖς λόγοισιν ἄστός** “a citizen in name”: ἄστός is a regular Attic synonym of πολίτης used, for example, in paraphrases of Pericles’ Citizenship Law ([Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 26.4), and of the so-called bigamy decree (Diog. Laert. 2.26) that may have gone into effect shortly before *Ion* was produced (Ogden 1996: 59-69, 72-5; cf. 839-42n.); at 290 it is used more generally, in opposition to ξένος (290-3n.). E. admits anachronistic language without aiming at legal precision (668-75n., *Intro.* §6.1). It is thus unnecessary (and hardly more precise anyway) to read νόμοισιν (Conington) for L’s λόγοισιν, which is supported by λόγῳ πολίτης at *Erech.* fr. 360.13.

**674-5 τό γε στόμα | δοῦλον πέπαται:** Ion is proud to be the god’s slave (128-40n.), but in his new circumstances, social and legal disadvantages matter to him (591-2, 1371, 1380-4nn.).

### 676-724 THIRD SONG (SECOND STASIMON) OF THE CHORUS

In agitated dochmiac rhythm, the Chorus worry about how Creusa will react to what they have just witnessed. They suspect the oracle of involving some trick (strophe); they consider violating Xuthus’ command and curse him for enjoying good fortune alone and deceiving Creusa (antistrophe). Evoking Delphian Dionysiac ritual, they pray that Ion may never reach Athens, which needs no influx of foreigners (epode).

In the next scene, the Chorus-leader does break silence and misreport Apollo’s oracle. The song prepares for this by developing themes introduced by Ion in the previous scene, for example that the oracle is hard to fathom (533 ~ 681-91) and that it will make Creusa miserable (607-15 ~ 676-80). While Ion imagined Creusa growing old without a child (618-19), the Chorus present this as already the case (700). Ion argued that foreign birth would put him at a disadvantage in Athens (589-92); the Chorus repeat the idea and actually embody the danger he faces. The song invites us to visualize two scenes important in the sequel: Creusa’s reaction to the news and the feast. It opens emphatically with a vision (ὄρῳ) of Creusa’s outpouring of grief, which begins at 763 and culminates in her monody (859-922). At the end of the antistrophe, they picture the feast as already near; its (offstage) location, the setting for the events described in the Servant’s messenger-*rhexis* (1122-1228), is more or less the same as that of the Dionysiac ritual evoked at the beginning of the epode. Hermes and Xuthus envisaged Creusa receiving further information only in Athens, but the dramatic energy she brings to the plot must find release, and the Chorus guide our expectations as to how and where it will occur.

*Meter.* The song is composed in fairly straightforward dochmiac rhythm, with (as is usual) a few iambic elements. Dochmiac recurs in the *amoibaion* (763–99) and the reunion duet (1439–1509); it has a slight presence in Ion’s and Creusa’s monodies and the Second Song. Because of the hiatus βάσεται | ἄτοπος (689–90), where there can be no period-end in the antistrophe (707–8 πελανὸν ἐπὶ | πυρί), Willink (ap. Kovacs) assumes corruption deeper than loss of <τι> in 689, but his supplements do not convince, and there is some evidence that in dochmiacs, hiatus and *brevis in longo* “do not invariably indicate period-end in the normal sense” (West 1982: 110).

υ – ∞ υ – – υ – |

ὀρῶ δάκρυα καὶ πενθίμους  
φίλοι, πότερ’ ἐμαῖ δεσποῖναι

676 ba do  
695

υ ∞ – υ – υ – – υ – |

† ἄλλας γε† στεναγμάτων τ’ ἐσβολάς  
τάδε τορῶς ἐς οὓς γεγωνήσομεν

677 2do  
696

υ ∞ – υ – υ – – υ – |

ὅταν ἐμὰ τύραννος εὐπαιδίαν  
† πόσιν ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντ’ ἔχουσ’ ἐλπίδων

678 2do  
697

υ ∞ – – – ||<sup>h1</sup>

πόσιν ἔχοντ’ εἰδῆι  
μέτοχος ἦν τλάμων†

679 do  
698

– – υ – – ∴ – υ – υ – υ – ||<sup>2</sup>

αὐτὴ δ’ ἄπαις ἦι καὶ λελειμμένα τέκνων  
νῦν δ’ ἡ μὲν ἔρρει συμφοραῖς, ὁ δ’ εὐτυχεῖ

680 3ia  
699

υ ∞ – υ – υ – – υ –

τίν’, ᾧ παῖ πρόμαντι Λατοῦς, ἔχρη-  
πολιὸν ἐσπεσοῦσα γῆρας, πόσις δ’

681 2do  
700

υ ∞ – υ – ||<sup>2</sup>

σας ὕμνωιδίαν  
ἀτίετος φίλων

682 do  
701

υ ∞ – υ – υ – – υ – |

πόθεν ὁ παῖς ὅδ’ ἀμφὶ ναοὺς σέθεν  
μέλεος, ὃς θυραῖος ἐλθὼν δόμους

683 2do  
702

υ ∞ – υ – υ – – υ – ||<sup>h1</sup>

τρόφιμος ἐξέβα; γυναικῶν τίνος  
μέγαν ἐς ὄλβον οὐκ ἴσωσεν τύχας

684 2do  
703–4

σ – υ – σ ∴ – υυ – υυ – υ – ||<sup>?</sup>

οὐ γάρ με σαίνει θέσφατα μή τιν' ἔχῃ δόλον  
ὄλοιτ' ὄλοιτο πότνιαν ἐξαπαφῶν ἐμάν

685–7 pe ibyc  
705

– – – ∴ – υ – |

δειμαίνω συμφοράν  
καὶ θεοῖσιν μὴ τύχῳ

688 mol cr  
706

≡ υ ∞ ∴ σ υ σ |<sup>(h1)</sup>

ἐφ' ὅ<τι> ποτὲ βάσεται.  
καλλίφλογα πελανὸν ἐπὶ

689 2cr  
707

υ ∞ ≡ υ – | υ ∞ – υ – |

ἄτοπος ἄτοπα γὰρ παραδίδωσί μοι  
πυρὶ καθαγνίσας· τὸ δ' ἐμὸν εἴσεται

690 2do  
708

υ ∞ – – – ||<sup>h1</sup>

τάδε θεοῦ φήμα  
< σ ≡ ≡ σ ≡ >

691 do  
(lacuna)

≡ – υ – υ – υ – ||<sup>h2</sup>

ἔχει δόλον τέχνην θ' ὁ παῖς  
≡ – > τυραννίδος φίλα

692 2ia  
710

– – υ – – – υ – ||<sup>?</sup>

ἄλλων τραφεῖς ἐξ αἱμάτων  
ἤδη πέλας δείπνων κυρεῖ

693 2ia  
711

≡ – υ – υ – υ – ||

τίς οὐ τάδε ξυνοίσεται  
παῖς καὶ πατήρ νέος νέων

694 2ia  
712

## Epode

υ – – υ – | – – – υ – |

ἰὼ δειράδες Παρνασσοῦ πέτρας

713–14 2do

υ – – υ ∞ | – ∞ – υ – |

ἔχουσαι σκόπελον οὐράνιον θ' ἔδραν

715 2do

υ – υ – υ – υ – – –    <sup>2</sup>	
ἵνα Βάκχιος ἀμφιπύρους ἀνέχων πεύκας	716–17 enop
– – υ – – : – υυ – υυ – – –    <sup>2</sup>	
λαιψηρὰ πηδαῖ νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα σὺν Βάκχαις	718 pe ibyc
υ ∞ – υ –   υ ∞ – υ –	
μή <τί> ποτ' εἰς ἑμὴν πόλιν ἵκοιθ' ὁ παῖς	719 2do
υ – – υ –   υ ∞ – υ –	
νέαν δ' ἀμέραν ἀπολιπὼν θάνοι	720 2do
υ ∞ – υ –   υ ∞ – – –	
στεγομένα γὰρ ἂν πόλις ἔχοι σκῆψιν	721 2do
υ ∞ – υ –	
ξενικὸν ἐσβολὰν	722 do
<υ ∞ ∞ ∞ > ∞ υ – – υ –	
†άλισας† ὁ πάρος ἀρχαγὸς ὦν	723 2do?
υ – – υ –	
Ἐρεχθεὺς ἄναξ	724 do

**676–7** ὁρῶ δάκρυα καὶ πενθίμους | †ἄλλας γε† στεναγμάτων τ' ἐσβολάς: the object of the emphatic ὁρῶ is a tricolon crescendo of words signifying tears and grief (cf. *Su.* 87–8, *Her.* 1025–7, *Hel.* 166). ἐσβολαί are both “invasions” (cf. 722), suggesting Creusa as victim of her own emotions, and “beginnings” (LSJ 3), suggesting the moments when Creusa will burst into song (763–5, 859–922, 929–30nn.). To mend ἄλλας γε (Triclinius), we want a word for “cries of grief” *uel sim.*; possibly αὐτάς (some form of which probably occurs with στεναγ- at *Ph.* 1551), ὀδυρμούς (paired with δάκρυα at *Tr.* 608–9), or ἰυγμούς (*Held.* 126, *A. Ch.* 26). Hermann’s widely accepted ἀλαλαγός is close to Triclinius and gives exact responsion (not, however, mandatory in dochmiacs), but the word may not exist in classical Greek (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 335) and ought to mean “cry of joy” or “war-cry” if it does.

**678** ἐμὰ τύραννος: the Chorus’ solidarity with Creusa, hinted at before (235–235bis, 510–11, 566–8, 648–9), becomes insistent in this song (695 ἐμαῖ δεσποῖναι, 705 πότνια . . . ἐμὴν, cf. 710).

**680** αὐτὴ δ' ἄπαις ἦι καὶ λελειμμένη τέκνων: like Ion (608–9n.) and Xuthus (657–8), the Chorus assume that Creusa will remain childless, and the perf. λελειμμένη (“left without,” LSJ λείπω B.I.1) underscores the

point (cf. 699–701n.). The pleonasm “childless and left without children” is typical of Euripidean lyric (e.g. 1463, *Su.* 966, Breitenbach 1934: 196). Whether this line was in fact sung is unclear, since it (like the responding 699) is a rare example of an iambic trimeter with Attic vowel coloration in the midst of choral song; in actor’s song (usually dochmiac), the same phenomenon is often taken to reflect a momentary return to chanted or spoken delivery, and with it an effort to rein in emotion.

**681–5** The questions asked in these lines all occurred to Ion too and have supposedly been answered, but the Chorus suspect that the oracle involves a trick. After covering the same ground a third time (771–801), the Old Man imputes trickery to Xuthus alone (808–29; cf. 705n.).

**681** ὦ παῖ πρόμαντι Λατοῦς: Apollo’s status as “child of Leto” is an insistent theme of Creusa’s monody (885–6n.; cf. 410 and the Chorus’ invocation of Artemis as παῖς ἁ Λατογενής at 465). In prose texts (and Neophron, *TrGF* 15 F 1.3), πρόμαντις refers to the Pythia or an analogous priestly official (42n.); the tragedians use it as an adj. = “prophetic, prescient.”

**683–4** ὁ παῖς ὅδ’ ἄμφι ναοὺς σέθεν | τρόφιμος “this child brought up around your temple”: τρόφιμος is used “passively” (= τραφεῖς, cf. 693); at 235 and *Trö.* 1302, it is “active.” These are the earliest occurrences, but two specialized meanings established by the fourth century would add interesting nuances: “foster-child” (LSJ III) and “young master” (LSJ II, Gomme and Sandbach on *Men. Epit.* fr. 1).

**685** οὐ γάρ με σαίνει θέσφατα μή τιν’ ἔχει δόλον “the oracle does not beguile my suspicion that it may involve a trick”: the Chorus avoid imputing an outright lie to Apollo (cf. 692, 825nn.). For σαίνειν “gladden, beguile,” properly of a dog fawning and wagging its tail, see Barrett on *Hipp.* 862–3; οὐ σαίνει implies concern or suspicion and is followed by a subjunct. clause of “fear” (too narrow a label, as examples like this show: Smyth §2224(a), K–G II.390–1).

**688–9** δειμαίνω συμφοράν, | ἐφ’ ὅ<τι> ποτέ βάσεται “I fear the outcome, to whatever end it [the oracle] will come”: the added syllable restores two cretics; ὅτι ποτέ is a fixed expression, and loss of τι before π is common (719, 1035, Diggle 1981: 18).

**690** ἄτοπος ἄτοπα: the adj., lit. “out of place,” means both “strange” and “unexpected.” Its first occurrences in serious poetry are here and *IT* 842, but A. and S. have τοπάζειν (“guess”), A. ἀτόπαστον. Juxtaposition of different forms of the same noun or adj. is called “polyptoton” or “paregmenon” (on these and other terms, see Fehling 1969: 221 n. 26). For examples of this very common figure in *Ion*, see 381, 641, 711–12, 735, 900, 1066. Here the subj. φήμα and obj. τάδε (691) are essentially identical, and what the figure adds is “collective emphasis” (Jebb on *S. Tr.* 613); see further Denniston on *El.* 337, Finglass on *S. El.* 742, Breitenbach 1934: 222–6.



**691** **τάδε θεοῦ φήμα:** Nauck's restoration gives παραδίδωσι an appropriate subj. and obj. The rhythm is good (dragged dochmiac, period-end guaranteed by hiatus and coinciding with strong rhetorical pause), but cannot be checked against the lacunose antistrophe (709–10n.).

**692** **ἔχει δόλον τέχνην θ' ὁ παῖς:** the Chorus do not accuse Ion of participating in a plot; rather, his upbringing in the temple “involves” or “means” a trick (for this sense of ἔχει, cf. 472, 685, 1416, Kannicht on *Hel.* 93). As subj., understand not just ὁ παῖς, but ὁ παῖς . . . τραπεῖς, equivalent to τὸ τὸν παῖδα τραφεῖναι (cf. *Hel.* 94, Ar. *Clouds* 1241, Finglass on Pi. *P.* 11.22–3). Diggle's πλέκει, though linguistically and thematically apt, unconvincingly attributes to the Chorus a view of Ion as an active conspirator. The hendiadys δόλον τέχνην θ' is a variation on epic δολίη τέχνη (cf. *Alc.* 33–4, *IT* 1355). For τέχνη “trick,” see e.g. 1279, *IT* 712, Hes. *Th.* 160 with West's note.

**694** **τίς οὐ τάδε ξυνοίσεται;** “who will not agree with this?": LSJ συμφέρω B.II, with τάδε internal acc.

**695–6** **πότερ' . . . γεγωνήσομεν** “Shall we say this clearly to the ear of our mistress?” That the Chorus do not express the alternative (keeping silent) suggests that they will easily make up their minds to disobey Xuthus. The inexact responsion of δεσποῖναι with 676 πενθίμους is acceptable, and emendation unnecessary (ποτνίαί Badham, δεσπότει [an unattested form] Diggle). The Chorus, who prayed for a clear oracle (καθαροῖς | μαντεύμασι, 468–71n.), consider passing on “clearly” (τορῶς) what they have heard; ironically, their leader introduces a fateful distortion (761–2n.). For τορός, a favorite word of A. not found in S. and here only in E., see Liapis on [*Rh.*] 76–7; for ἐς οὖς, 911, 1520–2nn.

**697–8** **†πόσιν . . . τλάμων†** “(that) the husband on whom she was completely dependent and thus had a share of hopes, the poor woman, . . .”: Creusa in fact arrived in Delphi with her own private hopes. For expressions resembling ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντ' ἔχουσ', see Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 473–4; in serious poetry, only E. has μέτοχος (*An.* 769, *Her.* 721). The transmitted text is metrical, but the sense it gives, though good, is incomplete, as πόσιν has no construction. Page gives it one by replacing τλάμων with τολμᾶν and taking πόσιν as the subj. of indirect discourse whose object is τάδε in 696 (“Shall we reveal to Creusa that her husband is daring this?”). But coming so far ahead of τολμᾶν, τάδε acquires unwanted emphasis, and it makes a better obj. of γεγωνήσομεν, since nobody has yet accused Xuthus of “daring” anything.

**699–701** More exaggeration: Creusa “is ruined by disasters,” she has “fallen upon grey old age,” and Xuthus “dishonors his φίλοι.” The second point develops Ion's 618–19 and again prepares for the inaccurate report at 761–2. The third is contradicted by 657–60(n.) but paves the way for the Old Man's still harsher view (808–29). Short clauses and slightly irregular syntax (next note) convey swelling rage.

ὁ δ' εὐτυχεῖ: parenthetical, the following ptcpl. ἐσπεσοῦσα picking up ἡ μέν. For the so-called διὰ μέσου construction, see Bond on *Her.* 222–3, Diggle 1981: 116 and 1994: 429 n. 40, Bruhn §173.

πολιὸν ἐσπεσοῦσα γῆρας: to the idea already expressed by Ion (618–20n.), the Chorus add the adj. “grey” (a regular epithet of the aged in pathetic contexts, Collard on *Su.* 35), which hints at “barren.” The terminal acc. with εἰσπίπτω (a favorite word of E.: × 14, including 591–2[n.], 1088, 1196; × 1 in S., not in A.) is poetic.

πόσις δ' | ἀτίετος φίλων “her husband dishonors his φίλοι”: this claim goes beyond Ion’s picture of Xuthus forced to choose between honoring his wife or his son (614–15), but not as far as the Old Man’s later assumption of arrogant betrayal (808–10); if it refers mainly to 657–60, it is not very fair. The gen. after a verbal adj. of negative meaning is a tragic (especially Sophoclean) mannerism (452–3n., Bruhn §42, K–G 1.401 Anm. 5). ἀτίετος is “dishonored” at A. *Eu.* 385 and 839 (the only other occurrences, both also lyr.), but the active meaning is acceptable (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 209), and emendation unnecessary (πόσει τ' | . . . φίλωι Diggle).

702–4 θυραῖος ἐλθὼν δόμους | μέγαν ἐς ὄλβον οὐκ ἴσωσεν τύχας “after coming as an outsider to the house, to great prosperity, did not make its (mis)fortunes equal (to his own)”: again (failure of) partnership in terms reminiscent of the Second Song, especially 472–91 (wealth, good fortune, integrity, and continuity of the οἶκος). The best guide to emending and interpreting the text (see apparatus) is 817–18 οὐκ ἔστεργέ σοι | ὁμοῖος εἶναι τῆς τύχης τ' ἴσον φέρειν. On Xuthus’ outsider status, see 63, 290–3, 542, 651–2nn.

705 ὅλοιτ' ὅλοιτο: poetic doubling (anadiplosis) of the uncompounded verb lends solemnity to the curse.

ἐξαπαφών: < ἐξαπαφίσκω, an epic synonym of (ἐξ)απατάω found only here in tragedy. Greek verbs commonly translated “deceive” can also mean “cheat of one’s hopes”: the reference here would be to Creusa’s expectation that Xuthus would share her good or bad luck regarding children. Although Xuthus did outline a plan involving deliberate deceit (657–60), the Chorus are linking him more broadly with the “crafty trick” they avoided attributing directly to Apollo (685n.).

706–8 καὶ θεοῖσιν . . . καθαγνίσας “may he not succeed in consecrating on the fire an auspiciously-flaming batter for the gods”: for τυγχάνω “succeed,” see LSJ B; καλλίφλογα, one of ten compounds in καλλί- attested only in E., describes a god-pleasing quality the Chorus hope Xuthus’ sacrifice will not attain; for πελανός, see 226–9n. Outside tragedy, καθαγνίζειν normally means “purify” (Parker 1983: 328–9). The prayer that an enemy’s sacrifice may fail is a touch of religious realism (Versnel 1985).

709–10 τὸ δ' ἐμὸν εἴσεται “he will find out how things stand with me”: the verb conveys menace, as in the passages collected by Collard

2005: 372. Perhaps E. combined it with τάχ' "soon," as at fr. 223.72; cf. A. Ag. 1649, Ch. 305, Ar. Birds 1390, Wealth 647. Another possibility is τις (Willink), but a threat veiled in this way (for which cf. 1311n.) would be better spoken to Xuthus' face. After one of these, the text could continue ὅσον ἀρχαίας | ἔφυν τυραννίδος φίλα "how loyal I am to the old régime" (see apparatus). For τυραννίδος φίλα, cf. fr. 580.3 οἱ τε μουσικῆς φίλοι, Pl. Rep. 487a4–5 φίλον . . . ἀληθείας.

**711–12** ἤδη πέλας δείπνων κυρεῖ | παῖς καὶ πατήρ νέος νέων: the Chorus see the planned sacrifice, meal, and celebration of Ion's "birth" as a critical stage in drawing Ion closer to Xuthus and marking his changed status; hence the emphasis on "new feasts," balancing the "new son and father" (together the subj. of a singular verb, cf. 65n.) and anticipating Ion's "new day" in 720. The effect is reinforced by interlocking word order, hyperbaton, and polyptoton (690n.). Ion is (ὁ) νέος παῖς again at 807 and 1186; at 1123 and 1202 he is καινός (cf. 640–1n.). For further defense of the text against proposed changes, including Diggle's δεινῶν for δείπνων, see Renehan 1998: 170–1.

**713–24** As in the Second Song (492–509n.), the epode begins with an evocation of place and ritual, here the uplands of Parnassus and the worship of Dionysus that took place there every other winter (713–18n.). Xuthus is supposed to have engendered Ion in this place and during such a celebration (550–4n.), and we learn later that this is where he goes to sacrifice in thanks for Ion's birth (1125–7n.; cf. 653n.). The trieteric rites belong to Βάκχαι, Dionysus' female followers, and so the Chorus' evocation of them again involves "choral projection" (461–4, 492–509nn.). But just as the child of Creusa's "friend" did not die in Pan's cave, so Dionysiac ritual has nothing to do with Ion's birth. And just as the Chorus' prayer for a clear response (468–71) was undermined by their dark and mistaken vision of Pan's cave and what happened there, so their present hostility to Xuthus and Ion is based on misunderstanding, and their wish for Ion's death will be unfulfilled. Finally, just as their previous song ended with a misleading generalization about semi-divine children, so this one closes with a xenophobic justification of their opposition to Ion, who is in fact the longed-for successor to "the former ruler, King Erechtheus" (723–4). Thus the main effect of "choral projection" is again to show this Chorus mired in error and frustrated in its ritual purposes (see further 1074–89n.).

**713–18** The nocturnal worship of Dionysus at Delphi is frequently evoked in poetry, and the details here, including the vision of the god himself leading the dance, are traditional. See 550–4, 1125–7nn., IT 1242–4, Hyps. fr. 752, Ph. 226–8, Ba. 306–8, A. Eu. 22–4, S. Ant. 1126–30, Ar. Clouds 603–6; cf. Paus. 10.4.3, 10.6.4, 10.32.7, Parke and Wormell 1956: 1.11–13, Fontenrose 1959: 373–94, Burkert 1985: 224–5.

**713–15** ἰὼ δειράδες Παρνασσοῦ πέτρας | ἔχουσαι σκόπελον οὐράνιον  
 θ' ἔδραν: seen from Delphi, the Phaedriades (86–8n.) appear to be Parnassus' "peak" (σκόπελον, lit. "look-out place"), but Dionysus' rites took place in the region above and behind them ("heavenly seat"); cf. 1125–7n.

**716–18** ἵνα Βάκχιος . . . | λαιψηρά πηδᾶι "where Dionysus performs nimble leaps": cf. 1125–6 ἔνθα πῦρ πηδᾶι θεοῦ | βακχεῖον. The neut. pl. adj. λαιψηρά is internal acc.

**ἀμφιπύρους ἀνέχων πεύκας** "holding up a fiery torch in either hand": at 212, the adj. refers to the thunderbolt, "fiery at both ends." The free use of decorative epithets to avoid simply saying "two" is a mannerism of Euripidean lyric, parodied at Ar. *Frogs* 1361 διπύρους . . . λαμπάδας. At *Tr.* 214, S. more daringly applies ἀμφίπυρος directly to Artemis ("equipped with two torches").

**720** νέαν δ' ἀμέραν ἀπολιπὼν θάνοι "may he leave behind his new day/young life and die": the present day symbolizes Ion's (re)birth; it has made Xuthus "blessed" (562n.), and he means to celebrate γενέθλια (653n.). The Chorus, however, anticipating the Old Man's argument that Ion must never reach Athens (844–6, 1022–5), wish on him the death that often claimed newborns (even those not exposed). The "new day" thus acquires sinister overtones matching the Chorus' attitude to the "new son and father" and their "new feasts" (711–12n.). The phrase also means "young (stage of) life," a usage of ἡμέρα nearly confined to tragedy (e.g. *Med.* 651, *Hec.* 364, S. *Aj.* 623). The phrase νέαν δ' ἀμέραν ἀπολιπὼν refers to the same action as θάνοι, a "coincident" use of the aor. ptcpl. (*GMT* §150, Mastronarde on *Ph.* 1507).

**721–2** στεγομένα γὰρ . . . ἐσβολάν "for the city would have a good reason for protecting itself from a foreign invasion": the Chorus hyperbolically regard Ion as a one-man invasion. For στεγομένα (Grégoire), cf. Pi. *P.* 4.81 (mid.), A. *Se.* 216 (act.), LSJ στέγω A.2. Elsewhere, E. has only the active, meaning "cover," "contain," or "conceal," as at 1412. Some defend L's στενομένα "bemoaning" (or, less likely, "hard pressed," as if = epic στενομένη).

**723** †άλίσας†: the transmitted text is meaningless and unmetrical. Perhaps E. wrote something like ἄλις ἐσάγαγ' or ἄλις ἐσώικισ': to explain why Athens "would have good reason for protecting itself from a foreign invasion," the Chorus say (in explanatory asyndeton, after a high dot at the end of 722), "our former king Erechtheus imported [or 'settled'] enough (foreigners)," another dig at Xuthus. The point is not that Erechtheus encouraged immigration, but that his death left Athens in need of foreign allies, in particular Xuthus, whom he thus brought into his house (57–64; cf. 838 and 841, where the Old Man uses similar language of Xuthus' plan to introduce Ion into the same house, and

915, where Creusa says something similar of Apollo). Others expect a reference to Erechtheus' defense of Athens against the Thracians led by Eumolpus; thus Diggle, supposing a longer lacuna, supplies e.g. ἀλεύσας <γὰρ οὖν | πίτυλον ἀλλόθρου ὀθνείου δορός | πόλιν ἔσωσεν> ὁ πάρος κτλ. "for it was by keeping away the alien onslaught of a foreign army that King Erechtheus, our former ruler, saved the city."

#### 725–1047 FOURTH SCENE (THIRD *EPEISODION*)

Creusa enters with the Old Man, a loyal family slave, and the Chorus-leader decides to disobey Xuthus and reveal what has happened (725–62). Creusa reacts emotionally in song, and the Old Man elicits further information (763–99). In two long speeches, he describes the deception he thinks Xuthus has perpetrated and urges Creusa to take revenge (800–58). Creusa responds with solo song, in which for the first time she tells of the rape and its painful aftermath (859–922). After she and the Old Man review the situation in speech, they plot to murder Ion (923–1047).

This scene contains the play's turning point in both action (the murder plot) and emotion, as Creusa unburdens herself of her secret, becomes more convinced than ever that Apollo let their son die, and concludes that now Xuthus has betrayed her too. The Chorus-leader plays a decisive part by distorting and embellishing what the Chorus have heard. The Old Man's goal – protecting the House of Erechtheus from a low-born, foreign usurper (836–8) – also becomes Creusa's (1036), is echoed by the Chorus (1056–60, 1069–73, 1087–9), and remains important (1291–1305).

The Old Man, whose introduction is unprepared and highly artificial, combines two literary types, the loyal slave and the instigator. The former is an idealization (from the master's point of view) that may correspond fairly well to reality in the case of nurses and tutors, privileged slaves who care for the master's children (Synodinou 1977, Mastronarde on *Med.* 54). In literary examples going back to the *Odyssey*, such long-time servants identify with the family's interests and know its secrets. Like the Old Man in *El.*, Creusa's slave is invested with the authority of having been the previous master's tutor, which means that he is also very old (725–6; cf. *El.* 287, 553–5, etc.). The special development here is the degree of Creusa's reciprocal devotion (728, 730, 733–4nn.), which hints at her isolation (including, perhaps, from Xuthus) and raises the question of the Old Man's influence on her. In *Hipp.*, Phaedra's Nurse manipulates her fragile mistress and entangles her in immoral action against her will; in using a low-status character to divert blame from his heroine, E. may tap into masters' anxiety about the influence of household slaves on women (E. Hall 1997: 110–18) or, to put it another way, the possibility that they might make common cause, as happens in *IA*, where an old slave explains

that his attachment to Clytemnestra predates and outweighs his loyalty to Agamemnon (867–71; cf. *Ion* 811–12). But while the Old Man does instigate the revenge plot, Creusa, unlike Phaedra, participates enthusiastically, after preparing herself by fiercely denouncing Apollo and Xuthus in her monody. Also, like the heroines in the rescue actions of *IT* and *Hel.* and the revenge actions of *El.* and *Or.*, she contributes crucially to the plan when it nearly stalls (970–1047, 985nn.; see further 1041–7n.).

**725–7 ὦ πρέσβυ παιδαγωγ’ Ἐρεχθίῳ:** in two rather grand lines, Creusa provides the entrance announcement for the new character who accompanies her. Echoing the last words of the xenophobic Chorus, the name Erechtheus signals the importance of family solidarity in the action to come. παιδαγωγ’ is predicate voc. after ὦν, a rare and poetic usage (*Tro.* 1221, *A. Pe.* 673, *S. Ph.* 759–60, K–G 1.50).

**ἔπαιρε σαυτόν πρὸς θεοῦ χρηστήρια:** Creusa’s encouragement implies that, as spectators can see and the Old Man soon confirms, the aged slave is moving slowly and with difficulty; he and Creusa are to be imagined walking up a steep incline (739–40n.). In retrospect, the line perhaps acquires figurative meaning (“rise up against the god’s oracle”), as the effect of Creusa’s monody is to raise the Old Man (927–8n.), who undergoes a kind of rejuvenation at the end of the plotting scene (1041–4n.).

**728–32** Creusa’s reliance on the Old Man to share her pleasure or disappointment proves convenient when it emerges that Xuthus no longer shares her destiny. Because she spells out what would constitute good news (728–9), while deprecating bad news and expressing it only vaguely, she sounds optimistic; as a result, the bad news she actually receives arrives with all the greater force.

**728 ὥς μοι συνησθῆις:** throughout this scene, συν-words emphasize the closeness of Creusa and the Old Man (from Creusa again at 730; from the Old Man at 740, 808, 850, 851, 935, and twice in 1044).

**730 σὺν τοῖς φίλοις:** Creusa counts her old slave among her φίλοι, as he counts her among his (935; cf. 812); cf. 747–8n.

**733–4 ἐγὼ δέ σ’ . . . ἀντικηδεύω πατρός** “I care for you like a father”: for the Old Man’s manner of addressing Creusa as a daughter, see next note. With ὥσπερ καὶ σὺ πατέρ’ ἐμόν ποτε, understand ἐκήδευσας. The compound ἀντικηδεύειν occurs only here.

**735–7 ὦ θυγάτερ:** old family slaves address women of the household thus at *El.* 493, 563, *Hel.* 711 (a usage not found in *A.* or *S.*); cf. τέκνον at 765, *Ph.* 193; παῖ at 1018, *Ph.* 154. But the Old Man calls Creusa “daughter” no fewer than six times (again in 763, 925, 942, 970, 998), unmistakably implying that he is a kind of substitute father (previous note).

**ἄξι’ ἀξίων γεννητόρων | ἦθη φυλάσσεις:** by helping the Old Man, Creusa earns his praise, a typical function of the loyal slave in literature. For

polyptoton (6gon.) emphasizing an aspect of a person's family background, cf. *Or.* 1676, Schein on *S. Ph.* 874–6; for the periphrastic form *καταισχύνασ' ἔχεις*, 230n.

**παλαιῶν ἐγγόνους αὐτοχθόνων**: calling Creusa's forebears "descendants of the old autochthons" contributes to an anachronistic sense of great antiquity (23–4, 468–71nn.), one source of the Athenian pride and xenophobia Ion mentioned (589–92) and the Chorus amplified (721–4).

**738 ἔλχ' ἔλκε**: repetition to underline urgency, especially frequent with imperatives and interrogatives, and more common in E. than in A. or S. (Diggle 1998: 45).

**739–40 αἰπεινά μοι μαντεῖα**: the actors mime and the spectators imagine the steep ascent to Apollo's temple; it cannot be inferred from this passage or *Her.* 119–30, *El.* 487–92, *Ar. Lys.* 286–8 (all likewise aged characters or choruses miming an approach to high ground) that the fifth-century theater had a raised stage (see Bond on *Her.* 107–37).

**συνεκπονοῦσα κῶλον** "helping to accomplish (the work of) my leg": the compound is confined to E. (× 6, including 850 below), who uses it flexibly.

**742 ἰδοῦ** "there!": the use of ἰδοῦ to mark compliance with a command is probably colloquial (Denniston on *El.* 566, Stevens 1976: 35); not so when it means "look!" (190, 1391, 1424).

**τὸ τοῦ ποδὸς μὲν βραδύ, τὸ τοῦ δὲ νοῦ ταχύ**: perhaps also colloquial (Stevens 1976: 20, translating "the old foot's a bit slow. . ."), though periphrastic use of τὸ + gen. occasionally occurs in high style as well. The Old Man might mean either that his mind is *still* quick, or that he has acquired shrewd judgment with age; in the event, he displays the rashness Greeks associated with youth (1041–4n.).

**743 βάκτρῳ δ' ἐρείδου' περιφερὲς στίβος χθονός** "lean on your staff; the path winds": lit. "is circular, curved" (LSJ περιφερὲς 2).

**744 ὅταν ἐγὼ βλέπω βραχύ**: the Old Man's short-sightedness, like his quick/rash mind (742n.), acquires metaphorical resonance as the action unfolds.

**745 μὴ παρῆις κόπῳ** "don't give up because of fatigue": παρῆις is second pers. sing. aor. act. subjunct. < παρήμι. The intrans./abs. use of it here is unique (cf. mid./pass. forms with κόπῳ/κόπου δ' ὑπο at *Ph.* 852, *Ba.* 634–5), but it is not rare for trans. verbs to acquire intrans. uses and vice versa (Smyth §1709, K–G 1.90–6, Schwyzler II.219–20).

**746 τοῦ δ' ἀπόντος** "what I don't have [i.e. strength]": so Reiske, for L's unmetrical ἄκοντος; cf. *Hel.* 1546.

**747–51** Addressing the Chorus for the first time in the play, Creusa shows the same good will she has just been lavishing on the Old Man and adds a note of female solidarity. Her request for information is phrased even more optimistically than the hypothetical alternatives at 728–32(n.).

**747–8** ἰστῶν τῶν ἐμῶν καὶ κερκίδος | δούλευμα πιστόν: for the solidarity of loom and shuttle, see 194–200, 507–9nn. As πιστόν confirms, the lofty periphrasis (with collective sing. δούλευμα = δοῦλοι) is honorific; cf. 764 and 799, where Creusa calls the Chorus φίλαι, and 794, where they call her φίλη δέσποινα. In its only other occurrence in this sense, δούλευμα is bitterly contemptuous (*S. Ant.* 756); at *Or.* 221 it means “(act of) service.” For the range and flexibility of tragic neologisms in -μα, see also 112–14, 1425nn.

**748–9** τίνα τύχην . . . παίδων: as Creusa means “what oracle?,” the gen. “concerning children” extends the usage seen at 384–5(n.). But τύχη reminds us of the previous scene’s “chance” meeting of Xuthus and Ion and resonates with the play’s discourse of chance and divine will (67–8, 1512–15nn.).

**750** μηνύσετε: the usual connotation “lay information (about a crime)” is relevant. On the surface, Creusa tells the Chorus she will be grateful for good news; beneath it, she suggests that they can count on her should they incur Xuthus’ displeasure.

**751** οὐκ εἰς ἀπίστους δεσπότης βαλεῖς χαράν “you will not impose joy on untrustworthy masters”: the simplex verb stands for ἐμ- or προσβαλεῖς, a poeticism (*Ph.* 1534–5, *S. Ph.* 67). Others prefer Elmsley’s χάριν, with βαλεῖς = ἀποβαλεῖς (“you will not throw away your gratitude”), for which there is precedent in Pindar (*O.* 1.58, 8.39). The emphasis on trust is thematic (747–8n.); Creusa may also hint at a reward for good news (*Hel.* 1279–84, *S. OT* 1005–6, *Tr.* 190–1, 492–6, *El.* 797–802, *Ph.* 551–2).

**752–99** Creusa receives the news in three stages, first overcoming the Chorus-leader’s reluctance to speak (752–62), then reacting emotionally and being gently restrained by the Old Man (763–70), and finally yielding the initiative in questioning to the Old Man while continuing to react first to each new revelation (771–99). Creusa thus remains the center of attention, but the Old Man’s growing importance prepares for his later speeches and Creusa’s silence (802–3, 808–29nn.). Some of L’s speaker assignments are faulty; for the arrangement adopted here, see Diggle’s edition, Huys 1993, and 763–5n.

**752–4** ἰὼ δαῖμον . . . ἰὼ τλᾶμον: non-iambic rhythm and Doric vocalization indicate that these exclamations are sung, in a style or to a melody that Creusa instantly recognizes as inauspicious. They are too short for definitive metrical analysis, but either could be the beginning of a dochmiac, which would suit the context.

**τὸ φροῖμιον μὲν . . . οὐκ εὐτυχές:** E. likes to use φροῖμιον ominously of the prelude to bad news (*Hipp.* 568, *Hec.* 181, *Tro.* 712, *Ph.* 1336; cf. *Her.* 538, *IT* 1162). This μὲν has no answering δέ (520, 629–32nn.).

**755** ἄλλ’ ἢ τι θεσφάτοισι δεσποτῶν νοσεῖ: “Is something in your masters’ affairs not well because of the oracle?”: as in 751, Creusa sees herself through the Chorus’ eyes (δεσποτῶν), but the allusive pl. and the



third-person sing. verb (as emended: νοσῶ L) convey pathetic unawareness that the news will prove devastating for her alone. For νοσεῖ, cf. 319–21n., 591.

**756 εἶέν· τί δρῶμεν** “well, what are we to do?”: in spoken rhythm, the Chorus-leader calls for an end to wailing. For εἶέν before a question that brings a matter to a head, cf. *Hipp.* 297, *El.* 907, *Her.* 451, etc. The other familiar use, to mark transition to a new topic within a *rhexis* or *stichomythia*, is found at 275.

**757 μοῦσα . . . φόβος**: the first term corresponds to the (lyric) manner of the Chorus’ outbursts in 752 and 754, the second to their mention of “matters for which the penalty is death” (757). For μοῦσα = “song, music” (first attested in the fifth century), see e.g. 1091, 1097, *Alc.* 962, *Ph.* 1028, *A. Eu.* 308, etc.

**758 τί δράσομεν**: for fut. indic. alongside deliberative subjunct., see *El.* 967, Finglass on *S. Aj.* 920, K–G 1.223 Anm. 5; for the Chorus’ question, 971n.

**759 εἴφ’ ὥς ἔχεις γε συμφορὰν τιν’ εἰς ἐμέ**: Creusa’s direct command tips the scales; at the other end of the line, it finally dawns on her that the Chorus’ news will touch *her* in particular. For ὥς . . . γε, see 935n.

**760 κεί θανεῖν μέλλω διπλῇ**: conventional hyperbole (*Or.* 1116, Nisbet and Rudd on *Hor. Carm.* 3.9.15); at *Pl. Ap.* 41a7–8, Socrates is willing to die πολλάκις.

**761–2** The Chorus-leader’s misrepresentation of Apollo’s oracle (as reported by Xuthus) is one of the most consequential interventions by a chorus in Greek tragedy. The two lines have all the appearance of an authoritative report, framed by the solemn and unambiguous οὐκ ἔστι σοι and ποτέ (the latter an emendation of L’s pointless τάδε). E. needs Creusa to be misled, just as he needs her to “forget” the oracle of Trophonius (407–9n.). There is little point in excusing the Chorus-leader’s distortion or explaining it as “natural”; what matters is the thematic resonance of a mother’s arms (280n.) and breast (319–21n.), and the devastating effect of these images on Creusa.

### 763–799 *Amoibaion*

Creusa’s reaction to the news becomes a lyric lament (mostly dochmiac) punctuated first by part-lines spoken by the Old Man (763–70), then by spoken exchanges between the Old Man and the Chorus-leader (771–99). The general term for a scene that combines sung delivery (in whole or part) and dialogue (between two actors, or between the chorus and one or two actors) is *amoibaion*, a modern coinage based on ancient usage. This purely formal description also fits the reunion duet (1439–1509). The present scene meets Aristotle’s definition of a κομμός (θρῆνος κοινός

χοροῦ καὶ ἀπὸ σκηνῆς “a lament shared between chorus and actor(s),” *Po.* 1452b24-5). Both here and in the later duet, the lyric voice belongs to the female character, as is typical. Comparable scenes of pained lyric reaction to emerging news are *Hec.* 681-725, *Tro.* 235-91; see further Popp in Jens 1971: 221-75.

Although the lyrics are astrophic, the exchange is highly patterned: Creusa’s first four outbursts are met with gentle attempts by the Old Man to calm her. There follow four sequences of the form: (1) Old Man to Chorus-leader, two-trimeter question; (2) Chorus-leader, two-trimeter reply with new information; (3) Creusa, lyric reaction. Creusa’s last two outcries are a little longer, as her emotion climaxes in an escape wish. The Chorus-leader addresses both the Old Man (774, 804) and Creusa (789, 794); Creusa addresses the Chorus-leader throughout (764, 776, 783-4, 799). The questions eliciting new information, however, all come from the Old Man. Thus, a fully three-way scene. At 800-7, a fifth question from the Old Man and answer from the Chorus-leader lead us to expect another lyric reaction from Creusa, but this is delayed (802-3n.).

*Meter.* Creusa begins with iambic (penthemimer) at 763 and 765. The Old Man’s one-word responses seem at first to continue the iambic rhythm, but Creusa’s exclamations turn them into the first part of dochmiacs. Creusa then follows the Old Man’s iambic (i.e. single-light) beginnings at 769 and 770 with double-light movement (D), the result being the lyric colon called “iambelegus” (cf. 1441 and similar combinations at 1478-9, 1483-4, 1504). After this, Creusa’s lines (sometimes restored) are pure dochmiac, with just one “hypodochmiac” in its not uncommon role as first limb of a dochmiac “verse” (799). The high incidence of resolution underscores Creusa’s emotion.

— — — — :: — — — — :: — — — — |

ὦμοι θάνοιμι :: θύγατερ :: ὦ τάλαιν’

763 pe | do

— — — — | — — — — :: — — — — |

ἐγὼ συμφορᾶς, ἔλαβον ἔπαθον ἄχος

764 2do

— — — — :: — — — — :: — — — — |

ἀβίωτον, φίλοι

764bis do

— — — — :: — — — — :: — — — — |

διοιχόμεσθα :: τέκνον :: αἰαῖ αἰαῖ

765-6 pe | do

— — — — :: — — — — :: — — — — |

διαντᾶϊς ἔτυπεν ὀδύνα με πλευ-

767 2do

υ – – υ – ||?

μόνων τῶνδ' ἔσω

768 do

– – υ – – :: – υυ – υυ – ||?

μήπω στενάξις :: ἀλλὰ πάρεισι γόοι

769 pe | D (iambelegus)

υ – υ – υ :: – υυ – υυ – ||

πρὶν ἂν μάθωμεν :: ἀγγελίαν τίνα μοι

770 pe | D (iambelegus)

(771–5: 4 iambic trimeters [Old Man, Chorus-leader])

υ ∞ – υ ∞ | υ ∞ ∞ υ ∞ |

τόδ' ἐπὶ τῶιδε κακὸν ἄκρον ἔλακες <ἔλακες>

776 2do

υ ∞ – υ – ||

ἄχος ἐμοὶ στένειν.

777 do

(778–81: 4 iambic trimeters [Old Man, Chorus-leader])

– – ∞ υ – | υ ∞ – – – |

πῶς φήις; †ἄφατον ἄφατον† ἀναύδητον

782–3 corrupt (2do)

υ ∞ – υ – ||

λόγον ἐμοὶ θροεῖς

784 do

(785–8: 4 iambic trimeters [Old Man, Chorus-leader])

υ ∞ – υ ∞ | υ ∞ ∞ υ ∞ |

ὀτοτοτοῖ· τὸν ἐμὸν ἄτεκνον ἄτεκνον ἔλακ'

789 2do

υ ∞ ∞ υ – υ – – υ – |

ἄρα βίοτον, ἐρημῖαι δ' ὀρφανούς

790 2do

υ – – – – ||

δόμους οἰκήσω.

791 do

(792–5: 4 iambic trimeters [Old Man, Chorus-leader])

υ ∞ – – – | – ∞ – – –

ἀν' ὑγρὸν ἀμπταῖην αἰθέρα πόρσω γαί-

796–7 2do

– – – υ – | – ∞ – υ – |

ας Ἑλλανίας ἀστέρας ἐσπέρους

798 2do

– υ – υ – υ ∞ – υ – ||

οἶον οἶον ἄλγος ἔπαθον, φίλαι

799 hypodo do

763-5 ὦμοι θάνοιμι . . . | διοιχόμεσθα: L assigns these words to the Old Man, but their emotionality better suits Creusa. It is true that her song contains no other iambic fragments, but she was still speaking in 753-9 and has not yet settled into dochmiac. L also, absurdly, has the Old Man singing ὦ τάλαιν' ἐγώ, followed by repetition of 759 assigned to Creusa.

ἔλαβον ἱπαθον ἄχος | ἀβίστον, φίλαι: as Ion considers life without a mother unlivable (669-70), so Creusa life without a child. For ἀβίστον (Seidler), see Barrett on *Hipp.* 821; for the lyric pleonasm and asyndeton, Breitenbach 1934: 195, 197, Diggle 1994: 99-100. It is noteworthy that Creusa calls the Chorus φίλαι immediately after they deliver bad news (747-8n.).

767-8 διανταῖος ἔτυπεν ὀδύνα με πλεῦ- | μόνων τῶνδ' ἴσω: the language is Aeschylean: διανταῖος "penetrating" here only in E., four times in A., not in S.; τύπτειν an established metaphor for figurative wounds (LSJ 4), but in tragedy only here and A. *Eu.* 156, 509; ἴσω "deep within" (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1343). The strong aor. ἔτυπεν occurs only here.

771-5 As the Old Man takes over the role of questioner, pleonasm emphasizes the widening gap between Xuthus and Creusa. The Old Man sounds the partnership theme (358n.), twice in positive form (772 κοινωνός repeating 771 ταῦτά πρόσσων) and again negatively in 772 ἡ μόνη σὺ δυστυχεῖς (a tragic mannerism: Schmid 1940: 807, Bruhn §208), while the second, redundant part of the Chorus-leader's answer stresses Creusa's isolation still more with ἰδίαι and the synonymous ταύτης δίχα.

774-5 After the unaccountable misrepresentation of 761-2, the Chorus-leader correctly says here and at 780-1 and 788-9 that Apollo "gave" Xuthus a son. This chimes with 69 and is taken up later (1534, 1536, 1561). Although the Old Man seems at first to recognize what is at stake (778-9), he soon takes it that the child was actually fathered by Xuthus (800, 815-16, 819-20, etc.), and that assumption remains unquestioned until Ion wishes to share the joy of finding his mother with his "father" Xuthus (1468-9n.).

777 ἄκρον ἔλακες <ἐλακες>: Creusa thinks Apollo's gift of a child to Xuthus is the "utmost" misfortune, but she will be still more grieved to learn, in a carefully arranged climax, that the child is a grown son (780-1), has already been found by Xuthus (787-8), and is none other than the temple slave for whom she felt such sympathy (794-5). The doubling of ἐλακες (anadiplosis) is typical of dochmiac lyric (790, 799, Diggle 1994: 376-7; cf. 783n.). The tragedians use the verb of singing, shouting, shrieking, and, as is relevant here (cf. 790-2, 792-3nn.), oracular utterance (*IT* 976, *Or.* 163, Dale on *Alc.* 343-7, S. *Ant.* 1094, Easterling on *Tr.* 824-5).

780-1 ἐκτελῇ νειανίαν: given the use of the surprisingly rare adj. to describe grain ripened (Hes. *Op.* 466) and blessings fulfilled (A. *Pe.* 218)

by the gods, there is probably a hint that the young man has enjoyed the god's special favor, as indeed he has.

**παρῇ δ' ἐγώ:** what the Chorus witnessed, of course, was Xuthus' *account* of the oracle.

**783 †ἄφατον ἄφατον† ἀναύδητον:** both adjs. are lit. "unspeakable," implying "unspeakably horrible," with an additional connotation "incomprehensible" (Fraenkel on A. Ag. 1152). Murray's emendation of L's unmetrical text (see apparatus) gives good sense, with pleonasm instead of anadiplosis; a version shorter by one dochmiac, accepting ἄφατον αὐφάτιν but deleting ἀναύδητον | λόγον as a gloss (Dawe), is also possible. For the pairing of ἀ-privative adjs., see 109–11, 837nn.

**785–6 πῶς δ' ὁ χρησμός ἐκπεραίνεται:** cf. Cy. 696 παλαιὸς χρησμός ἐκπεραίνεται. For the combination of direct (πῶς) and indirect (χῶστις = καὶ ὅστις) interrogatives (after φράζει), cf. IT 256–7, IA 696, K–G II.516.

**787–8 ἐκ θεοῦ συθείς | πρῶτω:** with ἐκ θεοῦ it is easy enough to supply e.g. δόμων (cf. 405, 1039, 1227), but without it there is a hint that Xuthus was "sped on his way by the god" (cf. A. Ch. 941, S. El. 70). For the "first-met" motif, see 534–6n., 802.

**790–2** For improvements to the text of these lines, including ἔλακ' (Conomis) in 790 (cf. 777n.), see Diggle 1981: 105–7 (contra Willink 2010: 516–17).

**ἐρημίαι δ' ὀρφανούς | δόμους:** though not quite technical, Creusa's language strongly suggests concern with producing an heir in order to keep the kingship and her father's property within the family (cf. 305–6n.). ὀρφανός, normally "bereaved," means "without an heir" also at Alc. 656–7 and possibly Or. 664 (a usage confined to E.); likewise ἔρημος at An. 1205 (cf. IT 707), as regularly in the orators; see Barone 1987: 64–6. The extension of ὀρφανός (normally of people) to the house (as in the cited passages of Alc. and Or.) belongs to the high style, as does the juxtaposition of adj. and noun of closely related meaning (pleonasm).

**792–3 τίς οὖν ἐχρήσθη; τῷ . . . πῶς δὲ ποῦ** in his excitement, the Old Man squeezes four questions into two lines, including a double question in the Homeric manner (πῶς δὲ ποῦ). The passive of χράω = "be proclaimed by an oracle" (LSJ II); the subj. is usually the contents of the oracle, here the person ("who was proclaimed [Xuthus' son]?"). E. is fond of the periphrasis ἵχνος ποδός (× 7, not in A. or S.); for the combination with συνάπτειν, see 538, 663.

**795 ὅς τόνδ' ἔσαιρε ναόν:** the Chorus-leader presumably intends scorn, anticipating the Old Man's at 836–8 (and the Chorus-leader's own 1087–9), but spectators will have a different view of Ion's pious service (109–11, 121–4, 132–3nn.).

**796–9** Creusa's last outburst is her longest and most emotional. The wish to escape intolerable suffering by flying high above the earth occurs

several times in tragic lyric (*Hipp.* 732–51, *An.* 861–5, *IT* 1138–52, *Hel.* 1478–86, S. fr. 476; cf. 1238–9n.), here with thematically apt emphasis on the far west, associated with the setting sun and death. Contrast the hopeful dawn of Ion’s monody (82–5n.) and Athena’s sun-like epiphany at the end (1549–50n.); cf. 1143–58n.

**ἀν’ ὑγρόν ἀμπταῖν αἰθέρα:** the adj. = “wet, fluid, pliant, slack.” The image is unusual (*aether* being more often fiery and dry), but exactly paralleled at *Pi. N.* 8.41–2 (cf. *liquidum* . . . *aethera* at *Hor. Carm.* 2.20.2 and *Virg. Aen.* 7.65); at *E.* fr. 941, *aether* embraces earth ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις. It perhaps suggests that Creusa will escape not only by rising up, but by dissolving into the elements. On αἰθήρ in *E.*, see Pucci 2005; ἀμπταῖν is a poetic form (= ἀναπταῖν, shortened by “apocope”), aor. opt. act. < ἀναπέτομαι.

**800–1 ὄνομα δὲ ποῖον αὐτὸν ὀνομάζει:** 80–1n.

**ἀκύρωτον:** lit. “unratified,” i.e. “undetermined,” a word suiting the ceremonious acts of naming at 80–1 and 661–3 (cf. 74–5, Austin and Olson on *Ar. Thesmo.* 368–70).

**802–3 Ἴων’, ἐπεὶ περ πρῶτος ἦν τῆσεν πατρί:** the wording recalls 534–5 and 661–3 but playfully varies the explanation, since there it was Xuthus who was “going,” just as Hermes was “going” when he named Ion at 80–1(n.). Here we must supply a form of “go” from “met”; for such riddling etymology via synonym, see 9, 209–11, 1555–6nn., *IT* 32–3, *Hel.* 13–14, 1674–5, *Ba.* 507–8 (imitated in Chaeremon fr. 4), and cf. [830–1]n.

**μητρὸς δ’ ὁποίας ἐστίν:** “the first point on which the Chorus-leader proffers information unasked; the topic of so much interest to Ion is not even raised by the Old Man” (Lee). By saying simply that she cannot identify the mother and taking no account of 545–54, the Chorus-leader leaves the way open for the Old Man’s malicious speculations, which she does not refute (832–5n.). Also, the pattern of the last 30 lines of the *amoibaion* would require a reaction from Creusa at (and to) exactly this point. When the Chorus-leader, addressing herself specifically to the Old Man (804), continues to speak, we will begin to realize that Creusa has fallen silent (cf. 836–56n.). For the wording “what sort of mother . . .,” cf. 258–61, 574nn.

**804–7 φροῦδος δ’ . . . | σκηναῖς ἐς ἱερὰς . . . | κοινὴν ξυνάψων δαῖτα:** Xuthus said nothing of a tent. The Chorus-leader’s unrealistic knowledge (cf. 503–6n.) proves convenient when Creusa and the Old Man must decide where to poison Ion (982; cf. 850–3, 1031, 1125–7nn.). τῇσδε λαθραίως “secretly from her” refers to Xuthus’ plan to spare Creusa’s feelings by concealing Ion’s identity (654–8).

**προθύσων ξένια καὶ γενέθλια:** both designations of the sacrifice have point (653n.), but to carry out the plan he outlined at 654–60, Xuthus

himself would have told Creusa that the sacrifices were (only) ξένια (“offered on behalf of a guest-friend”).

**808–29** As calm but not nearly as objective as before, the Old Man spins the Chorus-leader’s news into an elaborate tale of Xuthus’ disloyalty and deception. Artfully rhetorical throughout, he begins by picking up Creusa’s metaphor of disease and including himself in her misfortune (808). The form and placement of his first verbs create a kind of jingle (808 προδεδόμεσθα, 810 ὑβριζόμεσθα, 811 ἐκβαλλόμεσθα), as well as a program for his narrative, one of whose keynotes is struck by the impressive adv. μεμηχανημένως (809n.). After disavowing malice (811–12), he gives a malicious account of Xuthus’ supposed actions that rises through two periodic sentences (813–16, 817–21), bridged by a programmatic “I shall demonstrate” (816). Going beyond the facts supposedly in evidence, he exaggerates and insinuates at every turn, repeatedly stressing secrecy and deception. He uses rhetorical figures at 825–6 (825, 826nn.) and continues to speak artfully in 836–56(n.).

**808 προδεδόμεσθα (σύν γάρ σοι νοσῶ):** the first-person pl. verb expressing the Old Man’s solidarity is explained with a characteristic σύν-word (728n.) and resumption of Creusa’s disease metaphor (755n.), both taking for granted the duty of a slave to share his master’s misfortune (for which cf. 725–1047, 850–3, 854–6, 935nn., *Med.* 54–5, *An.* 56–9, etc.). The Old Man uses forms of σύ and σός eight times in the first ten lines of his speech.

**809 μεμηχανημένως:** the Chorus approve this accusation at 833–4 (μηχαναῖς | κοσμοῦσι); the language of “contrivance” also anticipates Creusa’s own counterplot (1116, 1216, 1326) and Apollo’s interventions (1565n.). For μηχανή and related words as quasi-technical terms in Euripidean tragedy, see 1116n. The adv. is of a type rare in serious poetry (*IA* 1021 λελογισμένως, Friis Johansen and Whittle on *A. Su.* 724 σεσωφρονισμένως), perhaps intended to give a whiff of the courtroom.

**811–12 καὶ σὸν οὐ στυγῶν πόσιν | λέγω, σέ μέντοι μᾶλλον ἢ κείνον φιλῶν:** the Old Man, whose attachment to Creusa’s family has been established, tries to sound reasonable, like the Old Man at *IA* 867–71, or like a litigant who denies that his opponent is a personal enemy (e.g. *Lys.* 1.4).

**813–16 ἐπεισελθὼν . . . παραλαβών:** neutral in themselves (unless ἐπ- recalls 590 ἐπείσακτον and 592 ἐπακτοῦ, 589–90n.), the ptcpls. sound sinister in the context of the Old Man’s failure to mention the danger that led to Xuthus’ alliance with Athens (57–62, 290–8, 1298).

**παγκληρίαν:** Erechtheus’ entire estate follows Creusa as his only surviving child. Words meaning “inheritance” have a tendency to combine with παν- (1305, 1542, *Su.* 14, *A. Ch.* 486, etc.).

**παῖδας ἐκκαρπούμενος | λάθραι πέφηνεν:** as in the similarly worded 438 (part of Ion’s friendly advice to Apollo, 436–7n.), the pl. and the imperfective ptcpl. insinuate repeated transgressions. λάθραι and πέφηνεν are

artfully juxtaposed; the latter means “has been revealed” and resembles Theseus’ triumphant ἐλήφθης at *Hipp.* 955. It is not like the perf. verbs a forensic speaker uses to signal that he has completed his demonstration, for as the rest of 816 announces with rhetorical gusto, the Old Man is just getting started. After its repetition in 816, “secrecy” is alleged again at 819, 822; cf. 804–7n. For children as “fruit/profit,” see 475–7n.

**817–18 οὐκ ἔστεργέ σοι | ὁμοίος εἶναι τῆς τύχης τ’ ἴσον φέρειν:** Xuthus’ unwillingness to share a common fate with Creusa is what the Old Man deems ὕβρις (810 ὑβριζόμεσθα). But Creusa is in a position to doubt the sequence of events he reconstructs, for she observed that Ion is about as old as her “friend’s” son would be (354; cf. 547n.). The construction of στέργειν “be content” with inf. is apparently unique (at *S. OC* 1094–5, the meaning is “desire” or “entreat”); it usually takes acc., dat., or supplementary ptcpl.

**819–22 δοῦλα:** repeated by the Old Man at 837–8, this possibility later worries Ion (1380–4, 1381–3nn.), just as Oedipus suggests it worries Jocasta (*S. OT* 1062–3). It could be considered a realistic touch based on the sexual availability of slaves, but the real point is the ironic contrast between the Old Man’s concerns about Ion’s status and the reality.

**ἐξενωμένον . . . δίδωσιν** “he sent him abroad and gave him”: ξενόω = “make a foreigner, exile of” here and at *Hipp.* 1084–5, *S. Tr.* 65; elsewhere “make a guest-friend of.” δίδωσιν and παιδεύεται are historical pres. (18n.), the former perhaps of the “registering” variety (57–8n.).

**ἐκτρέφειν . . . παιδεύεται:** these verbs defining a father’s traditional duties form a regular pair (*Ar. Clouds* 532, and three times in quick succession at *Pl. Cri.* 54a3–7; cf. *Telò* 2010: 287). The Old Man thus insinuates that Xuthus has not even properly reared his bastard (cf. next note on ἄφετος), but the irony is that Apollo has.

**ἄφετος:** the Old Man means that Ion attracted no attention because nobody cared what happened to him (ἄφετος = “neglected,” *LSJ* ἀφίημι III). As it happens, the adj. is attested almost exclusively as a sacred term for animals belonging to a god and “let loose” to range freely, and that nuance, not intended by the Old Man, is also present here. It relates mainly to Ion as an untamed youth (150n.), dedicated to the god (309–11n.) and still “wandering” as a prelude to his Athenian destiny (52–3, 315, 576, 1087–9nn.). For opt. λάθοι, cf. 39–40n.

**824 ἐλθεῖν σ’ ἔπεισε δεῦρ’:** we are never told that it was Xuthus’ idea to consult the oracle, but we do know from *Hermes* that Apollo is guiding these events (67–8); cf. next note.

**825 ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἐψεύσαθ’, ὅδε δ’ ἐψεύσατο:** in fact the god did lie, and it was he who reared the child and wove a plot. Similarly, Ion and Xuthus earlier arrived at an explanation of Xuthus’ supposed paternity somewhat like the true explanation of Apollo’s (550–4). The repetition of ἐψεύσατο lends rhetorical emphasis to the Old Man’s point.



**826** *κάπλεκεν πλοκάς*: a common metaphor. Greeks associated both weaving and deceit with women, but weaving deceit is not invariably “feminine,” as the woven objects (real or metaphorical) are sometimes nets for hunting, a “masculine” pursuit. See 1279–81, 1410nn. (cf. 692n.); also *Or.* 1422, *IA* 936, *A. Ch.* 220, *Ar. Wasps* 644–5, etc. For the *figura etymologica*, cf. 841 and, among passages just cited, 1410, *IA* 936; also *El.* 234, *Her.* 100; more generally, Fehling 1969: 153–62.

**827** *ἀνέφερ’ ἐς τὸν δαίμονα* “he was intending to appeal to the god as his authority”: 543n. For the tense, a type of conative imperf., cf. *Med.* 592, Smyth §1895a.

**828–9** *†ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ τὸν χρόνον ἀμύνεσθαι θέλων†*: a cure for the corruption remains elusive. Replacements of *ἐλθὼν* include *λαθὼν* (Musgrave) and *έλὼν* (Canter), either giving a good antithesis with 827 *άλούς*. Along different lines, *λαβὼν δὲ καιρόν, φθόνον ἀμύνεσθαι θέλων* “but once he got an opportunity, and wishing to defend himself against envy” (Jacobs) gives good sense in the first half but is far from the transmitted text, and the second half is too sympathetic coming from the Old Man.

*τυραννίδ’ αὐτῷ περιβαλεῖν* = “invest him with the kingship” (LSJ *περιβάλλω* I.2); for *τυρανν-*, cf. 235–235bis, 621–32nn.

[830–1] These lines clumsily repeat the etymology already given in 661–3 and cleverly varied at 802. What the interpolator meant by *ἀνὰ χρόνον* is obscure; “in the course of time,” the regular meaning in Herodotus (× 5; cf. LSJ *ἀνὰ* C.II), makes no sense here. Without the lines, 832–5 follow excellently on 829 (next note).

**832–5** A horrified reaction suitable to the Old Man’s closing image of Xuthus and Ion as usurpers, followed by a generalizing reflection. The Chorus-leader does not contradict the Old Man by recalling things Xuthus said (that he has been faithful to Creusa, that he does not know how Ion reached Delphi or anything about his upbringing, that he wants to avoid hurting Creusa unnecessarily). This is both consistent with the Third Song, where the Chorus are already prepared to believe the worst (699–701, 702–4nn.), and convenient as E. builds momentum for the murder plot (cf. 802–3n.). For *μηχαναῖς* in 833, see 809n.

*φαῦλον χρηστὸν . . . μᾶλλον ἢ κακὸν σοφώτερον*: chiasmic arrangement of the common contrast between *σοφός* and *φαῦλος* “simple, ordinary” (*An.* 379, 481–2, *Ph.* 495–6, Dodds on *Ba.* 430–3); for the overall form of expression, a characteristically Euripidean “comparison of composite ideas,” see Denniston on *El.* 253. Here, being *φαῦλος* is compatible with being *χρηστός* “good”; some other contexts color the word more negatively. At 1546, *φάυλως* = “casually, superficially.”

**836–56** The rounding off of the Old Man’s first speech with general reflection from the Chorus-leader (832–5) has led us to expect a reply from Creusa. That the Old Man continues speaking thus confirms that

Creusa's silence is meaningful (802–3, 859–922nn.) and develops his role as instigator (725–1047n.). He appeals to Creusa's pride with a strongly worded contrast between slave and free (837–8) and disparagement of Xuthus' foreignness (839–42). Urging a preemptive strike, he claims that Creusa's very life is at risk (844–6); after promising to help even if it means his own death (850–3), he closes with a general reflection (854–6).

Parts of the speech have been suspected of interpolation. Linguistic difficulties suffice to condemn 847–9 (the only lines deleted by Lee). Murray, judging 843–6 and 850–3 inept anticipations of the plotting that begins at 970, suspects all of 843–58; Diggle, noting linguistic oddities in addition, brackets 844–58 (cf. Kraus 1989: 73–4). A parallel for the anticipation exists at *Hel.* 809–11 and 1043–6 (the possibility of killing Theoclymenus raised twice). If genuine, *Med.* 38–43 would be another, but those lines are probably interpolated; even so, the hints of danger to Medea's children at 36–7 and 90–5 strike many as heavy-handed. Just as Medea first names Creon, the princess, and Jason as her intended victims (*Med.* 374–5), only to settle later on the princess, Creon, and her own sons, so the Old Man here names Xuthus and Ion, while later, in response to Creusa's revelations, he will suggest Apollo and Xuthus before settling on Ion (972–8); he also mentions poison as only one of three possible means of revenge (844–5). The present passage, then, is something of a “red herring.” The claim that Ion and Xuthus both represent a threat to Creusa's life keeps the Old Man's later suggestion of Ion as a target, and Creusa's ready assent to it, from appearing absurdly abrupt or unmotivated (978–9). Related to this is the subtle foregrounding of Ion towards the end of the speech (843–6, 850–3nn.).

**836 τῶνδ' ἀπάντων ἔσχατον . . . κακόν:** “the utmost evil, beyond all of these”: the gen. is comparative, as if dependent on a comparative adj., not partitive, because the evil about to be described is not among “these evils” (sc. “which I have mentioned”). For this slightly illogical, not uncommon idiom, see e.g. *Hom. Il.* 1.505, *S. Ant.* 100, *Thuc.* 1.1.1, *Pl. Rep.* 603e6; Smyth §1434, K–G 1.22–5.

**837 ἀμήτορ', ἀναρίθμητον:** strong rhetoric, with the pair of ἀ-privative adjs. (*Hec.* 30, 416, *Her.* 1302, etc.; cf. 109–11, 783nn.) expanded to a tricolon by the addition of 837–8 ἐκ δούλης τινὸς | γυναικός, which in turn sets up the indignant contrast between “slave” and “master” (838 δεσπότην). The Old Man's sneers echo Ion's own worries about his status (591–2, 593–4, 668–75nn.). For ἀναρίθμητος “insignificant,” lit. “not to be counted,” cf. *Hel.* 1679 and related expressions at *El.* 1054, *Or.* 623, fr. 519, *Theoc.* 14.48, all descended from *Hom. Il.* 2.202 οὔτε ποτ' ἐν πολέμῳ ἐναρίθμιος οὔτ' ἐνὶ βουλῇ.

**839–42** It would be bad enough if Xuthus had brought the son of a well-born woman into their house; if that was not to her liking, then he ought to have married within his own ethnic group. The Old Man imagines Xuthus trying to bring a grown son into Creusa's house, and the details about the mother's high status (as opposed to Ion's supposed slave mother) and marrying an Aeolian are prejudicial rhetoric. He is not interested in the legality of the mother's union with Xuthus, and it is unhelpful to explain the passage in terms of concubinage or the "bigamy concession" the Athenians may have enacted near the date of *Ion* (674n.). If it really occurred, the concession had aims like those of archaic concubinage, but adhered to the principles of Pericles' Citizenship Law by allowing two Athenian women to be the legally married wives of one man and bear him citizen children; however, the Old Man is thinking not of "two women, one man," but of a bastard usurper.

**843–6** **δεῖ σε δὴ γυναικεῖόν τι δρᾶν:** γυναικεῖόν is a pointed substitute for ἀνδρεῖον "courageous," lit. "manly." The Old Man means that Creusa must meet the threat to her wifely status with violence; two of the methods he mentions, deceit and poison, are culturally feminine in Greek literature, but the fact that the third, the sword, is masculine reinforces the paradox ("act like a woman acting like a man," Loraux 1993: 193). At the same time, Creusa's "womanly" response is first of all to sing a solo song, a form associated with E.'s heroines already by Ar. (*Frogs* 849). If the Old Man's speech ended here (cf. 836–56n.), not only would the transition to Creusa's monody be abrupt, but the implications of γυναικεῖόν τι would be less clear than in any of the other Euripidean passages associating women and wiles (e.g. *Med.* 407–9, *Hipp.* 480–1, *An.* 85, *IT* 1032, *Hel.* 1621, fr. 321, 464). In δεῖ σε δὴ, the particle emphasizes the verb, not the pron.: "you *must* do something. . ." (*Hipp.* 688, *GP* 214–15).

**ἢ γὰρ ξίφος λαβοῦσαν ἢ δόλῳ τινὶ | ἢ φαρμάκοισι:** similar lists of women's means of violence occur at 616–17, *Med.* 376–85, *Hec.* 876–8. In the combination ἢ γὰρ ... ἢ ... ἢ, γὰρ is appositional rather than connective ("that is to say, either ... or ... or"); see *Ph.* 952, *GP* 67.

**σὸν κατακτεῖναι πόσιν | καὶ παῖδα:** the Greek allows the unintended, ironic meaning "your husband and your son"; cf. "his wife and mother . . . of his children" at S. *OT* 928. The addition of Ion as a seeming afterthought, and the insinuation that he is as dangerous as Xuthus, is effective both as rhetoric and as preparation for the sequel.

**[847–9]** The main thrust of 847, the alleged threat to Creusa's life, is already contained in 846; there is thus no need to emend the intolerable γὰρ γ' or find a replacement for ὑφ' ἑσῆς "relent," which is improperly said of an action that has only been recommended, not undertaken. If θάτερον in 849 is masc., referring to one or the other of two ἐχθροί, then it reveals 848–9 as written no earlier than the fourth century. It might

conceivably be neut. (one or the other of two “hostile entities,” ἐχθρά), but this requires some special pleading, and it is inelegant (despite σοὶ . . . ἐκ κείνων in 846) to refer to two inimical entities or parties where it is clear that three people are involved.

**850–3** ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν σοὶ καὶ συνεκπονέειν θέλω | καὶ συμφονεύειν παῖδ’ the Old Man now has Ion only in his sights; we might even say that Xuthus has begun to drop out of the play, as 852 δαῖθ’ ὀπλίζει, with Ion as subj., also implies (Xuthus was still in charge in the Chorus-leader’s report at 804–7). In ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, the particles function separately (“so I for my part”) and there is no answering δέ; so e.g. *S. Ant.* 65. For the Old Man’s σύν-compounds, see 728n.

ὑπείσελθὼν δόμους “after sneaking into the tent”: the tent is called δόμοι again at 1196; ὑπείσελθὼν (Wakefield) is not found elsewhere in classical verse, but ὑπ- gives exactly the right nuance (LSJ ὑπό F.III).

δαῖθ’ ὀπλίζει “is preparing a feast”: ὀπλίζειν in this sense (properly “arm, equip”) is an epicism (*Hom. Il.* 11.641, *Od.* 2.289), in tragedy only here and 1124 (mid., as at *Hom. Il.* 11.86, *Od.* 2.20).

τροφεῖα δεσπότηαις | ἀποδούς: “when grown up, one repays one’s parents with τροφεῖα, θρεπτήρια, θρέπτρα” (Hutchinson on *A. Se.* 477). For a slave to acknowledge such a debt to his masters is an idealization from the masters’ point of view (cf. 725–1047n.). At 1493, τροφεῖα = “nourishment.”

θανεῖν τε ζῶν τε φέγγος εἰσορᾶν: “I am willing both to die and to live” is not, strictly speaking, illogical, but both Greek and English prefer “either . . . or” (as at 858) for what are in fact alternatives; for parallels, however, see *A. Su.* 380 (also *E. IA* 56 and 969, though both occur in suspect passages), *S. OC* 488 (τε . . . καί), *E. Hec.* 751, *S. OC* 1444 (καί . . . καί), *E. Hel.* 321 (τε alone). For the pleonasm at the end of the line, see *Alc.* 81–2, *Hel.* 530–1 with Kannicht’s note.

**854–6** In his closing reflection, the Old Man goes beyond the notion of a slave’s duty to his master (725–1047, 808, 850–3nn.) to claim that a good slave is no worse than a free man. Although it is hard to say what effect, if any, such questioning of categories had on social reality, it is typical of both tragedy and sophistic thought, as is the antithesis here between label (δνομα) and character. Most like our passage are *Hel.* 726–33 (where see Kannicht), *fr.* 495.40–3, 511, 831, *S. fr.* 940; see further Guthrie 1962–81: III.155–60.

ὅστις ἐσθλὸς ἦ: the context of personal risk suggests that the Old Man intends ἐσθλός = “brave” (LSJ I). At this point, it is far from clear that he is ἐσθλός “(morally) good,” the meaning of the adj. at 628, 977, and very often. For the subjunct. without ἄν, a fairly common poetic archaism, see *GMT* §540, Bers 1984: 142–64.

**857–8** συμφορὰν . . . | κοινουμένη τήνδ’ “sharing in this misfortune”: like the Old Man (853), the Chorus-leader is prepared to die. That is what she

already risked at 761–2 (cf. 666–7), and what she expects later (1236–43). The acc. after κοινοῦσθαι may convey the nuance “to make common cause on equal terms” (Parker on *Alc.* 426, contrasting the construction with gen., “to take a share in a matter which is essentially the concern of someone else”); the acc. occurs at e.g. 608–9 (changed to gen. by Diggle), *Tr.* 61, fr. 493.3.

### 859–922 *Creusa’s Monody*

After her (sung) wish to be transported far from her misery (796–9), Creusa fell silent (802–3, 836–56nn.). Now she responds with another short burst of song (859–61), a decision in recitative anapaests to break her long and burdensome silence (862–80), and a lyric monody, in which she confronts Apollo (881–6), recounts his rape of her (887–96), and bewails the supposed fate of their son (897–906). After trying and failing again to make contact with the god (907n.), she proclaims that Delos, the place of his birth, hates him for not showing χάρις when he should (911–22).

In her song, Creusa overcomes the αἰδώς expected of a Greek woman (336–7n.) and reveals the secret whose inevitable telling (256–7n.) E. has managed so as to give the plot just the impetus he wants: his transformed heroine now appears capable of murder. Spectators hear an unusual perspective on the so-called “girl’s tragedy” (Intro. §2.3); within the fiction, Creusa’s hearers are trusted slaves, and she seeks relief, not publicity (874–5n.). At the same time, she seeks redress from Apollo and turns to violence only after giving up on making contact with him.

The lyric section beginning at 881 contains elements of hymnic style, e.g. solemn invocation, ornamental epithets and attributes, and mention of Apollo’s singing, lyre-playing, and oracular authority. Details such as the epithet εὐαχίτους (884), the god’s golden hair (887), and his golden seat at the center of the earth (909–10) appear straightforwardly laudatory. Building on these, some argue that the song presents a beautiful image of the god, and “the poetry celebrates what the speaker reviles” (Burnett 1962: 95; cf. 1970: 83–7). In context, however, beauty and magnificence may instead throw the god’s ugly actions into sharper relief. In this case, some traditionally praiseworthy details are open to a different interpretation. For example, Creusa’s invocation of Apollo as “son of Leto” may be not only hymnic celebration of his divine connections but pointed avoidance of his name and a reminder of the parent–child relationship that has been denied to Creusa and neglected, she believes, by Apollo (885–6n.); the god’s “flashing” not only beautiful but menacing (888–90n.); his oracular authority a token not only of his eminence but of his power to discriminate and deceive (908n.). Note in particular the god’s music, which frames the narrative of rape, birth, and exposure:

here Creusa clearly conveys a negative view of an activity for which Apollo usually receives praise (881–2, 882–3, 904–6nn.). The “hymn” is thus an “anti-hymn” that fulfills Creusa’s intention to blame Apollo (885–6 μομφάν . . . αὐδάσω) and is all the more blasphemous for being sung in his sacred precinct (Schadewaldt 1926: 161–2, 217–18, LaRue 1963, Furley and Bremer 2001: 1.326–8, 11.315–19, Zacharia 2003: 78–96). We may also connect Creusa’s (mis-)appropriation of the male-dominated hymnic form itself with the gender rivalry implicit throughout the play and soon made explicit in the Chorus’ wish for a new song assigning men the bad reputation they deserve (1096–8n., Loraux 1993: 191–3).

Creusa places great emphasis on Apollo’s selfishness, indifference to her suffering, and supposed neglect of their son. About the last, we know she is wrong; this must affect our response to her song, but it is hard to say exactly how. At one end of a spectrum, we may see her as misguided, self-pitying, and transgressive. The placement of her vision of birds devouring her exposed child (as we know they did not) at two climactic moments (902–4, 916–17) could point in this direction. At the other end, we may be carried away by pity and outrage at Creusa’s suffering. In any case, the effect of the song on the action is a dramatic push forward. Without it, there would be no plotting, attempted murder, or frenetic chase leading back to the god’s altar, and likewise no alteration to Apollo’s plan or chance for us to witness these events, including the joyful reunion and revelation of the truth. Creusa’s suffering, misapprehension, and transgressiveness, which all reach their peak in her monody, are indispensable conditions of our experience of (this) drama.

*Meter.* Creusa’s desperation mixed with shame first finds expression in a short burst of lyric anapaests (859–61). When this rhythm returns at 881, the high proportion of heavy syllables and frequent catalectic dimeters (“paroemiacs”) suggest several things: continued “disturbed, halting progress” (West 1982: 122), for example in the rape narrative at 885–93, broken only by the surprisingly light 889 (a last moment of innocence?); hymnic style (881, 884–8, 905–11); and, pervasively, sadness (especially 897–9, 901–4). In these conditions, it is often impossible to say – and perhaps meaningless to ask – whether the paroemiacs are clausular, but period-end is guaranteed by hiatus or *brevis in longo* in a few places (886, 901, 907, 911) and highly likely also at the strongest sense-breaks (e.g. 890, 896, 905–6, 915).

Otherwise, the most notable feature of the song’s mostly homogeneous rhythm is the sequence do | do | unnamed colon at 894–6. The rare, unnamed colon ~ ~ ~ – – – is a rhythmic echo of Ion’s monody where, as here, it follows two isolated dochmiacs amid lyric anapaests (82–183n. *Meter*, 150n.). The echo draws attention to related content: 150 proclaims Ion’s sexual abstinence, 896 the moment when Apollo violates Creusa.

Textual corruption precludes analysis of 909; Page's supplement gives 2an. 908 is then an isolated dochmiac, but its form (five heavy syllables) fits easily into the context of unusually heavy anapaests and paroemiacs.

— — — — — ||<sup>?</sup>  
ὦ ψυχά, πῶς σιγάσω; 859 2an<sub>Λ</sub>

— — υυ — υυ — — ||<sup>h</sup>  
πῶς δὲ σκοτίας ἀναφῆνω 860 2an<sub>Λ</sub>

— — — — υυ — — ||  
εὐνάς, αἰδοῦς δ' ἀπολειφθῶ 861 2an<sub>Λ</sub>

Next, a system of recitative anapaests (862–80), with clausular paroemiacs (2an<sub>Λ</sub>) at 869 and 880. (In three places [867 ἔδυνήθην, 873 ἀκτὴν, 877 ψυχῇ], Attic vowel coloration is restored by modern editors; see Diggle's apparatus, and note restoration in the other direction, after the resumption of lyric, at 897 δύστανος.) Lyric resumes at 881:

— — — — — |  
ὦ τᾷς ἑπταφθόγγου μέλπων 881 2an

υυ — υυ — — — — |  
κιθάρας ἐνοπᾶν, ἄτ' ἀγραύλοισ 882 2an

υυ — υυ — — — — |  
κεράεσσιν ἐν ἀψύχοις ἀχεῖ 883 2an

— — — — — |  
μουσᾶν ὕμνους εὐαχῆτους 884 2an

— — — — — ||<sup>?</sup>  
σοὶ μομφάν, ὦ Λατοῦς παῖ 885 2an<sub>Λ</sub>

— — — — — ||<sup>h</sup>  
πρὸς τάνδ' αὐγὰν αὐδάσω 886 2an<sub>Λ</sub>

— — — — — |  
ἦλθές μοι χρυσῶι χαίταν 887 2an<sub>Λ</sub>

— — — — — |  
μαρμαίρων, εὔτ' ἐς κόλπους 888 2an<sub>Λ</sub>

υ υ υ υ x υ υ	
κρόκεα πέταλα φάρεσιν ἔδρεπον	889 2ia
-----	
†ἀνθίζειν† χρυσανταυγῇ	890 2an <sub>Λ</sub> ?
-----	
λευκοῖς δ' ἔμφυς καρποῖσιν	891 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
-----	
χειρῶν εἰς ἄντρου κοίτας	892 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
-----	
κραυγὰν “ὦ μαῖτέρ” μ' αὐδῶσαν	893 2an
υ υ - υ -	
θεὸς ὁμευνέτας	894 do
- υ - - -	
ἄγες ἀναιδεΐαι	895 do
υ υ υ υ - - -    <sup>?</sup>	
Κύπριδι χάριν πράσσω	896 unnamed colon
-----	
τίκτω δ' ἅ δύστανός σοι	897 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
-----	
κοῦρον, τὸν φρίκαι ματρός	898 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
-----	
βάλλω τὰν σὰν εἰς εὐνάν	899 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
υ υ - υ υ - υ υ - υ υ -	
ἵνα μ' ἐν λέχεσιν μελέαν μελέοις	900 2an
----- ∪    <sup>b</sup>	
ἐξεύξω τὰν δύστανον	901 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
-----	
οἴμοι· καὶ νῦν ἔρρει πτανοῖς	902-3 2an



-----   άρπασθεῖς θοίνα παῖς μοι —	903-4 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
----- υυ — υυ —   καὶ σός, τλᾶμον· σὺ δ' <ἀεὶ> κιθάραι	904-5 2an
-----   κλάζεις παιᾶνας μέλπων	905-6 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
-----    <sup>h</sup> ὦή, τὸν Λατοῦς αὐδῶ	907 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
-----   ὅστ' ὁμφὰν κληροῖς	908 do
-----   †πρὸς χρυσέους θάκους†	909 corrupt (Page restores 2an)
-----   καὶ γαίᾱς μεσσήρεις ἔδρας	910 2an
-----    <sup>h</sup> ἐς φῶς αὐδὰν καρύξω	911 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
----- υυ — — —   ἴω <ἰώ> κακὸς εὐνάτωρ	912 2an
— υυ — — —   ὅς τῶι μὲν ἐμῶι νυμφεύται	913 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
υυ — υυ —   χάριν οὐ προλαβὼν	914 an
-----    <sup>?</sup> παῖδ' εἰς οἴκους οἰκίζεις	915 2an <sub>Λ</sub>
υυ — υυ — ...   ὁ δ' ἐμὸς γενέτας καὶ σὸς †ἀμαθῆς†	916 2an?
-----   οἶωνοῖς ἔρρει συλαθείς	917 2an

— υ υ — υ υ — — — — |

σπάργανα ματέρος ἐξαλλάξας

918 2an

— — — — — — — — |

μισεῖ σ' ἅ Δᾶλος καὶ δάφνας

919 2an

— υ υ — — υ υ — υ υ — |

ἔρνεα φοίνικα παρ' ἀβροκόμαν

920 2an

— υ υ — υ υ — υ υ — υ υ |

ἔνθα λοχεύματα σέμν' ἐλοχεύσατο

921 2an

— — — — υ υ — — ||

Λατῶ Δίοισί σε κάποις

922 2an<sub>Λ</sub>

**859–80** Creusa's first outburst, in lyric, poses three aporetic questions in the deliberative subjunct. (859–61). The answer to her dilemma ("Shall I reveal the truth?") is implied by γάρ ("Yes, for...") and the three rhetorical questions with indicative verbs that begin the calmer recitative anapaests (862–4), but she states it outright only after a highly wrought series of complaints (865–9) and a powerful oath (870–3): it will bring relief to tell her secret and show that she has been treated with ingratitude on all sides (874–80).

**859 ὦ ψυχά, πῶς σιγάσω;** impassioned address of one's own heart or soul is familiar from Homer on (*Od.* 20.18 τέτλαθι δὴ κραδίη) and common in E. (e.g. *Alc.* 837, *Med.* 1056, 1242, *Or.* 466). Since the speaker often summons endurance, the implication may be, "My soul, (you have helped me control my grief until now, but) how am I to remain silent any longer?" But some examples simply express overpowering emotion (*Bell.* fr. 308, exhilaration [recitative anapaests, perhaps from the start of a monody]; *IT* 839, ineffable joy [lyr.]).

**860–1 σκοτίας ἀναφῆνω | εὐνάς** "bring to light a union shrouded in darkness": that is, one that resulted in illegitimate birth. σκότιος, a favorite word of E., is used of illegitimacy at *Tro.* 44 and 252, a sense found once in Hom. (*Il.* 6.24, as noted by Σ E. *Alc.* 989, though in *Alc.* the word alludes to death, not illegitimacy); cf. 955, 1474–6nn., 1522, Mastronarde on *Ph.* 336, Sissa 1990: 87–104, Ogden 1996: 25–6. For the hiatus, see 171–8n., 907.

**αἰδοῦς δ' ἀπολειφθῶ** "and fall short of shame": the verb implies failure, as often in later prose (LSJ ἀπολείπω C.II.2). Elsewhere in E., the meaning is neutral or pathetic ("be absent or distant from, deprived of": *Med.* 35, *Her.* 440, *Tro.* 603, *Or.* 80, 216, LSJ C.II.1). Creusa's abandonment of shame (336–7n.) prepares for both her revelations and her actions. She

reenacts it at 934 before rehearsing her story in dialogue with the Old Man, but she retains enough αἰδώς to reject one of his suggestions at 977; cf. 1484n.

**862–3 τί γὰρ . . . ἀρετῆς;** “What obstacle is still in my way? With whom am I competing in virtue?”: neither ἐμπόδιον nor κώλυμα is attested elsewhere in serious poetry, but the periphrasis ἀγῶνας τιθέμεσθ’ = ἀγωνιζόμεθα in 863 is poetic (102–3n., LSJ τίθημι C.4, Jebb on *S. Aj.* 13), and the following lines affect the emotional style of ritual lament, with verbs in anaphora (στέρομαι . . . στέρομαι, σιγῶσα . . . σιγῶσα), the tragic word φρουῖσαι, and parallel syntax involving “rhyming,” nearly synonymous nouns (οἴκων . . . παίδων, γάμους . . . τόκους). A husband should set an example of ἀρετή for his wife (cf. *Her.* 294), but Xuthus has been revealed as disloyal (προδοότης). Amphitryon reproaches Zeus similarly at *Her.* 342–3: ἀρετῇ σε νικῶ . . . παῖδας γὰρ οὐ προύδωκα τοὺς Ἡρακλέους.

**866–7 ἐλπίδες, ὅς διαθέσθαι | χρῆζουσα καλῶς οὐκ ἐδυνήθην:** Creusa wanted to “settle, dispose of” her hopes by getting an answer from Apollo’s oracle; she wanted to do it “well” by restricting her speech (868–9 σιγῶσα γάμους, | σιγῶσα τόκους πολυκλαύτους). Compound διατιθέναι belongs mostly to prose, but cf. *Ar. Birds* 439 (mid.), *h. Ap.* 254 (act.).

**870–3 ἀλλ’ οὐ . . . ἀκτῆν:** these lines contain an oath, with omission of μά, as happens after οὐ at e.g. *Rh.* 826, *S. OT* 660, *Ant.* 758. Like Agamemnon at *Hom. Il.* 19.258–60 and Medea at *Med.* 752–3, Creusa swears by multiple powers, in effect the elements sky, earth, and water, and the deities Zeus and Athena. The tricolon crescendo gains solemnity from the unique πολυ-compound, pleonasm (“watery lake”), and πότνια used unusually of a place (Garvie on *A. Ch.* 722). Zeus (for whose starry abode cf. *Ph.* 1006, *Cy.* 353–4) is both protector and witness; so too Athena, with “my rocks” suggesting not only the Acropolis, but the cave where Creusa was raped and exposed her child.

**λίμνης . . . Τριτωνιάδος:** the Tritonian Lake in north Africa (near Cyrene according to *Pi. P.* 4.20–1; further west according to *Hdt.* 4.178–9, etc.) was said to be the place of Athena’s birth (e.g. *A. Eu.* 292–3), an appropriate association for this passage. Whether Athena’s epithet Τριτογένεια, familiar from Homer on, derives from this legend has been debated since antiquity; see Chantraine 1999 (with addenda), Kirk on *Hom. Il.* 4.513–16.

**874–5 στέρνων | ἀπονησαμένη** “unloading from my breast”: ἀπονησαμένη is restored from Hesychius (α 6500 Latte), who glosses it ἀποσωρεύουσα (from σωρός “heap”; ἀποσωρεύουσα ἢ ἀποθεμένη Phot. α 2593 Theodoridis and *Synag.*<sup>b</sup> α 1920 p. 652 Cunningham); it recurs at fr. 279 (cf. νέω “heap up” at *Her.* 243).

**ῥάϊων ἔσομαι** “I will feel easier”: quasi-medical language (*Her.* 1407, fr. 332.4; in comedy at Theopomp. fr. 63.5 and Philippid. fr. 18.2; in the Hippocratic corpus at e.g. *Loc. Hom.* 34; in a poem addressed to a doctor

at Theoc. 11.7 and 81); cf. *Med.* 473–4 κουφισθήσομαι | ψυχὴν. The expression is colloquial, but its tone is not necessarily low (Collard 2005: 364; contra Wilamowitz on *Her.* 1407). When Creusa sings πρὸς τάνδ' αὐγάν (886) and ἐς φῶς (911), the idea of relief is not repeated but may be reactivated, since the traditional address to the elements (e.g. *S. El.* 86–7, [A.] *PV* 88–91) acquires in E. an association with relief (*Med.* 56–8, *An.* 91–3). But αὐγάν in 886 may not mean “daylight” (see note there).

**877–8** κακοβουλευθεῖς' | ἔκ τ' ἀνθρώπων ἔκ τ' ἀθανάτων: “men and gods” is a typical “polar expression,” but not simply = “everyone,” as Creusa has in mind one member of each class. κακοβουλευθεῖς' “foully plotted against” is an irregular formation modeled on but stronger than ἐπιβουλευθεῖσα (so Owen; Barnes restores the expected form, κακοβουληθεῖς'). The use of ἔκ instead of ὑπό for agency is mostly tragic (Stevens on *An.* 8).

**879–80** οὓς ἀποδείξω | λέκτρων προδότας ἀχαρίστους: the recitative anapaests end with a very firm statement of Creusa's intention to violate the norms of female discourse and prove/reveal (ἀποδείξω implies both) Xuthus and Apollo to be ungrateful traitors (προδότας looks back to 864 προδότης, of Xuthus; ἀχαρίστους ahead to 896 Κύπριδι χάριν πράσσω and 914 χάριν οὐ προλαβών, both of Apollo). This sounds very “public,” yet Creusa is ashamed to reveal her secret even to her trusted slave until as late as 934.

**881–6** The return to lyric begins with an elaborate “hymnic” invocation, possibly accompanied by stage movement (885–6n.).

**881** ἐπταφθόγγου: Apollo's kithara has the traditional seven strings (his sacred number: 421n., West on Hes. *Op.* 770, Burkert 1985: 145), as at *IT* 1128–9, *h. Herm.* 39–51; the actual number in use in the fifth century varied (West 1992: 62–4).

**881–2** μέλπων | κιθάρας ἐνοπᾶν “causing the shrill cry of the kithara to sound out”: the elevated verb μέλπειν (Austin and Olson on *Ar. Thesmo.* 959–61) suits Creusa's turn to hymnic style; it recurs at 906 to close the narrative portion of her song. ἐνοπή is an epic and lyric word, in tragedy only E. To the extent that it is associated with oracular utterance (*El.* 1302, possibly *IT* 1277), it implies Apollo's authority, but the shrill and agitated sound-quality it denotes (“shriek, screech”) seems uncomplimentary when applied to Apollo's music (904–6n.); writing of this passage, Denniston on *El.* 1302 calls it “furiously insulting.” At 905 κλάζεις, again in combination with μέλπειν, is similarly discordant.

**882–3** ἄτ': forms of ὅστε (the rel. pron. with “epic τε” attached) are confined to lyr. in S. and E. A hymnic archaism may be intended here and at 908(n.).

ἀγραύλοισ | κεράεσσιν ἐν ἀψύχοις: the “horns” are the instrument's curved side pieces, also known as πῆχεις (*h. Herm.* 50 with Vergados' note)

or ἀγκῶνες (Nic. *Alex.* 562), both words related to “arms.” LSJ κέρας V.8 classifies this as a use of the word for “objects shaped like horns,” but while the side-pieces were often made of wood, sometimes the actual horns of a goat, antelope (Hdt. 4.192.1), or other animal were used (gilded at S. fr. 244), as implied here by “lifeless, field-dwelling horns.” For the riddling nature of this description, cf. S. *Ichn.* fr. 314.298–324 (especially 300 θανῶν γὰρ ἔσχε φωνήν, ζῶν δ’ ἄναυδος ἦν ὁ θήρ), probably reprised in E.’s *Antiope* (test. vii.b.2; cf. Nic. *Alex.* 560). The lyre’s production of beautiful sounds from base, lifeless materials instills wonder in those passages, as implied in 884 by ὕμνους εὐαχήτους, but here the phrasing also resonates with the less laudatory aspects of Creusa’s description of Apollo’s music. The adj. εὐάχητος, expressing hymnic praise (cf. 134–5n.) just before the emphatic blame of 885, recurs in classical Greek only at *Hipp.* 1272 (lyr.); cf. Pi. *P.* 2.14 εὐαχέα ... ὕμνον. For the epic form κέραεσσιν, required by the meter, see Diggle 1994: 117 n. 81, and cf. 205–7n.

**885–6 μομφάν:** Creusa’s blame stands in the starkest possible contrast to Ion’s praise in his monody (137 εὐλογῶ). His comments on her unusual behavior (241–6) and reproachful words (429–30), his milder reproach at 436–51, and Creusa’s own declaration at the end of her recitative anapaests (879–80) have prepared this moment of blasphemy. Poetic precedents for blame of Apollo include Hom. *Il.* 24.55–63 and A. fr. 350, on which see Bremer 1990.

**ὦ Λατοῦς παῖ:** identification of the god by his parentage suits hymnic style (cf. 125–7 = 141–3n.), but it is striking that Creusa never names Apollo in her monody (though she does so often elsewhere in the play), in sharp contrast to Ion, who names “Phoebus” twelve times in his (Beverly 1997: 105). Calling him “son of Leto” instead (here and at 907) reflects Creusa’s own preoccupation with motherhood (cf. 410–12, 919–22nn.).

**πρὸς τάνδ’ αὐγάν:** either “to this light (of day)” or “to this splendor of yours,” i.e. the gleaming façade of Apollo’s temple (Bremer 1990: 71–2; cf. 188–9n.). The choice is hard; although pl. αὐγαί often means “rays of the sun” (as at 1072), sing. αὐγή, unless “sun” is expressed, usually refers to the gleam or splendor of something else (*Tro.* 321, fr. 752f.4, A. *Ag.* 9); on the other hand, the text often indicates what that something is (as L’s intrusive gloss αἰθέρος does here, unmetrically). Thematically, both “light of day” (publicity) and “splendor” (in mocking contrast to “blame”) make sense. In performance, the actor’s movement and gesture will eliminate all doubt. If Creusa addresses Apollo’s temple, the sequence is as follows: after the narrative she begins now meets with what she takes as indifference in 905–6, she makes a last, desperate effort to make contact with Apollo (907n.), and only after he fails to answer does she denounce him ἐς φῶς (911). The other interpretation, address to the

sky, develops the publicity implicit in οὐκέτι κρύψω (874) and ἀποδείξω (879); in this case, Creusa turns to the sun, then to the door, then to the sun again (911).

**887–8 χρυσῶι χαίταν | μαρμαίρων:** golden hair, a frequent attribute of Apollo (Collard on *Su.* 975, Kyriakou on *IT* 1237), is traditionally divine, beautiful, youthful, and erotic, but Creusa's phrase can also suggest cold, unfeeling metal, and μαρμαίρων "flashing" is not an unambiguous term of praise. It is often used of weapons (Hom. *Il.* 12.195, Harder on *Arch.* fr. 229.2), and even when applied to, say, the beautiful Aphrodite's eyes, as at Hom. *Il.* 3.397, it may be subtly menacing. Divine epiphany poses a significant risk to mortals, as the experiences of e.g. Semele (*Ba.* 1–9) and Anchises (*h. Aphr.*) show. Apollo's dazzling appearance underscores his power and the gulf separating him from the vulnerable girl; at the same time, we may discern in "golden" a standard his behavior fails to uphold (Barlow 1971: 49).

**889–90 κρόκεα πέταλα:** scenes of literary rape are often set among flowers which the victim picks, or in which she delights: *h. Dem.* 5–16, 425–9 (Persephone); Hes. fr. 140; Bacchyl. fr. 10; Mosch. 2.33–6, 63–71 (Europa); cf. also Archil. fr. 196a.42 ἐν ἄνθε[σιν | τηλ]εθάεσσι, with the note of Slings 1987: ad loc. (his line 28), E. *Hel.* 244–5, Loraux 1993: 228 n. 204, Zacharia 2003: 92 n. 152. For the crocus in these scenes, see Richardson on *h. Dem.* 6. The victim is usually accompanied by sisters or agemates; Murnaghan 2006: 110–11 argues that the mythical daughters of Cecrops (23–4n.), Creusa's sisters (277–82n.), and the chorus of Creusa's maidservants are all analogous female collectives, and Athenian spectators would assume that Creusa's encounter with Apollo separated her from her agemates.

†ἀνθίζειν† χρυσανταυγῇ: these words continue the colorful images of golden hair, yellow flowers, and bright robes, but the syntax is obscure, since ἀνθίζειν ought to govern an acc. dir. obj., whether it means "adorn with flowers" or "dye, stain"; Diggle 1994: 117 n. 81 tentatively suggests ἀνθιζομένα "culling flowers." The evocative χρυσανταυγῇ "reflecting golden light" is unique, but E. has ἀνταυγεῖν twice, Ar. an adj. ἀνταυγῆς in para-tragedy at *Thesmo.* 902, and χρυσαυγῆς occurs at S. *OC* 685 (modifying κρόκος), Ar. *Birds* 1710.

**891–6** In this narrative of the rape, the absence of Creusa's consent is indicated above all by her cry for help (893n.); she also mentions Apollo's urgency, shamelessness, and misplaced gratitude or selfishness (891, 894–5, 896nn.), as well as her own wretchedness (900–1).

**891 ἐμφύς:** "clinging," as at Hom. *Il.* 1.513; cf. the formulaic ἐν τ' ἄρα οἱ φῦ χειρί at *Il.* 6.253, *Od.* 2.302, etc. The word recurs in tragedy only at S. *OC* 1113 (Oedipus seeking his daughters' embrace). The point seems to be urgency, as at Hom. *Il.* 6.253 (Hecuba begging Hector to stay inside

Troy); cf. Gould 2001: 25 n. 13. The fact that Apollo seizes Creusa by both wrists (pl. καρποῖσιν) counts against the idea (for which see e.g. Lee, Zacharia 2003: 93–4) that her words evoke the gesture, often seen on vases, by which a groom takes “possession” of his bride in a Greek wedding. Because it occurs also in the transfer of property, and even more because anthropologists see in it vestiges of “marriage by abduction,” this gesture blurs the distinction between rape and marriage in the symbolic realm. Creusa’s tone remains elusive even if the gesture is evoked, since the point is that marriage ritual is ambivalent (orderly in practice, partly violent in imagination).

891–2 λευκοῖς ... καρποῖσιν | χειρῶν: the epithet suggests femininity (220–1n.), youth, and beauty (LSJ λευκός II.b, Mastronarde on *Med.* 30), possibly with a hint of “bloodless, deathly pale” (Verrall), as a result of Apollo’s grip, fear, or both. The gen. is partitive; so again 1009 κατὰ καρπῶν . . . χερὸς, the only other occurrence of καρπός in tragedy.

893 κραυγὰν “ὦ μᾶτερ” μ’ αὐδῶσαν: at the climactic moment, Creusa reports her cry in direct discourse. The shout is aimed at creating witnesses and has quasi-legal force; without it, an allegation of rape or abduction might be disregarded (cf. *Tro.* 998–1001, Mastronarde on *Ph.* 613, Richardson on *h. Dem.* 20). In both of Ovid’s versions of the paradigmatic rape of Persephone/Kore, the victim calls on her mother (*Met.* 5.396–8, *Fast.* 4.447–8), but in *h. Dem.*, she calls on her father Zeus, and Creusa’s “Mother!” may be a deliberate variation on this, as it was the infant Creusa’s mother who saved her during the crisis that led to her father’s death (277–82, 280nn.).

894–5 θεὸς ὀμνύσας | ἄγεις ἀναιδέαι: the very strong word “shamelessness” makes this accusation perhaps the harshest in Creusa’s song; for Apollo’s shame or lack of it, see 288, 367–8nn. Like εὐνέτης, ὀμνύσας seems neutral, though speakers use these words of men they hold in contempt at *Med.* 953, *El.* 803; cf. 912 κακὸς εὐνάτωρ. Similarly ἄγεις, while at home in descriptions of sexual assault (*Tro.* 998 βίαι ... ἄγειν; cf. *Hel.* 116), is not necessarily violent.

896 Κύπριδι χάριν πράσσω “gratifying your lust”: in this sense, a purely selfish act. The use of Aphrodite’s alternate name as a euphemism for sex or sexual desire is common in tragedy (e.g. *Hipp.* 401, 465, *Ba.* 315) and perhaps as old as Ibycus fr. 287.4; cf. Austin and Olson on *Ar. Thesm.* 204–5. But the sense of a goddess (the dat. of person expected after χάριν πράσσω) is not altogether lost, implying that Apollo did feel χάρις, but it was not directed where it should have been (cf. 914–15, 1103–4nn., LaRue 1963: 130–5). For the rhythmic echo of Ion’s monody, see 150n., 859–922n. *Meter.*

897–8 τίκτω: Creusa just narrated the rape in past-tense verbs; the shift to the pres. lends vividness to the sequel, but we may not be sure a

shift has occurred until 899 βάλλω, for pres. τίκτω is often used to “register” parenthood (356, 1560, K–G 1.137, Stevens on *An.* 9); cf. 57–8n.

ἀδύστανος “(I,) poor wretch”: a pathetic expression, for even though the art. is regular with any adj. modifying a pron. or the subj. of a verb (Gildersleeve 1980: §606), a disproportionate number of examples, starting with Homer (e.g. *Il.* 22.59, *Od.* 2.351, 7.223), involve “compassionate” adjs. (e.g. 348, *Med.* 1400, *An.* 1082, *S. Ant.* 922–3, *Tr.* 997, etc.). Repetition of the device at 901 frames Creusa’s sentence, which packs into five lines rape, birth, exposure (with the emotive verb βάλλω), φρίκα “terror,” and another word for “miserable” (μέλεος), repeated in polyptoton (690n.) for emphasis.

σοι | κοῦρον, τόν: the gift of a male child, Creusa implies, particularly deserved the god’s gratitude (Mueller 2010: 379–80); κοῦρος is more commonly used of a “youth” such as Ion now is (Segal 1999: 77–8 n. 31, but cf. Hom. *Il.* 6.59). τόν = rel. ὄν, as often in tragic lyric when metrically convenient.

φρίκαι ματρός: both “with a mother’s shudder” (subjective gen.) and “through fear of my mother” (objective gen.) are possible. Huys 1995: 95–7 strongly urges the former but needlessly discounts the two certain appearances of Creusa’s mother at 280 and 893. In light of these, it would be both comprehensible and thematically apt for Creusa to fear her mother at the moment of exposure (cf. 14–15, 1489–91, 1497–9nn., Loraux 1993: 218–19).

902–4 ἔρρει ... θάνα: climacically placed here and in 916–18, the horrific vision of the exposed child as a feast for birds (503–6, 1494–5nn.) combines with (mis)information about recent events to complete Creusa’s despair.

904–6 παῖς μοι – | καὶ σός, τλᾶμον· σὺ δ’ <ἀεί> κιθάραι | κλάζεις παιᾶνας μίλτων “my child – and yours, wretch: but you go on screeching on your kithara and singing paeans”: just as time stands still for the mortal Creusa in her unending grief and childlessness, so also for the musical god Apollo, playing and singing “continuously”; for a similarly pointed juxtaposition of Apolline music and betrayal, cf. A. fr. 350. The unpleasantness of this music to Creusa’s ears is conveyed by κλάζειν “shriek, scream,” used in Homer of warriors raising a war-cry or screeching birds of prey, and in some tragic passages that fuse these images (A. Ag. 48–9 [cf. 56–7], Griffith on *S. Ant.* 112). The verb and its compounds are also used of oracular utterance (Pi. fr. 52i(A).10, 169a.34, A. Ag. 156 with Fraenkel’s note, 201). By mentioning paeans, Creusa draws attention to the discord between her grief and this normally joyful type of song, as tragedians often do (Cropp on *IT* 184–5, Parker on *Alc.* 423–4, Swift 2010: 70–4). There may also be a hint of solipsism in Apollo’s singing his cult song by himself (cf. 82–183n.). Text and colometry here follow Willink (ap. Kovacs), who



accepts Diggle's voc. τλάμον for L's τλάμων (cf. 960n.); see further Renehan 1998: 171–3 (defending the grammatical inconcinnity μοι καὶ σός).

**907 ὦή, τὸν Λατοῦς αὐδῶ:** almost “hey, son of Leto, I’m talking to you!” Her narrative complete, Creusa makes a last effort to establish contact with Apollo. The cry ὦή is provocative (literally and figuratively), because it is typically addressed to inferiors and often, in E., to doorkeepers (*Hel.* 435–6 with Kannicht's note, 1180, *IT* 1304, *Ph.* 1067, 1069). For τὸν δεῖνα αὐδῶ, another brusque locution, see 219–20n.; for avoidance of Apollo's name, 885–6n.

**908 ὅστ' ὀμφὰν κληροῖς** “who dispense your oracular voice by lot”: if this refers, as comparison with A. *Eu.* 32 suggests, to the drawing of lots to determine the order in which inquirers consult the oracle, then Creusa, who has not even been allowed to put her question, perhaps insinuates that Apollo manipulates protocol to avoid embarrassment, just as he now refuses to answer her summons. “Golden seats” and “seats at the earth's center” are then mocking rather than honorific. Amandry 1950: 232 takes this passage as confirmation that lots were used in producing the oracular responses themselves. For ὀμφή as Apollo's oracular voice, cf. Thgn. 808, *h. Herm.* 543–5 (cf. 471–2), S. *OC* 102. In Homer, the word is used only of divine voices; later Greek uses it more loosely. Herwerden's ὅστ' (ὅς L) is not required, but its tone (882–3n.) and the heavier rhythm it produces are both typical of Creusa's song.

**909 †πρὸς χρυσεύς θάκουσ†:** something like Page's <ἐλθοῦσιν> is needed to give the prep. phrase a construction.

**910 γαίης μεσσήρεις ἔδρας:** see 5–6n.

**911 ἐς φῶς αὐδάν καρύξω:** if φῶς is correct, Creusa's denunciation now reaches its most “public” phase, as she turns away from the door, but second-person forms show that she is still concerned more with the god than with the Chorus and the Old Man. Some retain L's οὖς (and change ἐς to εἰς for the meter); “into your ear” can be taken as a last effort to limit publicity, as well as a forlorn attempt to (re)establish intimacy (cf. 696, 1520–2n.), and one can also imagine Creusa addressing a stage property representing Apollo (cf. 186–7n.). But Creusa does not merely “speak,” she now finally “proclaims,” and “proclaim in your ear” is an emphatic oxymoron with no evident point.

**912 κακὸς εὐνάτωρ:** 894–5n.

**914–15 χάριν οὐ προλαβών:** whereas Apollo has failed, Creusa believes, to reciprocate the favor he took from her (instead “gratifying” Cypris, 896n.), he is giving a child to Xuthus, to whom he owes nothing (cf. 1103–4n.).

**916–18 γενέτας:** commonly “father” (*Or.* 1011 if sound, *Call. Ep.* 21.2, inscriptions), but “son” here and at S. *OT* 470 (cf. Willink 2010: 598–9). At 1130, the word is used as an adj.

†ἀμαθής†: the metrical flaw can be mended easily (by inserting γ’ after σός, with Triclinius), but no attested meaning of the adj. suits Ion, and to take it as nom. for voc. and thus addressed to Apollo, whom Creusa might consider “ignorant” in the sense “morally deficient” (Owen; cf. 448–9n., Mastronarde on *Ph.* 393–4), is desperate. Kirchhoff’s ἀπευθής gives good sense; in the required meaning “unknown, unheard of” (< πυνθάνεσθαι), it is attested at Hom. *Od.* 3.88.

οἰωνοῖς ἔρρει συλαθείς, | σπάργανα ματέρος ἐξαλλάξας: Creusa’s earlier “gone, snatched by birds as a feast” (903) becomes “gone, carried off as spoil by birds.” But συλαθείς also suggests “stripped,” a hint developed in σπάργανα ματέρος ἐξαλλάξας “leaving behind his mother’s swaddling.” Thus E. prepares for the role to be played later by Ion’s σπάργανα, which in fact he neither “lost” nor “left behind” (insofar as they are objects, but see next note). Because ἐξαλλάσσειν (a favorite word of E.) normally includes some notion of exchange, we may be reminded how well supplied with clothing Ion has been in Apollo’s house (137–40, 183, 326, etc.). After συλαθείς, L has οἰκεῖα, which interrupts the sequence of anapaests. Willink (ap. Kovacs) retains it, restoring meter with <γ’>, ἀμαθής <θεός> in 916 and revising the colometry. The nom. for voc. is now intelligible (cf. previous note), but for οἰκεῖα modifying σπάργανα, neither “his own” (Kovacs) nor “that were his only home” (Wilamowitz) is convincing.

σπάργανα: perhaps in an extended sense, “the time of life for swaddling by his mother” (cf. 1375–7). Though σπάργανα are clearly swaddling clothes elsewhere in *Ion* (32n.), the word means “infancy” at S. *OT* 1035 and may imply “innocent, protected time of life” at *Her.* 1267, A. *Ag.* 1606.

919–22 Creusa’s concluding claim that Apollo’s own birthplace hates him is another perversion of hymnic style. Evocations of the sacred landscape of Delos, similar in details but very different in tone, occur at *Hec.* 458–61, *IT* 1098–1102. The luxuriant growth (and implicit protection) of “Zeus’s gardens” (922) contrast with the unadorned site of Creusa’s rape and her child’s exposure.

ἃ Δᾶλος: because of the art., almost “your Delos,” i.e. “Delos, where such reverence is shown to your birthplace.” For the effect, cf. 908–10: Apollo’s behavior is implicitly contrasted with the grandeur of his two most important cult sites.

καὶ δάφνας | ἔρνεα φοίνικα παρ’ ἀβροκόμαν “and the shoots of laurel beside the palm with luxuriant foliage”: a palm tree figures in the story of Leto’s labor from *h. Ap.* 117 on (Thgn. 5–6, Call. *Hy.* 4.209–11; cf. Hom. *Od.* 6.162–7). At *Hec.* 458–60, E. adds the laurel; at *IT* 1099–1100, the laurel and the olive. Ion’s monody features laurel from “immortal gardens” (112–16).

λοχεύματα σέμν’ ἐλοχεύσατο | ... σε “bore you in an august birth,” with both external and internal acc. (495–8n.) and mid. λοχεύεσθαι in a sense

otherwise confined to later Greek. The verb recurs (in established usages) at 455 (pass.); 948, 1596 (act.).

**Δίοισι ... κάποις:** Creusa may mean that Zeus's gardens (not otherwise attested in this connection unless at S. *Ion* fr. 320 ἐν Διὸς κήποις) provided a safe and pleasant setting for Leto's labor, which was thus very different from her own. Pindar, in telling Leto's story, goes so far as to refer to her "pleasurable birth-pang" (τερπνᾶς ὠδίνος, *Pae.* 12, fr. 52m.13–14 Maehler = G1 Rutherford). This reflects the emphasis he, unlike the poet of *h. Ap.*, puts on Zeus's providence and protection (Rutherford 2001: 369–72), and a similar emphasis suits Creusa's rhetorical purpose here.

**923–4 οἱμοι, μέγας θησαυρός ὡς ἀνοίγνυται | κακῶν:** the Chorus' couplet marks the end of Creusa's song, and ἐφ' οἷσι πᾶς ἂν ἐκβάλαι δάκρυ provides a cue for an emotional response taken up by the Old Man. The remark "a great treasure-chest of evils is being opened" is boldly phrased and rich with meaning (Gibert 1995: 174–89). It casts the preceding song as a "quasi-ritual reenactment of the mythical crime" of the daughters of Cecrops (Zacharia 2003: 76–8; cf. 23–4, 271–4nn., *Introd.* §8.2); at 1394, the sealed basket containing Ion's birth tokens is called θησαυρίσματα (*Introd.* §3). The paradox of a θησαυρός of *evils* is heightened by the regular use of the word for the lavish buildings in which visitors' dedications were stored at Delphi (*Hdt.* 1.14.2, *LSJ* II). If "θησαυρός of song" was an established image (*Pi. P.* 6.7–8; cf. *Timoth. Pers.* 232–3), the words may reflect the form Creusa's narrative took, solo song (843–6n.); see further 1387, 1563nn.

**925–6 οἴκτου σὸν βλέπων ἐμπίμπλαμαι | πρόσωπον** "looking at your face, I am filled with pity": the Old Man, like the Chorus, immediately expresses pity, adding that he has been jolted from his earlier preoccupations (ἔξω δ' ἐγενόμην γνώμης ἐμῆς, which also suggests "I am out of my mind [with emotion]"). Those who retain L's οὔτοι usually explain "I cannot get my fill of looking at your face," which is sentimental and vague.

**927–8 κακῶν . . . κῦμ' ὑπεξαντλῶν φρενί:** an elaboration (in language much like A. *Se.* 758–60) of the common image of a "sea of troubles." While the Old Man was gradually (ὑπ-) bailing out (-εξαντλῶν, cf. 198–200n.) a wave of troubles, a second wave arrived πρύμνηθεν "from the stern" (i.e. unforeseen), raised him up, and is carrying him along (cf. 725–7, 929–30nn.). For the syntax (ὑπεξαντλῶν "nom. pendens," as the Old Man turns out to be not the subj. but the obj. of αἶρει), cf. K–G ii.105–9, Diggle 1981: 107; the insight of Barrett on *Hipp.* 23 that "such anacolutha are the stuff of natural speech" is developed by Slings 1992, who shows that psychological explanation (e.g. in terms of the Old Man's shock and confusion) is not called for.

**929–30 οὓς ἐκβαλοῦσα τῶν παρεστώτων κακῶν | μετῆλθες ἄλλων πημάτων κακὰς ὁδοὺς** "(words) which, shooting forth from the evils already present, you pursued along evil paths of further troubles": the

“wave of troubles” merges with Creusa’s words in 928 (σῶν λόγων ὑπο) and finally, in these lines, with Creusa herself, who “shoots forth” like surging water. For intrans. ἐκβάλλειν so used, cf. *Hel.* 1335–7 (springs), *Pl. Phd.* 113a6 (river), *Arist. Mete.* 367b13 (sea); for οὖς (sc. λόγους) as external obj. of μετέρχεσθαι “pursue,” cf. 1546, LSJ IV.3. This interpretation of the difficult passage takes ὁδοὺς as internal acc. of the path traversed (cf. 1226, Smyth §1581) and τῶν παρεστώτων κακῶν with the preverb in ἐκβαλοῦσα; for other views, see Diggle 1981: 107–9. Celebrated parallels for the merging of a person and his words in water imagery occur at *Crat.* fr. 198, *Ar. Knights* 526–8.

**931–69** The Old Man’s intense, rapid-fire questions (931–3) follow a logical order reprised in the ensuing stichomythia, but he reacts pessimistically and does not even consider the possibility that the child survived (contrast *Ion* at 345–52, 357). The scene focuses on two emotional images, Creusa’s isolation throughout her ordeal (939–49, 956–7) and her abandonment of her infant (954–63). The first throws her susceptibility to the Old Man’s influence into still greater relief (cf. 725–1047n.), while the second highlights parallels between events at the time of *Ion*’s birth and the plot about to be hatched (954–65, 970–1047nn., Huys 1995: 147–9).

**932–3** ποῖον . . . παῖδα; the Old Man is not asking what sort of child Creusa gave birth to; rather, his question resembles the combination of ποῖος and a word of a previous speaker to express surprise, disbelief, or contempt (e.g. *Hel.* 567 ποίας δάμαρτος; “what do you mean ‘wife’?!”). For tragic variations on this colloquial idiom, frequent in comedy, see Bond on *Her.* 518, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1119; cf. 286n.

θηρσὶν φίλον τύμβευμ’; ἀνελθέ μοι πάλιν: for destruction of a corpse by birds or dogs (503–6n.) as “burial,” see *S. Ant.* 1081–2, *El.* 1487–8, [*A.*] *Se.* 1020–1, *Gorg.* 82 B 5a DK; τύμβευμα occurs only here and at *S. Ant.* 1220 (cf. 112–14n.). ἀνελθέ μοι πάλιν is a quasi-formulaic request to “go back over the details,” as at *IT* 256, *Ph.* 1207 (with Mastronarde’s note).

**934** αἰσχύνομαι: for Creusa’s shame, see 336–7, 860–1nn.

**935** ὥς συστενάζειν γ’ οἶδα γενναίως φίλοις: the combination ὥς . . . γε is both causal and “asseverative” (“do speak, for . . .”); cf. 759, 979, 1416, Willink on *Or.* 93, Schein on *S. Ph.* 117. συστενάζειν occurs only here (cf. 728n.); γενναίως may mean “true to type,” implying that joining in a mistress’ grief is what befits a slave (so Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 1198), but often γενναῖος is a synonym for εὐγενής “well-born, noble” (262; cf. 237 γενναιότης).

**936–8** Because 936 and 937, as transmitted, do not cohere syntactically, some delete 937; strict stichomythia then begins at 934. But 938 does not follow well on 936, and two-line interruptions of stichomythia are not rare, so it is better to change “Cecropian rocks” from acc. to gen. (Page; cf. Diggle 1981: 109–11). For Pan’s cave, see 11–13, 492–4nn.

**939-40** ἀγῶνα δεινὸν ἡγωνίσμεθα “we struggled a dreadful struggle”: with these words and especially ἀκουσα (also δύστηνον) in 941, Creusa expresses her unwillingness emphatically (cf. 891-6n.). For sex as contest, see A. Ag. 1206 (Apollo “wrestles” with Cassandra); contrast 963 ἀγῶνας . . . ἀρετῆς. The verb ἀγωνίζεσθαι is a Euripidean favorite (×13, ×6 with cognate acc.; not in A. or S.).

ἀπαντᾷ δάκρυά μοι τοῖς σοῖς λόγοις means either “tears come over me because of your words” (LSJ ἀπαντάω II) or “my tears rise to meet your words” (LSJ I).

**942-7** The Old Man’s perceptiveness takes the place of skepticism, the usual reaction to a story like Creusa’s (exploited at 338-42). What “secret illness” he observed her lamenting is unclear; not labor and delivery, to judge by 946-7 (cf. 1595-9n.). Perhaps pregnancy: at least one pregnant Euripidean heroine tries to escape detection by feigning illness (Canace in *Aeolus*, test. 11.25-7; cf. fr. 682, Ar. *Thesmo.* 405-6); on the concealment of Creusa’s pregnancy, see 14-15n. It is also possible to hear, unusually, the emotional distress of a rape victim: after “unwilling” participation in a “dreadful contest” and “wretched union,” Creusa “kept lamenting” (imperf. ἔστανες, 944) her hidden affliction.

**946** ἐξέκλεψας: as Denniston notes on *El.* 364, “κλέπτειν and its compounds are used of any kind of action which involves deceit, and the meanings are multifarious”; the one needed here, “conceal,” is not in LSJ (cf. 1244-5, 1253-4nn.).

**947-9** ἔτεκον . . . | μόνη κατ’ ἄντρον: before Creusa can complete her thought, the Old Man’s response to the startling news in ἔτεκον elicits the encouragement “bear up as you hear this from me.” For the internal stage direction, cf. A. *Ch.* 233, *Su.* 729, E. *Alc.* 703, *Med.* 550, *Hclld.* 223-5, *Her.* 624-7.

μόνη . . . | μόνη: the repetition emphasizes the shocking fact of Creusa’s isolation; cf. 951-2 (τέθνηκεν . . . ; | τέθνηκ’), 952-3 (οὐδὲν ἥρκεσεν; | οὐκ ἥρκεσ’); 286, 338-9nn. Creusa’s claim to have given birth in the cave contradicts Hermes’ account (16 τεκοῦς’ ἐν οἴκοις). Spectators concerned to determine the “fact” of the matter might reasonably credit the divine prologue-speaker, but comparable cases of factual discrepancy in tragedy do not support far-reaching conclusions about Creusa’s honesty (“she is apt to tell untruths,” Owen) or psychology (“a woman whose memory of the past is a set of fluid impressions,” placing the birth in the cave “unconsciously as an expression of her own despair and grief,” Lee), interpretations that need a firmer basis (cf. 16, 1595-9nn.).

**950** ἵνα σὺ μηκέτ’ ᾗς ἄπαις: compressed, for something like “(I ask) so that (if he can be found) *you* may no longer be childless”; cf. Bond on *Her.* 617. Use of the pron. emphasizes “you” and implies “like Xuthus.”

**951–2** τέθνηκεν . . . θηρσὶν ἐκτεθείς: 348–52, 965nn. In calling Apollo ὁ κακός, the Old Man adopts Creusa’s perspective (894–5n., 912).

**953** Ἄιδου δ’ ἐν δόμοις παιδεύεται: Creusa means that Hades (placed first to make a bitter contrast with Ἀπόλλων in 952) is assuming Apollo’s responsibility. Ion’s “boyhood/education in Hades’ house,” a variation on the “marriage to Hades” commonly associated with dead or dying girls, contrasts with the presumed upbringing of Xuthus’ bastard (821–2), but like that passage reminds us of the care Apollo has in fact taken of Ion (49–53, 137–40, 357, etc.).

**954–65** In addition to lingering over Creusa’s anguish, the account of the exposure elicited by the Old Man’s dogged questions emphasizes that Ion risked losing his life at her hands and thus prepares for the revival of that risk in the murder plot. Some think the Old Man is “horrified” by Creusa’s behavior, but it would be out of character for him to blame Creusa. The shocked tone of his questions does not require moralizing interpretation, and his closest approaches to blame involve the ambivalent concept τόλμα, which he is careful to ascribe more to Apollo than to Creusa (960n.).

**954** τίς γὰρ νιν ἐξέθηκεν; οὐ γὰρ δὴ σύ γε; the first γὰρ is “progressive” (“so he’s dead because he was exposed – by whom?”); *GP* 81–2 (cf. 971). When the Old Man continues, “not you, surely,” the tone can be anything from sympathy to mild surprise to shock (*GP* 243); cf. 958–9n.

**955** ἡμεῖς, ἐν ὄρφνῃ σπαργανώσαντες πέπλοις: when a woman in tragedy speaks of herself in the pl., modifiers are regularly masc. (1362, Smyth §1009, K–G 1.83). The pathetic detail “in the dark” does not occur in the play’s other narratives of the exposure, but it resonates with darkness as a metaphor for illegitimacy (860–1n.). For Ion’s swaddling clothes, see 32n. ὄρφνη, a Euripidean favorite (× 6 or 7; not in A. or S., though A. has ὄρφναῖος; × 7 in [*Rh.*]), occurs in the very first line of the parody of E.’s lyrics in Ar. *Frogs* (1332).

**957** αἱ συμφοραί γε καὶ τὸ λανθάνειν μόνον: sc. ξυνήδεσαν “were witnesses,” understood from 956 ξυνήδει. To make “calamities” and “secrecy” subjects of this verb is bolder than, for example, the personification of αἰδώς at 336–7(n.).

**958–9** καὶ πῶς . . . ἔτλης; | πῶς; although it can be interpreted and delivered to convey surprise or contempt, καὶ πῶς need not signal more than a desire for further information (*GP* 309–10); cf. 954n., 973. For the text in 959 and examples of the idiom (repeated word in question, no connective), see Diggle 1981: 50–1; for ἔτλης, next note.

**960** τλήμων σὺ τόλμης, ὁ δὲ θεὸς μᾶλλον σέθεν: the first words mean both “you were wretched for your courage” and “you were audacious in your deed,” continuing the ambiguity of 958 πῶς ἔτλης; “how did you bring yourself to . . . ?” But as imputed to the god in the second half of the line,

τλήμων must be “active” and disapproving (“but the god was more hard-hearted than you”), since the god does not suffer (cf. 252–4n.). Calling a god τλήμων may have been novel (Willink 2010: 163); if voc. τλᾶμον is correct at 905, the Old Man is echoing his mistress (cf. 951–2n.). As for Creusa, “audacity” predominates as τόλμα is used of her from this point on (976, 1062, 1216, 1264, 1416).

**961–2** εἰ παῖδά γ’ εἶδες χεῖρας ἐκτείνοντά μοι: newborns do not stretch out their arms. The unrealistic but pathetic detail is better attributed to E.’s aims than to Creusa’s “subjective memory” (Lee; cf. 931–69, 948–9nn.). The apodosis to Creusa’s condition is suppressed, as being obvious (e.g. “you would have wept”): Mastronarde on *Ph.* 1562–3. In 962, the Old Man continues Creusa’s syntax (διώκοντα modifying παῖδα) in a question that does not really seek information, but allows E. to develop the pathos still further (breast: 319–21n.; arms: 280n.).

**965** ὥς τὸν θεὸν σώσοντα τὸν γ’ αὐτοῦ γόνον “(I thought) that the god would preserve his own son”: according to Hermes at 18 and 27, Creusa expected her baby to die, and Creusa’s own words elsewhere confirm this (348, 902–4, 916–18, 951; later 1494–5). Yet she also said her “friend” returned to the place of exposure (350, 352), and the present passage suggests a motive: she hoped against hope that the god would intervene. The earlier scene exploited the irony that she ignored promising evidence (348–52n.); here the Old Man merely responds with grief. When the ptcpl. of a personal verb (here σώζειν) is used in the acc. abs. after ὥς, a verb of thinking and thus indirect discourse is implied, here prepared by 964 σοὶ δ’ ἐς τί δόξ’ ἐσῆλθεν (“to what end did the thought come to you?”); cf. Diggle 1994: 225, Smyth §2078, K–G II.95–6.

**966** δόμων σῶν ὄλβος ὥς χεῖμάζεται “how the prosperity of your house is being buffeted by storm”: a reminder, like σὲ καὶ πατέρα σόν in 968, of the dynastic consequences of Creusa’s misfortune, in imagery that looks back to 927–30 and ahead to 1502–9.

**967** κρᾶτα κρύψας: a gesture made by both men and women to express grief (predominant here), anger, or shame (Hom. *Od.* 4.113–16, 8.83–92, A. *Ch.* 81–3, S. *Aj.* 245–6, E. *Hipp.* 131–4, *Hec.* 487, *Su.* 286–7, etc., Cairns 2002).

**969** τὰ θνητὰ τοιαῦτ’ οὐδὲν ἐν ταύτῳ μένει: after the recognition, Creusa, the Chorus, and Ion all reflect on the changeability of fortune (1502–15), the commonest of commonplaces, for which a chapter of Stobaeus’ anthology (4.41) quotes two dozen passages from E. alone. The maxim may cue us to expect change: the plot is about to take an abrupt turn, as happens again after 1515 (and at *IT* 722, just after Pylades makes a similar remark; cf. 971n.). For ἐν ταύτῳ (= τῷ αὐτῷ “the same [place, condition]”) μένει, cf. *Tro.* 350, *Hel.* 1026, fr. 201.4, trag. adesp. 1b.14, Hdt. 1.5.4.

**970–1047** Together, the Old Man and Creusa develop a revenge plot (“intrigue” or μηχανήμα). In the first part (970–83), the Old Man makes proposals and Creusa rejects them, except for the suggestion of Ion as target, which she eagerly accepts (978n.). Next, Creusa takes the lead (984–1021), until the Old Man proposes and she accepts a crucial modification (1022–8). In concluding speeches after the long stichomythia, each then adds a few finishing touches to the plan, which thus emerges from a genuine back-and-forth. Similar plotting scenes occur in *El.*, *Hel.*, *IT*, and *Or.* Initial proposals are rejected by one of the plotters at *Hel.* 803–13, 1035–46, *IT* 1020–8 (cf. *Med.* 376–85, *Ph.* 724–34). A female character takes over and makes decisive contributions at *El.* 647–98, *Hel.* 820–31, 1049–1106, *IT* 1029–88, *Or.* 1181–1245; and the wiliness of women is remarked upon at *Hel.* 1049, *IT* 1032, *Or.* 1204. In *Ion*, the extraordinary degree of cooperation between Creusa and the Old Man, combined with Creusa’s bracelet and its history (987–1019), suggests that the misguided drive to revenge belongs to Creusa’s nature as an earthborn Athenian and is not merely due to the Old Man’s baleful influence. For the μηχανήμα as a typical element in E.’s plays and the significance of the form and position it takes in *Ion*, see further 1116n., Introd. §4; for stichomythia, 237–451n.

**970** μή νυν ἔτ’ οἰκτων, θύγατερ, ἀντεχώμεθα: the Old Man’s swift recovery from his sorrow is striking, but it is important not to exaggerate his initiative. A small but crucial detail, enclitic νυν, links his exhortation to Creusa’s last line: “let us then (since mortal fortunes never stay the same) no longer cling to lamentation.” The particle marks a progression of thought and can even be strongly inferential (≈ οὖν); cf. 1026. What links the narrative and plotting halves of the stichomythia across this turning point is precisely the Old Man’s responsiveness to Creusa, shown here also by his sympathetic address (θύγατερ, 735–7n.) and inclusive, first-person pl. verb (ἀντεχώμεθα), and in 972 by his proposal that Creusa seek revenge on Apollo, the first, as he now knows, to wrong her.

**971** τί γάρ με χρή δρᾶν; ἀπορία τὸ δυστυχεῖν “Well, what *should* I do? Misfortune is resourcelessness”: as in 969, the maxim may cue us to expect change; cf. *Or.* 70 ἄπορον χρῆμα δυστυχῶν δόμος, immediately preceding the entrance of a new character. “What should I do (δρᾶν)?” is the quintessential tragic question (*A. Ch.* 899, *S. Aj.* 809, *Ph.* 908, 969, *E. Med.* 1042, *Ph.* 1310, etc.; variations in *Ion* at 758, 1332; several paratragic examples in *Ar.*). It soon emerges that Creusa, far from being resourceless, has had the means of action at her disposal all along (985n.). In τί γάρ με χρή δρᾶν, γάρ is again “progressive” (954n.).

**973** καὶ πῶς τὰ κρείσσω θνητὸς οὐς’ ὑπερδράμω; Creusa shrinks from the Old Man’s suggestion of direct reprisal; for the expression, cf. 1388, *S. Ant.* 453–5 (especially 455 θνητὸν ὄνθ’ ὑπερδραμεῖν). τὰ κρείσσω (here = “the gods”) recalls 254 τῶν κρατούντων; for καὶ πῶς, cf. 958–9n.



**974** *πίμπρη τὰ σεμνὰ Λοξίου χρηστήρια*: such an attack would be savage and impious – Giant-like, in fact (Mastronarde 2003: 302). Neoptolemus may have tried to set fire to Apollo’s temple in S. *Hermione* (Apollod. *Epit.* 6.14, Sommerstein 2006a: 12; cf. E. *An.* 1095), as according to legend the Persians meant to do in 480 BCE (Hdt. 8.35–9). Needless to say, Greeks believed the god was well able to repel and punish such attacks.

**977** *αἰδούμεθ’ εὐνὰς τὰς τόθ’ ἡνίκ’ ἐσθλὸς ἦν*: αἰδῶς (336–7, 860–1 nn.) is the proper attitude of a wife towards her marriage bed (Hom. *Od.* 16.75 = 19.527, Cairns 1993: 124) and provides a convenient excuse for sparing Xuthus (and reducing his dramatic significance still further; cf. 843–6, 850–3 nn.). Creusa’s respect for the bond she had with Xuthus “when he was good” does not mean she disbelieves the bad things the Old Man said about him; she condemned him at 864, 876–80.

**978** *νῦν δ’ ἀλλὰ παῖδα τὸν ἐπὶ σοὶ πεφηνότα* “well then, (kill) the boy who has appeared against you”: the Old Man assumes Ion is a threat (ἐπὶ + dat.), as already at 829, 838, 846, [847–9]. For δ’ ἀλλὰ offering an alternative to a rejected suggestion, see *GP* 10.

**979** *εἰ γὰρ εἴη δυνατόν*: Creusa rejected the Old Man’s first suggestion as impossible (973, cf. 976), the second as immoral (977). Both kinds of consideration come up in other plotting scenes (e.g. *Hel.* 811, 1043, *IT* 1021).

**982** *ἱεραῖσιν ἐν σκηναῖσιν οὗ θοινᾷ φίλους*: 804–7n. For θοινᾶν “entertain with a feast,” cf. Hdt. 1.129.1; this sense is rare, but cf. ἐστιᾶν, δαινύναι, δειπνίζειν.

**983** *ἐπίσημον ὁ φόνος καὶ τὸ δοῦλον ἀσθενές* “murder is a conspicuous thing, and slaves are weak”: the neut. ἐπίσημον shows that the first half of the line is a generalization, arranged in a neat chiasmus with another about τὸ δοῦλον “the slave element.” Creusa may fear that protectors or defenders will emerge from the crowd, and her accomplices’ physical weakness or disloyalty (both common assumptions about slaves) will come into play. In the event, the Old Man does betray her, but only under compulsion (1215n.).

**985** *καὶ μὴν ἔχω γε δόλια καὶ δραστήρια* “why, I *do* have a plan, crafty and effective”: an impressive line, as Creusa takes over the plotting (970–1047n.). The alliterative adjs. draw together women’s wiles (843–6n.) and the effective action that seemed out of Creusa’s reach just a moment ago (971n.; cf. 1185).

**987–1017** By drawing out the story of Athena’s defeat of Gorgo (or “the Gorgon”) and gift of the monster’s blood to Creusa’s ancestor, E. suggests dark connections between Giants, serpents, autochthony, and Athenian royalty (205–18n., Introd. §6.2). He probably invented this version of the myth, which recurs only in Diod. Sic. (3.70), for just this reason (Mastronarde 2003: 302–4, Gantz 1993: 448; cf. 994n.). In the dominant

tradition he follows elsewhere (*El.* 459-60, fr. 124.5-6, 228a.10), there are three Gorgons, sea-monsters born of Phorcys and Ceto, and the hero Perseus kills Medusa, the one who is mortal (*Hes. Th.* 270-81, *Pi. P.* 10.46-8, 12.11-18, *Pherec.* fr. 11, etc.).

**987 γηγενῇ μάχην** “the battle involving the earthborn (Giants)”: the compressed phrase, which recurs at *Cy.* 5, is glossed in the next line. For γηγενεῖς = “Giants,” cf. 1529, *Ar. Birds* 824, etc. But γηγενής is also an epithet of Erichthonius (20), γηγενέτας of the House of Erechtheus (1466). “(The plain of) Phlegra” is the usual site of the Gigantomachy (*Her.* 1194, *Hes.* fr. 43a.65, *Pi. N.* 1.67-8, *A. Eu.* 295-6, etc.). Ancients connected the name with φλέγειν “burn” and identified the location variously (*Dunbar* on *Ar. Birds* 823-4).

**990 θεῶν πόνον** “a source of trouble for the gods.”

**992-7** These lines enhance important themes and make good sense in their transmitted order. Some judge 992-3 more apt as a description of the aegis than of Gorgo’s chest and follow Kirchhoff in transposing them after 996-7, but this strains both syntax and narrative logic. To others, the whole passage seems vague, prolix, and eccentric in its mythology, problems Kraus 1989: 77-8 aims to solve by deleting 992-3 and 996-7. This leaves a smooth but somewhat bland sequence, lacking the characteristically Euripidean aetiology and etymology.

**992 ποῖόν τι μορφῆς σχῆμ’ ἔχουσαν ἀγρίας;** “having what form of monstrous shape?”: the seemingly redundant μορφῆς σχήματα again *IT* 292, μορφῆς τύπωμα *Ph.* 162.

**993 θώρακ’ ἐχίδνης περιβόλοις ὠπλισμένον** “a chest armed with snaky covering/fringe”: θώραξ = “chest, trunk,” as at *Her.* 1095, but the other common meaning, “breast-plate,” is activated in 995 when Athena puts on the monster’s δέρος (“skin, pelt”) as armor. περιβόλοις refers either to snaky skin as a tough layer of protection (cf. περιβάλλειν “put on, cover”) or to a fringe of snakes (περιβάλλειν “encircle”), and indeed both appear in depictions of Athena’s aegis. In either case, the pl. is “poetic”; there seems to be no warrant for LSJ’s “spires or coils.” A standard feature of the aegis not mentioned here but alluded to at 209-11 (n.) is that a Gorgon’s head served as its boss or emblem.

**994 ἄρ’ οὐτός ἐσθ’ ὁ μῦθος ὃν κλύω πάλαι;** playfully self-conscious if, as is likely (987-1017n.), the μῦθος here is E.’s invention; cf. 1340n.

**996 ἣν αἰγίδ’ ὀνομάζουσι:** the rel. pron. agrees with the predicate acc. αἰγίδα instead of its antecedent (δέρος). This is regular, especially with verbs of naming (*Smyth* 2502e, K-G I.76-7), and has an analogue in the use of demonstratives (e.g. *S. OC* 88 ταύτην ἔλεξε παῦλαν, with *Jebb’s* note). For the aegis, see next note.

**997 τόδ’ ἔσχεν ὄνομα θεῶν ὅτ’ ἦξεν ἐς δόρυ:** in the *Iliad*, the aegis is a weapon used by various gods, mostly to terrify opponents on the

battlefield (Gantz 1993: 84–5); later, it is associated mostly with Athena and represented as “a tasseled, often snake-fringed bib spread over the goddess’s shoulders and chest, with *Gorgoneion* fixed at its center like a brooch” (Liapis on *Rh.* 306–8, with references; for the fringe, cf. 993n.). The derivation of the word from αἰσσειν (572n.) is Euripidean invention (cf. 661); ancients usually derived it from αἶξ (e.g. Hdt. 4.189.2), and modern scholars consider this likely, if not certain. The association of Zeus, original owner of the aegis, with goats may have deep cultic roots (Fowler 1988: 107). ἤϊξεν is an anonymous conjecture, reported by Paley (comparing *El.* 844 and *Ph.* 1466), for L’s bland ἤλθεν, which looks like a gloss. But even if ἤλθεν is correct, there is etymological play, in this case via synonym as at 9, 802–3, 1555–6(nn.). E. improvises a different etymological connection of αἰγίς, with the Ionian tribe Αἰγικορῆς, at 1580–1 (n.).

**999–1000** Ἐριχθόνιον οἶσθ’ ἢ <οὔ>; τί δ’ οὐ μέλλεις, γέρον; as Creusa recognizes with typically Euripidean self-consciousness (Mastronarde 1979: 43–4), her question is unnecessary (τί δ’ οὐ μέλλεις = “why wouldn’t you?”), but it gives the Old Man a chance to identify old Erichthonius as earthborn, like Gorgo (1000 ~ 989). ἢ οὔ scans as one syllable by synizesis; for πρόγονος, see 267n.

**1001–17** That Erichthonius was a newborn when Athena bestowed her gift on him sets up a parallel with Creusa’s gift to her infant (26–8), which imitated Athena’s other gift to Erichthonius of two protective snakes (21–3). Under what circumstances Erechtheus received the heirloom, 1007 does not reveal. When we hear that Creusa got it as part of her inheritance (1008), it begins to look like an allegory of her capacity for good and evil, an impression reinforced by its constant presence on her wrist (1009). The motif of healing and deadly drops of Gorgo’s blood recurs only in Apollod. 3.10.3, who says that Asclepius got them from Athena and used both kinds.

**1002** μέλλον γάρ τι προσφέρεις ἔπος: an apparently unique example of the expression “hesitating speech.” The actor playing Creusa can, but need not, actually pause during 1001. The line expresses the Old Man’s eagerness, and perhaps playfully acknowledges the stichomythic convention of incomplete syntax, as Creusa does not in fact add (προσφέρειν) the direct obj. that 1001 lacks until the beginning of 1003.

**1004–5** These lines were suspected by Wecklein and deleted by Kraus 1989: 80 as an inept anticipation of 1010–15, but it is fitting for the Old Man to follow up the hint in 1003 δισσοῦς immediately; cf. 1010n.

**1006** ἐν τῷ καθάψας’ ἀμφὶ παιδὶ σώματος; “In/by what did she attach them to the child’s body?”

**1007** χρυσείοισι δεσμοῖς “in/by golden fastenings/ornaments”: though easily intelligible, the noun is unusual for jewelry; it usually means “chains, shackles.”

**1009** **κάπῃ καρπῶι γ' αὐτ' ἐγὼ χερὸς φέρω:** for “the wrist of the arm,” see 891–2n. For φέρω, one might expect φορῶ (conjectured by Herwerden), as in 1016, but cf. 1431. αὐτ' (= αὐτά) refers to δεσμοῖς (1007).

**1010** **πῶς οὖν κέκρανται δίπτυχον δῶρον θεᾶς;** “How then is the double gift of the goddess constituted?” Having already learned what power the two drops have, the Old Man seeks details. The connective οὖν and the unemphatic resumption of the crucial fact of doubleness seem more appropriate on the assumption that 1004–5 are genuine.

**1011** **κοίλης . . . φλεβός:** the technical term in Greek medicine (as Lat. *vena caua* still is) for the vessel through which blood returns to the heart, but E. may have derived “hollow” rather from his observation of animal sacrifice (Craik 2001: 90, noting that at 1055 Gorgo is imagined as having her throat slit, which would cause the immediate collapse of major veins). Here φόνος = “blood” (poetic).

**1012** **τί τῶιδε χρῆσθαι;** “(it is constituted so as for one) to use it how?”: the question depends on κέκρανται in 1010; cf. 1430n.

**1014** **ὁ δεύτερος δ' ἀριθμός:** “the second item” (LSJ ἀριθμός I.4).

**1015** **δρακόντων ἰὸς ὦν τῶν Γοργόνος:** the drops are apparently differentiated not, as in Apollod. 3.10.3, according to their origin on the right or left side of the body (though the *vena caua*, source of the “good” blood, in fact belongs to the right), but according to inside and outside. Unsurprisingly, Gorgo’s snakes (her hair?) are venomous; perhaps the internal blood’s healing power is due to blood’s role in circulating nutrients (cf. 1013 τροφάς).

**1017** **κακῶι γὰρ ἐσθλὸν οὐ συμμείγνυται:** in the world of *Ion*, this sentiment seems misguided, as its form, a pithy generalization in reply to a weakly motivated question, may prompt us to realize.

**1018** **ὦ φιλότατη παῖ, πάντ' ἔχεις ὅσων σε δεῖ** “dearest child, you have everything you need!”: in addition to its use in recognitions (521, 1437–8nn.), φιλότατ- has a regular place in reactions to welcome news (1488, *Hclld.* 788, *Su.* 641, etc., Gregor 1957); for “child,” cf. 735–7n. The construction of impersonal δεῖ + acc. of the person and gen. of the thing belongs almost exclusively to E. (× 11).

**1021–2** **ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις, δῶμ' ὅταν τοῦμόν μόλη:** the emphatic τοῦμόν suggests that Creusa, like the Old Man, sees Ion’s arrival in Athens as part of a plot to install him on the throne, a point she makes explicitly at 1036 and the Chorus develop in their Fourth Song (1056–7, 1069–73, 1087–9nn.). In 1022, the Old Man refers to Creusa’s rejection of his suggestions at 975 and 977. For the possibility that these lines allude to S., see Introd. §3.

**1023** **ἄρ' ὑπείδου τοῦθ' ὃ καμ' ἐσέρχεται;** “Did you suspect what occurs to me too?”: for καμ' (= καὶ ἐμὲ) ἐσέρχεται, cf. 964, where the personal pron. is dat. rather than acc.

**1025 ὀρθῶς** φθονεῖν γάρ φασι μητρυιάς τέκνοις: the dread word “step-mother” falls first from Creusa’s lips; Ion uses it twice later (1270, 1330), but he avoided it when contemplating Creusa’s future as Xuthus’ aging, childless wife (607–20). We have watched Creusa become the evil stereotype, which is known to have influenced the plots of about a dozen lost tragedies of S. and E.; in E.’s surviving plays, it is taken for granted at e.g. *Alc.* 304–10, *Hipp.* 858–61, *Med.* 1144–55; see Watson 1995. For ὀρθῶς “right!,” cf. *Ba.* 838, Bond on *Her.* 599.

**1026 ἴν’ ἀρνήσῃ φόνους** “where you will (be able to) deny the murder”: the verb is fut. indic.

**1027 προλάζυμαι γοῦν τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς** “certainly in that case I get the pleasure (of revenge) all the sooner”: λάζυσθαι and its compounds are epic and Ionic equivalents of (-)λαμβάνειν, in tragedy only in E., nearly twenty times (including 1266, 1402). E. is also the only tragedian to use γοῦν “to introduce a *pro tanto* reason for following a suggested course” (*GP* 452; cf. 557). χρόνῳ is dat. of degree of difference depending on the comparative idea in προ-.

**1028 καί σόν γε λήσεις πόσιν ἃ σε σπεύδει λαθεῖν**: either “you will conceal from your husband what he is eager to conceal from you” (*sc.* the knowledge that he has a son) or, taking ἃ more loosely, “you will deceive him as he is eager to deceive you.”

**1029 οἷσθ’ οὖν ὃ δρᾶσον** “here’s what you do”: this colloquialism occurs in exactly this form nine times in E. and comedy; there is a slight variation at S. *OT* 543 οἷσθ’ ὡς πόησον; for further variations and bibliography, see Stevens 1976: 36, Collard 2005: 363. Pragmatically, it is not interrogative (“do you know. . .?”), but focuses attention on immediately following instructions; its grammatical evolution and how best to punctuate after it are unclear (Kannicht on *Hel.* 315, Diggle 1994: 500–1). The instructions come in an unusually long, periodic sentence with ptcpls. and dependent verbs piling up around 1034 κάθεσ “pour” (aor. act. imper. < καθίημι; cf. 433–6n.).

**1030 ὄργανον** can be related to ἔργον, ἐργάζομαι as “that which is made, product,” but also as “that which does work, tool”; Creusa’s bracelet is both.

**1031 ἴν’ ἡμῖν βουθυτεῖ λάθραι πόσις** “where my husband is sacrificing in secret”: for this convenient misunderstanding, see 804–7n.

**1035 ἰδίαί γε, μή <τι> πᾶσι χωρίσας ποτόν** “reserving the drink for him alone, not everybody”: this line alerts us to the difficulty of delivering poison to just one participant at a symposium, where wine and water are mixed in a communal bowl (κρατήρ); the Servant’s account later offers another chance to linger over the details and build suspense (1165–89n.). Some, however, condemn the present line, which in its transmitted form is a syllable short and somewhat unusual in its phrasing, as an actor’s interpolation that labors the point (Paley, Page 1934: 57).

**1036** τῷ τῶν ἐμῶν μέλλοντι δεσπόζειν δόμων: 1021–2n.

**1037–8** κἄνπερ διέλθῃ λαιμόν “and if it (the poison) passes through his throat”: λαιμός is most often used of the throat as cut in sacrifice or murder (cf. 1054), and it also occurs in descriptions of suicide by hanging, as at 1064–5 (n.). It may be chosen, then, to emphasize Ion’s vulnerability, but Hom. *Il.* 19.209, where Achilles says he will not allow food or drink to pass down his λαιμός before he avenges Patroclus, is a conspicuous poetic example of the word used simply for the throat as alimentary passage.

**οὔποθ’ ἵξεται | κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας:** the Chorus’ wish at 719–20, varied in their next song at 1058–60, 1087–9. For “glorious Athens,” see 30, 589–90nn.

**1039–40** σὺ μὲν νυν εἴσω προξένων μέθης πόδα: Creusa probably exits after these lines; on her absence from the stage during the Servant’s messenger speech, see 1106–1228n.; for Delphic πρόξενοι, 335n.

**ἐκπονήσομεν:** the Old Man reaffirms 850 συνεκπονέειν θέλω.

**1041–7** Here at the end of the long Fourth Scene, E. creates a strong contrast with its beginning, where the Old Man was utterly dependent on Creusa. This is not a miracle, as with Iolaus in *Hcld.*, Oedipus in *S. OC*, and arguably Cadmus and Tiresias in *E. Ba.* Rather, the plotting itself seems to have had an invigorating effect, as perhaps on the Old Man in *E. El.* and the conspirators in *Or.* What this means for the morality of revenge is debatable; the question gains interest from the fact that the Old Man’s closing generalization is a version of the “Help Friends/Harm Enemies” ethic, broadly acceptable in archaic and classical Greece, but here in an extreme, and thus worrisome, form (1045–7n.). The Old Man now embodies the energy of the plot. Creusa has handed over the poison (her means of effective action, 985 δραστήρια) and returned to passivity; soon she will have no choice but to throw herself on the god’s altar and mercy (1285n.), until she sees the chance for a daring “leap of faith” at 1402 (Introd. §8.2).

**1041–4** ἄγ’, ὦ γεραιέ πούς, νεανίας γενοῦ: Hecuba’s addresses to her aged foot at *Hec.* 169–70 and *Tro.* 1275 are formally similar but more affecting (cf. *Alc.* 837–9, *Med.* 1244–50, Schadewaldt 1926: 219–21); comparable cases of old men reflecting on youthful valor are *An.* 757–65, *Her.* 268–9, and especially *Hcld.* 740–4 (address to arm, urge to fight, closing γνώμη). But while Iolaus in *Hcld.* is miraculously rejuvenated (843–66), the Old Man remains enough of an old man to incur laughter for his incongruous actions (1172–3n.). The antithesis τῷ χρόνῳ/ἔργοισι develops the two sides of νεανίας, lit. “youthful” and by extension “vigorous.” For συμφόνευε and συνεξαίρει, see 728n.

**1045–7** The idea that it is καλόν to honor εὐσέβεια in certain circumstances, but that no νόμος impedes harming one’s enemies, blends relativism (of a kind that gained ground in the later fifth century) with

traditional ethics. See Blundell 1989, one of whose insights is that the traditional notion of helping friends and harming enemies carried the seeds of relativism all along; dramatists are sometimes the first to make this plain. The Old Man's rhetoric is prejudicial. By opposing εὐτυχοῦσι μὲν κτλ. τοῖς δὲ πολεμίοις κτλ., he implicitly restricts the former to "those who are lucky enough not to be at war." He also shifts Ion to the category πολέμιος (at 1043, he was still ἐχθρός, a "personal enemy"); slippage between these terms more often runs in the other direction (Blundell 1989: 39), but cf. 1254, 1292–3, 1334–6nn. These moves, the phrasing "when one *wants* to harm one's enemies," and the exaggeration οὐδεὶς νόμος "no law/custom" all reveal the loyal Old Man to be intellectually and morally lazy, and his exit lines are, in E.'s manner, shocking. They also prepare for the ironic mention of women's superior εὐσεβία in the coming song (1094), the exchange between Ion and Creusa at 1290–1, and Ion's crisis at the altar (1312–19n.).

#### 1048–1105 FOURTH SONG (THIRD STASIMON) OF THE CHORUS

The Chorus call on Einodia/Hecate to aid their mistress' plot against the would-be usurper (first strophe); if Creusa fails, she will commit suicide rather than endure a foreigner's rule in Athens (first antistrophe). The Chorus are ashamed to think of Ion watching the Iacchus procession of the Eleusinian Mysteries, where stars, moon, and Nereids join the celebration (second strophe); Xuthus' actions prove that the male-dominated poetic tradition's abuse of women is unjust; there should be a rival strain publicizing men's infidelities (second antistrophe).

The song is traditional in form (two strophic pairs, like all five stasima in *Med.*) and function (bridging the time between plotting and messenger-*rhexis*). As in earlier songs, the Chorus focus closely on events and cast them in a highly emotional light. The first pair is dark and brooding, with nether powers, death-dealing poison, and imagined suicide (this last a bit of misdirection). The indignation expressed at the beginning and end of the third stanza casts a pall on a normally bright celebration (1074–89n.). In these three stanzas, there is the familiar irony that the imagined outsider is in reality the ultimate insider; this makes the Chorus' patriotism seem parochial and dangerous. In the final stanza, E. adds a dimension of gender rivalry that has been largely implicit until now, and here the irony is more complex. As in *Med.*, where there is a comparable song (the first stasimon, especially 410–31), those responsible for "unholy unions of unlawful Cypris" (1092–3) are indeed male, but the heroine's revenge is unlikely to produce the hoped-for

improvement in women's reputation; still, E.'s plays themselves provide something of the "honor for the race of women" (*Med.* 417–18) and "answering song" (*Ion* 1096) that the choruses of these plays call for; see further 1090–1105n.

The style is high throughout, with typical lyric features such as compound epithets (clustering noticeably in the two strophes), anadiplosis and polyptoton (see on *Meter*), enallage (1055 λαιμοτόμων ἀπὸ σταλαγμῶν), fullness (e.g. 1061–2 σπουδαί τε . . . ὃ τε καιρὸς . . . τόλμας, 1065 λαιμῶν ἐξάψει βρόχον ἀμφὶ δειράν, 1092–3 ἀμέτερα λέχεα καὶ γάμους | Κύπριδος ἀθέμιτος ἀνοσίους), and *recherché* periphrasis (1067 ἄλλας βίотου . . . μορφάς, 1095 ἄροτον ἀνδρῶν). After an emphasis on dance in the second strophe, words for sound and music proliferate in the antistrophe, especially in the pleonastic expressions 1090–1 δυσκελάδοι- | σιν κατὰ μοῦσαν ἰόντες αἰείδεθ' ὕμνοις and 1096–8 παλίμφαμος αἰοιδά | καὶ μοῦσ' . . . | †δυσκέλαδος.

*Meter.* After an opening dactylo-epitrite period, the song is aeolic throughout. In the first pair, period-end is nowhere assured, but is likely in three places with syncopated iambic (bacchiac) "suffix" (1049 ~ 1062, 1052–3 ~ 1065–6, 1055 ~ 1068) and possible at the likewise pendant 1059 ~ 1072; the pattern is then varied at stanza-end (1060 ~ 1073) with doubly syncopated (spondaic) close coinciding with the weighty words (Ἐρεχ)θειδᾶν and οἴκων. A doubly resolved form of glyconic (1054 ~ 1067) coincides with the high-style effects anadiplosis ~ polyptoton, and the key thematic words εὐγενετᾶν and εὐπατριδᾶν are placed in responsion at 1060 ~ 1073.

In the second pair, pendant cola make for convenient (but not certain) period-ends at 1075 ~ 1091, 1079 ~ 1095, 1080 ~ 1096, and 1086 ~ 1102; the iambic dimeters (1076–7 ~ 1092–3) also constitute periods. These dimeters are highly resolved, perhaps reflecting emotional agitation. In the strophe, threefold mention of dancing (1079–84n.) unfolds in three central periods (or two or one, if the pendant cola at 1079 ~ 1095 and/or 1080 ~ 1096 do not make period-end); in responsion are the claim that women excel men in piety and the wish for a rival strain of song, emphatically placed in asyndeton. The stanzas both close with descriptions of Ion (1089 ὁ Φοῖβειος ἀλάτας ~ 1105 νόθου παιδός). The placement is especially effective in the strophe, where the identity of the θεωρός has been withheld since early in the stanza (1076). All four of the song's stanzas thus end with a thought concerning who should or should not rule Athens.

— ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — —

Εἰνοδία θύγατερ Δάματρος, ἅ τῶν  
εἰ δ' ἀτελῆς θάνατος σπουδαί τε δεσποί-

1048 D-e- (elegiambus)  
1061



— υ υ — υ υ — υ — — ||?

νυκτιπόλων ἐφόδων ἀνάσσεις  
νας ὃ τε καιρὸς ἄπεισι τόλμας

1049 D x e<sup>^</sup> (Alcaic  
1062 decasyllable)

— υ — υ υ —

καὶ μεθαμερίων  
ῶν νιν ἐλπίς ἔφερ-

1050 dod<sup>''</sup>  
1063

υ — — — υ υ —

ὀδωσον δυσθανάτων  
βεν, ἥ θηκτὸν ξίφος ἦ

1051 tl<sup>''</sup>  
1064

— — — — υ υ — υ — — ||?

κρατήρων πληρώματ' ἐφ' οἷσι πέμπει  
λαιμῶν ἐξάψει βρόχον ἀμφὶ δειράν

1052–3 gl<sup>''</sup> ia<sup>^</sup>  
1065

∪ υ ∪ υ — υ υ — ∴

πότνια πότνι' ἐμὰ χθονίας  
πάθεσι πάθεα δ' ἐξανύτους'

1054 gl<sup>''</sup>  
1067

— — — υ υ — υ — υ — — ||?

Γοργοῦς λαιμοτόμων ἀπὸ σταλαγμῶν  
εἰς ἄλλας βιότου κάτεισι μορφάς

1055 phalaecian (gl ia<sup>^</sup>)  
1068

— — υ — υ υ — |

τῶι τῶν Ἑρεχθεῖδᾶν  
οὐ γὰρ δόμων γ' ἑτέρους

1056 tl<sup>''</sup>  
1069

≡ — υ — υ υ — |

δόμων ἐφαπτομένωι  
ἄρχοντας ἄλλοδαποῦς

1057 tl<sup>''</sup>  
1070

— — υ — υ υ —

μηδέ ποτ' ἄλλος ἦ-  
ζῶσά ποτ' <έν> φαεν-

1058 dod f  
1071

— | υ υ — υ — — ||?

κων πόλεως ἀνάσσοι  
ναῖς ἀνέχοιτ' ἂν αὐγαῖς

1059 ar  
1072

— — — υ υ — υ — — ||

πλήν τῶν εὐγενετᾶν Ἑρεχθεῖδᾶν  
ἅ τῶν εὐπατριδᾶν γεγῶσ' οἴκων

1060 gl<sup>^</sup> ia<sup>^</sup>  
1073

σ — υ — — υ υ —

αἰσχύνομαι τὸν πολὺν-  
ὁρᾷθ', ὅσοι δυσκελάδοι-

1074 gl<sup>r</sup> J  
1090

— | υ υ — υ υ — υ υ — υ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

μνον θεόν, εἰ παρὰ Καλλιχόροισι παγαῖς  
σιν κατὰ μοῦσαν ἰόντες ἀείδεθ' ὕμνοις

1075 ar<sup>2d</sup> (praxillean)  
1091

— ∞ υ ∞ υ | — υ — ||

λαμπάδα θεωρὸς εἰκάδων  
ἀμέτερα λέχεα καὶ γάμους

1076 2ia  
1092

— ∞ υ ∞ υ | ∞ υ — ||<sup>h1</sup>

ἐννύχιον ἄυπνος ὄψεται  
Κύπριδος ἀθέμιτος ἀνοσίους

1077 2ia  
1093

υ υ — υ υ — υ — υ |

ὅτε καὶ Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς  
ὅσον εὐσεβίαι κρατοῦμεν

1078 enopl  
1094

∞ υ ∞ υ — — ||

ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ  
ἄδικον ἄροτον ἀνδρῶν

1079 ith  
1095

υ — — υ υ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

χορεύει δὲ σελάνα  
παλίμφαμος αἰοιδᾷ

1080 ph  
1096

— — — — υ υ — |

καὶ πεντήκοντα κόραι  
καὶ μοῦσ' εἰς ἄνδρας ἵτω

1081 tl<sup>r</sup>  
1097

— υ υ — υ υ — — | / — υ υ υ — υ — — |

†Νηρέος αἰ κατὰ πόντον  
†δυσκέλαδος ἀμφὶ λέκτρων

1082 (corrupt)  
1098 (corrupt)

— υ υ — υ υ υ — / — — υ υ υ υ υ —

ἀεναῶν τε ποταμῶν†  
δείκνυσι γὰρ ὁ Διὸς ἔκ

1083 (corrupt)  
1099 (corrupt)

— — ∞ — υ υ — |

δῖνας χορευόμεναι  
παίδων† ἀμνημοσύναν

1084 tl<sup>r</sup>  
1100

— — — ∪ — ∪ — |

τὰν χρυσοστέφανον κόραν  
οὐ κοινὰν τεκέων τύχαν

1085 gl  
1101

— — ∪ — — ||<sup>2</sup>

καὶ ματέρα σεμνάν  
οἴκοισι φυτεύσας

1086 r  
1102

≡ — — — ∪ —

ἴν' ἐλπίζει βασιλεύ-  
δεσποίνει· πρὸς δ' Ἀφροδί-

1087 tl<sup>2</sup> J  
1103

— | — — ∪ — ∪ — |

σεῖν ἄλλων πόνον ἐσπεσών  
ταν ἄλλαν θέμενος χάριν

1088 gl  
1104

∪ — — ∪ — — |||

ὁ Φοίβειος ἀλάτας  
νόθου παιδὸς ἔκυρσεν

1089 ph  
1105

**1048–9 Εἰνοδία θυγάτηρ Δάματρος:** Hecate, probably an import to Greece from Caria, is invoked by the name of the Thessalian goddess of the crossroads, E(i)nodia, with whom by the fifth century she is often identified (S. fr. 535, E. *Hel.* 569–70 with Kannicht's note, Johnston 1999: 203–11). She is asked to aid Creusa's poison plot both because she is associated with herbal magic (*Med.* 395–7, Johnston 1999: 113) and because of her power to turn away "the one laying claim to the Erechtheid house" (1056–7). A presumably apotropaic image of Hecate stands before a palace in A. fr. 388, and Pausanias saw a Hecate ἐπιπυργιδία "on the tower" beside Athena Nike at the entrance to the Athenian Acropolis (2.30.2). By calling her "daughter of Demeter," E. further blends Einodia/Hecate with Kore/Persephone, as at *Pha.* fr. 781.59. The association of Hecate and Demeter is of long standing (e.g. *h. Dem.* 51–61, 438–40; cf. Diggle on *Pha.* 268 = fr. 781.59); here it prepares for the second strophe's picture of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

ἅ τῶν | νυκτιπόλων ἐφόδων ἀνάσσεις: the rel. clause following name and family connection is a standard feature of cletic hymns (452–71n.). According to Hp. *Morb. Sacr.* 1.11, sudden night-time frights were said to be Ἐκάτης ἐπιβολὰς καὶ ἡρώων ἐφόδους (cf. *Hel.* 569, trag. adesp. 375); night also suits her associations with magic and her brighter role as φωσφόρος "torch-bearer" (Allan on *Hel.* 569–70). The ὁδός-element in ἐφόδων "attacks" etymologizes Einodia; the word-play continues in 1051 ὀδωσον and (if it is correct) 1058–9 ἦ | κων (see also 1087–9n.).

**1050-2** καὶ μεθαμερίων | ὅδωσον δυσθανάτων | κρατήρων πληρώματ’  
 “also by day send on their way the contents of bowls that bring painful death”: in keeping with the hymnic style, the Chorus’ request stresses the goddess’ power and artfully varies the type of prayer in which the petitioner mentions the deity’s past benefactions as a reason to grant the present request (*da quia dedisti*). By ἐφ’ οἷσι πέμπει “to those against whom she sends (them),” the Chorus mean Ion. The allusive pl. is then focused by 1056-7 τῷ . . . ἐφαπτομένωι, in apposition. For ἐφ’ οἷσι = ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐφ’ οἷς, see Smyth §2509.

**1054-5** χθονίας | Γοργοῦς λαιμοτόμων ἀπὸ σταλαγμῶν: in light of the story told at 987-1017(n.), χθονίας here = “earthborn” (as at *Ba.* 538-41), not the more usual “belonging to or beneath the earth,” and an association with the earthborn Erechtheids is implied. The epithet “with severed throat” belongs properly to Gorgo (enallage: 112-14n.).

**1056-7** τῷ τῶν Ἐρεχθεϊδᾶν | δόμων ἐφαπτομένωι: at 659-60, Xuthus spoke, in the Chorus’ hearing, of eventually inducing (χρόνωι . . . προσάξομαι) Creusa to allow Ion to rule Athens. The rhetoric became more foreboding in the mouths of the Old Man (828-9) and Creusa (1036), and now the Chorus take it further still with the image of Ion “laying claim” (LSJ ἐφάπτω II.c) to the royal house; the climax will be Creusa’s accusation of violence at 1291-5. Here, the root meaning “lay hold” may recall the embraces of the false recognition (especially 522-3, 560-1); the legal overtones of ῥυσιάζω there (523n.) and ἐφαπτομένωι here resonate later when Creusa leaves the altar to take hold of Ion (ἀνθέξομαι, cf. 1404-5, 1406nn.).

**1058-60** μηδέ ποτ’ ἄλλος ἤ- | κων πόλεως ἀνάσσοι: referring to Ion as an “other” continues the deliberate vagueness of 1053 ἐφ’ οἷσι and 1056-7 τῷ . . . ἐφαπτομένωι. The Chorus imagine him “arriving” (ἤκων) to rule the city (like Xuthus, but unlike true Athenians: 290-3, 589-90nn.), but they pray for the failure of his journey, as at 719-20. L’s ἄλλων ἀπ’ οἴκων gives tolerable sense, but the responding passage 1071-2 does not, and cutting here has so far produced better results than emending there. Hence Murray’s deletion and Diggle’s conjecture (ἤκων for οἴκων, cf. 1994: 19-20), which rings another change on the ὁδός word-play (1048-9, cf. 1087-9nn.).

πλὴν τῶν εὐγενετᾶν Ἐρεχθεϊδᾶν: “except the well-born descendants of Erechtheus”: both adj. (in resposion with 1073 εὐπατριδᾶν) and noun (repeated from 1056) stress the Chorus’ patriotism, as well as the irony that their wish will come true because Ion is both.

**1061-73** The antistrophe is devoted to the idea that Creusa will commit suicide if her plot fails. This misdirection, combined with the Servant’s report of a massive search at 1225-8, allows what actually happens at 1250-60 to come as a surprise. The Chorus’ vision is expressed in

clusters of thematically suggestive words: *τελ-*, *σπουδαί*, *καιρός*, *τόλμα*, and *ἐλπίς* early in the stanza, more patriotism and xenophobia in the closing picture of the usurper Ion, repeated from the same position in the strophe (1056–60 ~ 1069–73) but now imagined through Creusa's eyes.

**1061–2** *εἰ δ' ἀτελὴς θάνατος* “if the death is not accomplished”: choice of the adj. *ἀτελής*, which with “death” must mean “not accomplished” instead of the more usual “incomplete,” may be influenced by the fact that the Chorus and Creusa pray and wish for Ion's death; for *τελ-* in such contexts, cf. Hom. *Od.* 17.546, S. *Ph.* 782, A. *Ag.* 973–4. For Creusa's “zeal” (*σπουδή*), cf. 1225–8n.

**ὁ τε καιρός ἄπεισι τόλμας** “and the right moment for her daring passes”: *καιρός* can also refer to the right place, behavior, or degree of something (Barrett on *Hipp.* 386–7), but in *Ion* it clearly has to do with timing here, at 659, and probably at 1551–2(n.). For *τόλμα* (used of the poison plot again at 1216, 1264), see 252–4, 960nn.

**1063–4** *ὣν νιν ἐλπίς ἔφερ- | βεν* “hope of which things was sustaining her”: after she had previously abandoned hope (866–7n.). For variations on “hopes that feed/feeding on hopes,” see Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1668. The verb is most often *βόσκειν*, but *ἐλπίσι φέρβεται* is found once ([*Hp.*] *Ep.* 17.179), and forms of *τρέφειν* and *σιτεῖν* also occur. The text proposed here produces exact responsion between 1063 and 1050 and draws on suggestions by Wecklein (*ὥν*, later abandoned) and Headlam 1901: 102, who saw that a form of *φέρβειν* was better than L's *φέρειτ'* or Badham's colorless *ἐφαίνετ'*, and suggested that *νιν* might lie behind L's *νῦν*. For MS. confusion between *φερ-* and *φερβ-*, cf. fr. 757.843.

**1064–5** *ἢ θηκτόν ξίφος ἢ | λαιμῶν ἐξάψει βρόχον ἀμφὶ δειράν* “she will either (take up) a sharpened sword or fasten a noose to her throat around her neck”: for the alternative “sword” or “noose,” cf. *An.* 811–13, *Tro.* 1012–14, *Hel.* 353–6, *Or.* 1035–6. No verb governs “sword,” and the listener must supply something like *λήπεται* (cf. 844) or “she will thrust into herself.” For this figure, often called “zeugma” though it is really a type of brachylogy, see Dawe on S. *OT* 117, Braswell on Pi. *P.* 4.18(d), 104–5. It is a marker of high style, as is the fullness of “she will fasten a noose to her throat around her neck.” For *λαιμῶν*, cf. 1037–8n.

**1067–8** *πάθεισι πάθεια*: coinciding with double resolution in the glyconic, the polyptoton (690n.), in responsion with anadiplosis in 1054, is highly emotional. The dat. is either instrumental with *ἐξανύτους* “bringing sufferings to an end by sufferings” or, perhaps better, adnominal (“accomplishing sufferings upon sufferings”); cf. K–G 1.444 Anm. 4.

*εἰς ἄλλας βίотου κάτεισι μορφάς*: not just death, but “the after-life, viewed as a separate allotment of existence” (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 1484; cf. Pucci 2005: 63–4); cf. *Med.* 1039, *Hipp.* 195–6, *IA* 1507–8, trag. adesp. 279h.1–2. Darkness is implied by the contrast with 1071–2 *<έν> φαεν- | ναῖς . . . αὐγάς*.

**1069–73 οὐ γὰρ . . . οἴκων** “never, while alive in the bright rays (of the sun), would she, born of noble family, tolerate others, foreigners, ruling her house”: ἄλλοδαπός “foreigner” is an epic word found in tragedy only here and at A. *Se.* [1076]; tragedy generally uses εὐπατρίδης as “an archaic and more dignified synonym of εὐγενής” (Barrett on *Hipp.* 151–4), not as the Athenian technical term associated with Theseus (LSJ II), but an imprecise association with ancient Athens is appropriate here. After ποτ’, Triclinius wrote ὀμμάτων ἐν; P’s ὀμμασι, doubtless the reading of L before Triclinius changed it, is probably a gloss by someone who took the “bright rays” as eyes (for the meaning “rays of the sun,” cf. 885–6n., LSJ αὐγή 1). But “tolerate with the eyes” is not good, and it seems to be ruled out by the construction of ἀνέχοιτ’ ἄν + acc. + ptcpl. So Diggle 1994: 19–20; contra Willink (ap. Kovacs), who keeps L’s text in 1058–9 and “eyes” here, writing ὀμμασιν <θεοῦ ’ν> (with “bright rays of the god” referring to the sunlight).

**1074–89** The Chorus evoke one of the most important, and normally joyful, Athenian rituals, the procession along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis (some 14 miles) to celebrate the Eleusinian Mystery cult of Demeter and Persephone/Kore. After developing a colorful image of dancing stars, moon, and Nereids, the stanza ends, like the preceding two, with indignation at the thought of “Phoebus’ vagabond” grasping at kingly status. The Chorus’ shame (αἰσχύνομαι, emphatic first word of the stanza) takes xenophobia to a new level and is ironic because the Mysteries were open to all who spoke Greek and were not polluted by murder – Athenian and foreigner, male and female, free and slave (Burkert 1985: 286). The Chorus thus imply an exaggerated ideal of purity (cf. Parker 1996: 97–101), and “choral projection” again coincides with frustration of their ritual purposes (cf. 1078–86n.).

**1074–7 τὸν πολὺν- | μνον θεόν:** Iacchus, whose name is a substantivization of the ritual cry ἰακχ’ ὦ ἰακχε (Ar. *Frogs* 316–17) shouted by initiates on their way from Athens to Eleusis. Identification of Iacchus and Dionysus occurs as early as S. *Ant.* 1146–52 (also an evocation of the procession; cf. S. fr. 959, E. *Ba.* 725–6), and later sources merge attributes of the two (for example, parentage) that remain distinct in the cultic record (Graf 1974: 40–58). There is no hint of the Iacchus procession in *h. Dem.* (650–550 BCE), but Hdt. 8.65 implies its existence by 480. It is clearly alluded to in S. *Ant.*, here, and in Ar. *Frogs* 312–459, with adaptations to each context. The epithet πολύμνος, here only in tragedy, is used of Dionysus in the short *Homeric Hymn to Dionysus*, 26.7. For the Iacchus procession in relation to the date of *Ion*, see Introd. §1.

**παρὰ Καλλιχόροις παγαῖς:** the “spring of fair dances/Kallichoron” is named as an Eleusinian landmark at *h. Dem.* 272; at 98–9, Demeter sits at the “Maiden’s well” (Παρθενίῳ φρέατι). Probably the two are the same, and the names indicate dancing there by choruses of girls (Richardson

1974: 326–8, Csapo 2008: 267–72). On dancing, see further 1078–86, 1079–84nn.; for the εἰ-clause after αἰσχύνομαι, 44–5n.

**θεωρός:** in its root meaning “watcher,” θεωρός recalls 656 θεατήν, but here the usual connotation “watcher/participant in a religious festival” (Parker 2005: 44) predominates; in itself, the word does not mark Ion as an outsider.

**εἰκάδων:** before the Mysteries, ἱερά “sacred objects” were brought from Eleusis to Athens on the fourteenth day of the month Boedromion (September–October); a third-century CE inscription (*IG II<sup>2</sup>*.1078) assigns this task to the ephebes, to whom (along with officials) it also fell to escort the ἱερά, the initiates, and the image of Iacchus back to Eleusis a few days later. Ancient sources place the return on either the nineteenth or the twentieth; some scholars explain the disagreement by arguing that the procession left Athens on the nineteenth and, having arrived in Eleusis, turned into a torch-lit celebration lasting through the night (λαμπάδα . . . ἐννύχιον), reckoned as the twentieth (εἰκάδες); others argue for two processions, one escorting the ἱερά, the other the initiates and the image of Iacchus, with the ephebes (later, at least) in attendance on both (Sourvinou-Inwood 1997: 144–5, Parker 2005: 348–9). For all-night festivals, see Parker 2005: 166; torches, natural in any nocturnal rite (550, 716), are especially prominent in imagery of Eleusis (Ar. *Frogs* 313–14, Parker 2005: 350). For the text of these lines, see Diggle 1994: 121–5, 1981: 111.

**1078–86** The Chorus imagine starry sky, moon, and Nereids joining in the celebration of the Mysteries, with insistent repetition of “dancing.” This projection of ritual by the Athenian chorus-members dancing for Dionysus (461–4n.) comes when the Chorus of slave women have just prayed to Hecate/Kore for an outcome that would be disastrous and are now outraged at the thought of Ion participating in ritual that is his birthright (cf. 492–509, 713–24, 1074–89nn.). For dancing stars, cf. *El.* 467, *S. Ant.* 1146–52, Diggle on *Pha.* 66 (= fr. 773.22), Csapo 2008; Greek poets often evoke nature’s participation in contexts suggesting Dionysian ecstasy (Dodds on *Ba.* 726–7, Segal 1981: 204–6), and Iacchus himself is called νυκτέρου τελετῆς φωσφόρος ἀστήρ “torch-bearing star of the nocturnal rite” at Ar. *Frogs* 343. For Nereids, the number fifty is usual beginning with Hes. *Th.* 264 (though a few sources speak of a hundred) and occurs in six of eight places where E. evokes their dancing. Csapo 2003: 73–4 connects this with dithyramb, sung and danced at the City Dionysia by choruses of fifty, for whom circular formation and movement were characteristic (cf. 1084 δίνας); also relevant here is the dance by choruses of girls at the Kallichoron well (1074–7n.).

**1079–84 ἀνεχόρευσεν . . . | χορεύει . . . χορευόμεναι:** outside E. (× 6), compound ἀναχορεύειν “dance for joy” occurs only at Ar. *Thesmo.* 994; the aor. here is “timeless.” No special nuance is evident in mid. χορευόμεναι “celebrating in dance” (cf. A. Ag. 31, Ar. *Thesmo.* 103).

**1082–3** †**Νηρέος αἰ κατὰ πόντον | ἀεναῶν τε ποταμῶν†**: L's text gives tolerable sense here and in 1098–9, but the lines do not respond metrically, and only 1098 yields a promising metrical analysis as transmitted (2ia<sub>Λ</sub>).

**1085–6** τὰν χρυσοστέφανον κόραν | καὶ ματέρα σεμνάν: “golden-crowned,” not attested elsewhere for Kore, is “in principle applicable to any goddess” (West on Hes. *Th.* 17); for Demeter, σεμνή “august” is regular from *h. Dem.* on (1, 478, 486, with Richardson's notes).

**1087–9** ἴν' ἐλπίζει βασιλεύ- | σειν ἄλλων πόνον ἐσπεσών | ὁ Φοῖβειος ἀλάτας “where Apollo's vagabond expects to fall upon the fruit of others' toil and rule”: ἐσπεσών (591–2n.) and ἀλάτας represent final, hysterical developments of the song's imagery of travel and arrival (1048–9n.), here without word-play; for Ion as “wanderer,” see also 52–3, 576, 819–22nn. These lines clarify that the Chorus resent Ion not as an ordinary θεωρός (1074–7n.), but as one who, if Xuthus has his way, will be king (βασιλεύς). It may be relevant that the very first duty of the Archon Basileus listed by [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 57.1 is administering the Mysteries. For πόνος as “fruit of toil,” see Garvie on A. *Ch.* 135–7. An extension of this is “store of honey,” which Borthwick 1990 less plausibly sees as the image here; Ion would then expect to be “queen bee” – in Greek terms, βασιλεύς (LSJ VII).

**1090–1105** Song pervades the antistrophe as dance does the strophe. The Chorus call on men who sing songs blaming women for sexual misdeeds (an age-old theme) to recognize that women in fact surpass men in piety; there ought to be a new kind of poetry blaming men. They point to the behavior of Xuthus, in language that could apply to Apollo as well (1099–1100, 1101–3, 1103–4nn.). This double frame of reference is not shared with *Med.* 410–31, with which this stanza otherwise has much in common (1048–1105, 1090–5, 1096–8nn.).

**1090–5** ὀρᾷθ', ὅσοι δυσκέλαδοι- | σιν κατὰ μοῦσαν ἰόντες αἰδέεθ' ὕμνοις: this challenge to a particular class of persons at the start of a harangue differs from the mere call to witness discussed at 1279–81n., but it too is “very much a Euripidean mannerism” (Bain 1975: 20), more often in dialogue (e.g. *An.* 622–3, 950–3, *Su.* 744–9, 949–52, *El.* 383–5). To set the tone, the adj. “ill-sounding” comes early, far from its noun (hyperbaton); for the expression, cf. 1097–8 μους' . . . †δυσκέλαδος, *Med.* 419–20 δυσκέλαδος φάμα. There is strong, pleonastic insistence on sound in “who sing in ill-sounding songs, when you turn to song”; for μοῦσα = “song,” see 757n., 1097. κατὰ μοῦσαν ἰόντες is not as colorful as Owen's “floating down the stream of song.” It may hint rather at entering a musical contest; Greek poetry was often performed competitively (as at the Festival of Dionysus), and the Chorus are about to call for a rival strain of song (1096–8).



**1092–3** ἀμέτερα λέχεια καὶ γάμους | Κύπριδος ἀθέμιτος ἀνοσίους “our beds and unholy couplings in lawless love”: again very full expression. For the text, see Diggle, cited in 1074–7n.; for the ἀ-privative adjs., 109–11n.

**1004–5** ὅσον εὐσεβίαι κρατοῦμεν | ἄδικον ἄροτον ἀνδρῶν “how far we surpass in piety the unjust crop/plowing of men”: for competition with men/husbands, cf. 863 πρὸς τίν’ ἀγῶνας τιθέμεσθ’ ἀρετῆς; for εὐσεβία, 1045–7n. ἄροτον is either “crop” (figuratively of children at *Med.* 1281, fr. 752g.25) or “plowing,” as in the Athenian betrothal formula παίδων ἐπ’ ἀρότῳ γνησίων reflected in several passages of New Comedy (Kassel and Austin on *Men.* fr. 453). The common metaphor could be made to sound coarse (Griffith on *S. Ant.* 569) and may be so here, where the women challenge the tradition that disparages them as a separate “race” (γένος or γέννα); cf. Loraux 1993: 72–110. Against the background of the betrothal formula, ἄδικον is piquant.

**1096–8** παλίμφαμος ἀοιδά | καὶ μοῦσ’ εἰς ἄνδρας ἵτω | †δυσκέλαδος: παλίμφαμος, in emphatic asyndeton, suggests song against men that answers to or rebuts the misogynistic variety (with παλίμ- like ἀντ- in *Med.* 427–8 ἀντάχῃσ’ ἂν ὕμνον | ἀρσένων γένναι). It thus continues the competition theme and may remind us of the half-choruses of women and men in *Ar. Lys.*, or wedding songs, which could involve jocular, ribald antiphonal singing. The adj. does not recur until Hellenistic Greek, where it is synonymous with δύσφημος, “slandorous” or “ill-famed,” meanings that would also do here, but would not add anything to δυσκέλαδος (1090–1 and, if sound, at the beginning of 1098: cf. 1082–3n.). For the pleonasm ἀοιδά καὶ μοῦσ’ (“song”: 757n.), cf. 1090–5n.

**1099–1100** †δείκνυσι γὰρ ὁ Διὸς ἐκ | παίδων† ἀμνημοσύναν: “the one (descended) from the children of Zeus” describes both Xuthus (son of Aeolus, son of Zeus: 63–4n.) and Apollo. Since the Chorus have called for a song against men (ἄνδρας), reference to Xuthus is primary in this expression and those discussed in the next two notes, but the answering song is to be ἀμφι λέκτρων, and the Chorus do believe that both Xuthus and Apollo are guilty of “forgetfulness” (ἀμνημοσύνη only here), that is, ingratitude (ἀμνήμων = “ungrateful” at e.g. *Pi. I.* 7.16–17, *S.* fr. 920, *Arist. EN* 1167b27; cf. *S. Aj.* 520–4, *Lat. immemor*); cf. 1103–4n.

**1101–3** κοινὰν τεκέων τύχαν “shared fortune consisting in children”: cf. 748–9, where τύχην . . . παίδων means “fortune concerning children”; the defining gen. is a marker of high style (Moorhouse 1982: 53–4). Both Xuthus and Apollo are faulted for not sharing their good fortune in the matter of children (358, 771–5, 817–18nn.). In 1102, φυτεύσας “planting” continues the metaphor of 1095 ἄροτον (n.). In 1103, the dat. δεσποίνειν is best taken with κοινὰν.

**1103–4** πρὸς δ’ Ἀφροδί- | ταν ἄλλαν θέμενος χάριν: ἄλλαν can go with either Ἀφροδίταν (“indulging another Aphrodite/desire”) or χάριν (“granting another favor to Aphrodite/desire”). The end of the song

echoes two passages of Creusa's monody, 896 Κύπριδι χάριν πράσσων and 914 χάριν οὐ προλαβών, in both of which Apollo is subj. "Aphrodite" can be either the goddess or "desire"; in the latter case, which is helped by the use of a prep. phrase instead of the dat. of person more usual after τίθεσθαι χάριν (cf. 896n.), the subj. Xuthus (or, in the secondary frame of reference, Apollo) is faulted for *selfindulgence*.

#### 1106–1228 FIFTH SCENE (FOURTH *EPEISODION*)

Enter a male Servant, asking where he can find his mistress Creusa. In answer to questions from the Chorus-leader, he reveals that Creusa is being hunted by the Delphic authorities, who have condemned her to death for her part in the plot against Ion. The Chorus-leader asks for details, and he provides them, but only after a leisurely description of the tent Ion erected for his farewell feast. After continuing with the feast itself and the discovery of the plot, he exits.

All E.'s plays except *Tro.* include at least one "messenger"-*rhesis*, that is, a continuous, first-person narrative in iambic trimeters of important off-stage events (often the outcome of a μηχανήμα "intrigue," 1116n.), usually related by a humble, anonymous character loyal to a protagonist. At this point in *Ion*, spectators will be expecting such a speech, and conventional features include the Servant's unannounced entry after a choral ode, breathless search for his mistress, and immediate revelation of an important piece of news, as well as the Chorus-leader's question "What report do you bring?" (1110) and request for a full account (1119–21). There are also less common features. As in *Her.* (910–1015), *Ba.* (1024–1152), and *S. Aj.* (719–83), no main character is present to hear the speech (cf. *Alc.* 136–212, *A. Ag.* 636–80, *Se.* 792–819); the Chorus-leader never answers the Servant's question as to Creusa's whereabouts. She does not ask and the Servant does not quite say (though 1118 comes close) whether the murder plot succeeded; instead, she immediately infers the reason for the death sentence and asks only how the plot came to light.

At 107 lines, the speech beginning at 1122 is one of the longest of E.'s messenger-*rheses*; only *Ph.*, *Or.*, and *Ba.* (all late plays) have longer ones; on the other hand, this is the only messenger-*rhesis* in *Ion*, whereas *Or.* and *Ba.* have two each, *Ph.* four. The Servant is relatively featureless; only his servile status and loyalty to Creusa matter. He avoids naming Ion, instead referring to him in no fewer than nine different ways (1122–4, 1218nn., de Jong 1991: 102). He begins his narrative from exactly the point at which Chorus and spectators were last able to observe Xuthus and Ion directly, although he cannot realistically know that (1122–4n.); he does not explain why he accompanied Xuthus and Ion, and then Ion, in the first place; how he knows that the Chorus are implicated in Creusa's crime

(1115); or why he was present at Creusa's "trial" once Ion left the tent (1217–25). The 34-line description of the tent and its furnishings (1132–66) adds greatly to the length of the speech and is unrealistic in terms of the supposed urgency of the situation. There is nothing quite like it in other messenger-*rheseis*; the catalogue of the Seven at *Ph.* 1104–40, which reprises a famous Aeschylean scene, is comparable in some respects, but its authenticity is suspect. The description of the tent is a counterpart to the Chorus' description of temple sculpture in their First Song, and like that passage elaborates several key themes (1141–65, 1143–58, 1147–58, 1161–2, 1163–4nn.).

**1106–8 κλεινήν:** this easy correction of L's κλειναί (an implausible way for the Servant to address the slave Chorus) provides Creusa with a suitable epithet (cf. 30n.), but it receives surprising emphasis from the word order, perhaps to contrast Creusa's former glory with her imminent fall. Other proposed changes, to a word describing the Chorus (φιλαί, δμωαί, δοῦλαι, κεδναί), avoid the problem of emphasis but leave the corruption unexplained. The search for his mistress identifies the Servant as a servant; male servants in Creusa's retinue were mentioned at 980. After 1107, Badham posits a lacuna to provide the obj. ἐξέπλησα needs, and Diggle (in his apparatus) supplies a verse modeled on parallel passages ("[I filled, i.e. traversed] winding courses hither and yon"). "Fill" for "traverse thoroughly or repeatedly" is a Euripidean expression (*IT* 324, *Hel.* 1570, *Ph.* 1470, *Or.* 54, fr. 62d28); in κούκ, καί is adversative (*GP* 292).

**1109–10 τί δ' ἔστιν, ὦ ξύνδουλε;** "fellow slave" strikes a note of solidarity that continues in the first-person pls. θηρώμεθ' (1111) and λελήμμεθα (1113).

**τίς προθυμία | ποδῶν ἔχει σε:** a retrospective internal stage direction, like those at e.g. *Med.* 1119–20, *Hec.* 216–17, *Hel.* 602, all indicating that the newly arrived character brings important news.

**1111–12 ἀρχαί δ' ἀπιχώριοι** "the local authorities": varied in 1225 as "the entire city," both expressions guarding the surprise that it will be Ion himself, with armed attendants, who succeeds in tracking Creusa down (1261–81n.). "Authorities, office-holders" is an established meaning of pl. ἀρχαί in prose (LSJ ἀρχή II.4), also at *Ph.* 973 and possibly two difficult passages in A. (*Ag.* 124, *Ch.* 79).

**πετρομένη:** probably "by being pelted with stones," as at *Ph.* 1177, *Or.* 564, 946. This form of execution, often a response to sacrilege, kin murder, or treason, allows a community to express its outrage collectively while avoiding direct, polluting contact with the victim (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1616, Parker 1983: 194–6). If just this is meant, the unique πετρορριφή in 1222 also means "pelted with stones," and λεύσιμος, used by the Chorus in 1237 and 1240, has its usual meaning "pertaining to

stoning.” But πετροῦσθαι (first here) may be a Euripidean coinage, and when Ion later threatens to throw Creusa from a cliff (1266–8), we may adjust our understanding of πετροῦσθαι (taking it as “be thrown from a cliff”), and similarly with πετρορριφή and λεύσιμος, rather than take him to be referring to a different punishment. Once being thrown from a cliff becomes a possibility, whether here or later, it resonates with the experience of Creusa’s mythic prototypes, the daughters of Cecrops (271–4n.).

**1113 τί λέξεις; οὔτι που λελήμμεθα:** a formulaic response to the shocking news of Creusa’s condemnation (530n.). For οὔτι που in “incredulous or reluctant questions,” a colloquialism, see *GP* 492, Stevens 1976: 24. For λελήμμεθα “we have been caught,” an Ionic perf. pass. indic. < λαμβάνειν (Attic εἰλήμμεθα), see Pearson on S. fr. 750; tragedy admits Ionic (or old Attic) or common Greek forms for everyday Attic forms perceived as provincial (Mastronarde 2002: 82–3).

**1115 ἔγνωσ’ μεθέξεις δ’ οὐκ ἐν ὑστάτοις κακοῦ:** the Servant’s assumption that the Chorus-leader shares in Creusa’s guilt prepares for the misdirection in the Chorus’ Fifth Song (1229–49n.). Porson’s celebrated restoration of this line, mangled in L, probably included the indispensable δ’ Hermann thought he was the first to add (Diggle 2007: 149–50). The instantaneous aor. ἔγνωσ “you’ve got it!” is a mostly Euripidean formula used in rapid exchanges of information (× 6 in E., S. *Tr.* 1221).

**1116 ὥφθη δὲ πῶς τὰ κρυπτὰ μηχανήματα;** the language of “contrivance” occurs here first of Creusa’s poison plot (again 1216, 1326; cf. 985n.). This passage inspired Solmsen’s use of the word μηχανήμα as a technical term for “intrigue” in his influential study of E.’s dramatic technique (1968a: 329; cf. 809, 970–1047, 1565nn., *Introd.* §4). The πῶς-question (again in 1119) is a standard feature of the dialogue that regularly precedes a Euripidean messenger-*rhexis* (de Jong 1991: 33). It usually signals that the spectators, having already learned the essence of the news in “headline” form, are now going to hear it elaborated in description and narrative, but that is only partly true here, where an important part of the news, Ion’s escape, is withheld (cf. 1106–1228n.).

[**1117**] [**τὸ μὴ δίκαιον τῆς δίκης ἡσώμενον**]: it is doubtful that this line can mean “injustice [i.e. the poison plot] which is (always) overcome by justice,” nor do we expect Creusa’s servant to condemn her plot as unjust. Others interpret τὸ μὴ δίκαιον as Ion’s unjust usurpation, but this too yields poor sense. The line is a textbook case of interpolation, meant to specify an obj. for ἐξηῦρεν in 1118 (next note), but vague and inept.

**1118 ἐξηῦρεν ὁ θεός, οὐ μινθῆναι θέλων** “unwilling to be defiled, the god found a way (for the plot to be revealed)”: at 1187–1208, the Servant describes what spectators will take to be the intervention alluded to here (and by Athena at 1565[n.]). The understood obj. of ἐξηῦρεν is e.g. ὅπως ὀφθήσεται, supplied from 1116 ὥφθη δὲ πῶς; Many suppose that the obj.

is τὰ κρυπτὰ μηχανήματα, which the god “exposed,” but the verb is not attested in this sense; it could mean “discovered,” but this does not suit Apollo’s superior knowledge or explain how he made the plot known to others. For the idea that a god can be polluted, cf. *Alc.* 22–3, *Hipp.* 1437–8; in other passages (e.g. *Her.* 1232, *S. Ant.* 1043–4), the possibility is denied; see Parker 1983: 33, 145–6.

**1119–21** πῶς; ἀντιάζω σ’ ἰκέτις ἐξείπεῖν τάδε: the reason the Chorus-leader gives for wanting a full report, that it is better for the Chorus to know before they live or die, is not very compelling, but “time stands still during a messenger rhesis,” and “as usual in Greek tragedy there is a mixture of naturalistic motivation and non-naturalistic theatrical convention” (Mastronarde on *Med.* 1133). For the combination εἰ/εἴτε, see *GP* 506; the Chorus-leader believes death, which she expresses twice (εἰ θανεῖν . . . χρεών, | . . . ἄν θάνοιμεν), the likelier alternative.

**1122–4** Fifteen of twenty-four Euripidean messenger speeches open with the temporal conjunction ἐπεὶ. The speaker always knows where to start his story (here picking it up from the exit of Xuthus and Ion after 675) even when, as in *Ion* and about half the other examples, he has not previously been on stage and cannot know what his internal audience knows; calling Ion παῖδα τὸν καινόν likewise presupposes knowledge the Servant cannot know the Chorus have (Rijksbaron 1976: 306–7). For Ion as Xuthus’ “new son,” perhaps said with a sneer, see 640–1, 711–12nn., 1186, 1202; for ὠπλίζετο, 850–3n.

**1125–7** ἐνθα πῦρ πηδᾶι θεοῦ | βακχεῖον: the place and ritual evoked by the Chorus at 713–24. By contrast, E. (unrealistically) had the Chorus-leader name the tent as Xuthus’ destination at 804–7(n.), as a way of preparing for Creusa’s and the Old Man’s choice of that place for their murder attempt (850–3, 982nn.). Now we learn that Xuthus went to the one, Ion to the other (1125 Ζοῦθος μὲν answered by 1132 ὁ δὲ νεανίας). This is a convenient way of removing Xuthus from the rest of the play’s action (cf. 1132n.). Dionysus’ flame leaps because he and his torch-bearing worshippers leap (716–18).

ὥς σφαγαῖσι Διονύσου πέτρας | δεύσειε δισσάς: vivid but imprecise. Xuthus goes to the upland plain not visible, as the “twin rocks” (the Phaedriades, 86–8n.) are, from the sanctuary below; the same place is called δικόρυφον πλάκα at *Ba.* 307.

παιδὸς ἀντ’ ὀπτηρίων “as [or ‘by way of’] ὀπτήρια for his son”: ὀπτήρια are properly gifts brought by well-wishers seeing a newborn for the first time, as Xuthus has only lately seen Ion. Xuthus called the sacrifices γενέθλια at 653, the Chorus-leader ξένια καὶ γενέθλια at 805. The terms all evoke Athenian customs and rituals, but are used non-technically (653n.).

**1128–9 λέξας:** the Servant incorporates direct speech into his narrative four times (again in 1178–80, 1210–12, 1220–1), all at dramatic high points (de Jong 1991: 131–9).

**ἀμφήρεις . . . | σκηνάς ἀνίστη** “set up a well-fitted tent”: E.’s contemporaries erected temporary structures for banqueting in and around sanctuaries, but Ion’s tent is notable for its large size and lavish decoration. In light of the foreign origin of the tapestries that constitute its roof and sides (1143–58, 1158–62nn.), it may be inspired by Near Eastern royal tents like the one belonging to Xerxes and taken from Mardonius after the Battle of Plataea in 479 BCE, which according to Hdt. 9.82.1 was equipped with gold, silver, and variegated tapestries. Greeks themselves produced figured tapestry, and the subjects displayed on Ion’s tent are all familiar in Greek art, but such work continued to be associated with the east (e.g. Ar. *Frogs* 937–8, Men. *Dysc.* 923–4). For examples of elite Greeks using luxurious tents to celebrate victories at Panhellenic games, see Plut. *Alc.* 12.1, Diod. Sic. 14.109.1. This continues an older fashion for appropriating eastern status symbols to project heroic stature, which is probably the point here (Miller 1997: 49–53; cf. Zacharia 2003: 34–7).

**1130–1 θύσας δὲ γενέταις θεοῖσιν ἦν μακρὸν χρόνον | μείνω** “if I remain a long time sacrificing to the gods of childbirth”: for the correction μείνω (aor. subjunct., with which θύσας is “coincident,” 720n.), see Diggle 1994: 21–2. γενέτης, which one would expect to mean “ancestor”/“ancestral” (Friis Johansen and Whittle on A. *Su.* 77), acquires its meaning from the context (1127 παῖδός ἀντ’ ὀπτηρίων, and, more distantly, from (προ)θύσαι γενέθλια at 653 and 805; cf. 916–18n.).

**παροῦσι δαῖτες ἔστωσαν φίλοις** “let the feast be for the friends who are present”: the form ἔστωσαν (= ἔστων, third pers. pl. imper. < εἶμι) is of a type that becomes common in the fourth century (Schwyzer 1.802); the only other example in tragedy is *IT* 1480 ἴτωσαν (< εἶμι), where see Parker.

**1132 ὦλεθ’:** with this repetition (~ 1125), Xuthus is definitively removed. The actor who played him until 675 will return in the roles of the Priestess and Athena (Intro. §3).

**1132–4 ὁ δὲ νεανίας . . . ἰδρύεθ’** “the young man solemnly began setting up the wall-less perimeter of the tent with upright supports”: in place of walls, sacred tapestries will fill the gaps between tent-poles (1141–2, 1158–9). Ion’s characteristic solemnity (cf. 56 καταζῆι . . . σεμνὸν βίον) prepares for his response to the slave’s ill-omened speech at 1187–93.

**1135–6 οὔτε πρὸς μέσας φλογός | ἀκτῖνας οὔτ’ αὖ πρὸς τελευτώσας βίον:** what faces “neither the midday rays of the sun nor those ending their life,” i.e. neither south nor west, is the side of the tent left open to serve as an entrance, through which an uncomfortable amount of sunshine would pour during the afternoon banquet if it faced in one of those directions.

**1137–40** πλέθρου σταθμήσας μήκος εἰς εὐγωνίαν: Ion marks out a square with 100-foot sides (lit. “measuring a 100-foot length into regularity of angles”), further described as “having an area of 10,000 (square) feet.” In 1139, ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοὶ nods to the technicality, which the Servant seems to relish, of the phrase μέτρημ’ . . . τούν μέσωι γε “interior measurement,” i.e. “area” (in the mathematical sense).

**ὡς πάντα Δελφῶν λαὸν ἐς θοίνην καλῶν:** ostensibly an explanation for the tent’s large size, this detail, which seems inconsistent with Xuthus’ instructions in 663–5 and 1131, causes the feast to resemble a public event where the entire community witnesses Creusa’s crime (cf. 1165–89n.). καλῶν is fut., after ὡς, expressing purpose.

**1141–65** The Servant describes the decoration of the tent with wondrous objects belonging to the temple’s treasures. The leisurely ecphrasis (184–236n.) focuses on images whose thematic significance is both already apparent and still evolving. The objects are described in descending spatial order and at decreasing length, from the tent’s ceiling to its sides and entrance. Fifteen and a half lines (1143–58) are devoted to textiles taken from Amazons by Heracles (ceiling), four and a half (1158–62) to “other barbarian weavings” (sides), and two and a half (1163–5) to a representation of Cecrops and his daughters, “the dedication of some Athenian,” placed at the entrance. The ceiling depicts a nocturnal sky, with Night driving her chariot (complementing the Sun-chariot described in Ion’s monody [82–5n.] and continuing the nocturnal imagery of the Third and Fourth Songs [713–18, 1074–86; cf. also 870]) amid constellations signifying cosmic stability and the orderly passage of time. Setting sun and rising dawn appear at opposite edges, overlapping the sides, with their images of warships and hunting, half-beast men and wild animals. Continuous with these are snake-like Cecrops and his daughters, figures for Creusa and especially Ion, who is close to the earth in this dark, enclosed space and poised “at the entrance” to his new life (1163–4n.); golden mixing bowls, crucial for the ensuing narrative, round out the description (1165–89n.). For studies of the tent’s imagery and its connections with Ion’s emerging identity, see e.g. Immerwahr 1972: 290–4, Mastronarde 2003: 304–5, Goff 1988, Zeitlin 1996: 316–20, 326–31.

**1141** ὑφάσμαθ’ ἱερά: the tapestries are a dedication to Apollo (1144 ἀνάθημα), hence “sacred.” Ion’s access to such treasures would be surprising if it had not been signaled early on (54–5n.).

**1142** κατεσκιάζει “he spread so as to create shade”: the verb usually means “he shaded”; the extension of meaning is typical of poetry (cf. 388–9n., 1158–62n. ἡμπισχεν). For the tapestries as a selection (λαβῶν) through which Ion constructs an identity for himself, see Zeitlin 1996: 316–20.

**θαύματ’ ἀνθρώποις ὀρᾶν:** “wonders” signals the coming ecphrasis, a device found already in Hom. *Il.* 18.466–7 (οἶά τις αὖτε | . . . θαυμάσσεται).

**1143–58** The first object exemplifies the complex interactions of ecphrasis and dramatic meaning. Amazons generally stand for disorder and deviance, here overcome by the civilizing power of Heracles (as he overcame the Hydra in the First Song, 191–2n.). They pose a threat to adult male warriors (as well as, according to later authors, their own male children, Diod. Sic. 2.45.3, Apollod. 2.5.9), just as Creusa will threaten Ion, only to be stopped by Apollo, another son of Zeus. Yet the textiles taken from these Amazons depict a comprehensive and stable order, and the description leads the viewer's imaginary gaze from light to darkness to light again, mirroring the progression of the play's plot. Overall, then, ambivalence and irreducible complexity. For Heracles' Amazonian labor, see *Her.* 408–18 with Bond's notes; for weaving in women's lives and in the play, 196–7, 507–9, 747–8, 1421–3nn.

**1143** ὀρόφωι πτέρυγα περιβάλλει πέπλων “on the roof he spreads a wing-like covering of garments”: since πέπλοι are basically rectangular pieces of cloth, the word is apt for tapestries, but these, taken by Heracles (named, but also called Δίου παιδός in 1144, as at 200), are perhaps to be thought of as garments (Stieber 2011: 309), like the famous ζωστήρ “belt” that symbolized his conquest and was displayed near Mycenae (*Her.* 413–18). ὀρόφωι “on the roof” is used loosely, since the πέπλοι in fact constitute the roof; similarly 1158 τοίχοισιν δ' ἔπι “on the walls,” since there are no walls (1133). The πέπλοι presumably resemble wings in overlapping the sides. The resolution of three successive long elements, a license not found in E.'s trimeters before *El.*, does not seem agitated here, as often elsewhere.

**1146** ἐνῆν . . . ὑφαί: the use of a sing. verb with subj. following in the pl. is called σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν; examples with (usually sentence-initial) ἔστι or (ἐν)ῆν are somewhat less elevated than the almost exclusively lyric examples involving other verbs (K–G 1.68–9, Barrett on *Hipp.* 1255 with Addenda, Mastronarde on *Ph.* 349). The tapestries are said to be ὑφανταὶ γράμμασιν “woven with designs” (for γράμμα so used, cf. Theoc. 15.81, LSJ I).

**1147–58** The description of the nocturnal sky conveys the movement of the Servant's gaze “along a path through the middle of the sky” (1152 μεσοπόρου δι' αἰθέρος) with verbs of motion used of the heavenly bodies themselves. The verbs are all imperf. (contrast the pres. tense used in the First Song's description of temple sculptures): Helios “was driving his horses,” Night “was causing her chariot to leap,” the stars “were accompanying,” the Pleiades, Orion, and the Bear “were going,” and the moon “was shooting (her beams).” Nevertheless, like the imperfective ptcpls. “dragging,” “turning,” and “pursuing,” the verbs are all pictorial in the sense that what they describe could be deduced from the attitude and sequence of images. This again differs from the First Song and many ecphrases (starting with the Iliadic Shield of Achilles), which



develop in words what cannot be depicted in visual art (184–236n.). Overall, the movement is linear, from sunset to sunrise. At the same time, celestial phenomena inevitably suggest stable order, permanence, and cyclicity. Thus 1147 ἐν αἰθέρος κύκλωι, where Ouranos “gathers” the stars before movement proper begins; the “turning” of the Bear’s hind quarters around the pole (1154), visible each night; and 1155 κύκλος δὲ πανσέληνος, a description of the full moon that also evokes the lunar cycle. One detail is definitely out of place: the proper position of the Hyades, in fact and in poetry, is between the Pleiades and Orion, not further on where the Servant describes them (1152–4n.). The moon is also out of place if “was shooting (her beams) upward” implies its rising above the horizon at nightfall. Hannah 2002: 27 concludes from these dislocations that “the tapestry’s astronomy defies systematic, realistic interpretation at a single time,” instead reminding us that time is passing and progress occurring towards “dawn,” i.e. the play’s happy ending. More generally, as on Achilles’ shield, the heavens provide a distant and stable vantage point from which to put mortal striving in perspective, here as there at a moment of calm before the storm.

**1149 ἐφέλκων λαμπρόν Ἑσπέρου φάος:** the “Evening Star,” mentioned only here in E., is called κάλλιστος ἐν οὐρανῶι . . . ἀστήρ at Hom. *Il.* 22.318; for its brightness, see West on Hes. *Th.* 381. Ibycus, Pythagoras, and Parmenides are all said to have discovered that it is the same as the “Morning Star” (Ἑωσφόρος or Φωσφόρος), but this may mean only that ancient scholars could find no earlier mention of a long-known fact (Wilamowitz 1935–72: 1.130–4); the pseudo-Platonic *Epinomis* (987a–b) says that recognition of the two as a planet (Venus) came to Greece from Syria. For one heavenly body “dragging” another, cf. Hom. *Il.* 8.485–6; the conceit recurs in Arat. (604, 695, 708, etc.).

**1150–1 μελάμπεπλος δὲ Νύξ . . . ἔπαλλεν** “black-robed Night was causing her two-horse chariot to leap”: Night’s chariot is ἀσεῖρωτον (here only), lit. “not equipped with trace-horses”; ζυγοῖς is probably instrumental with ἔπαλλεν (“by means of the team”), though possibly ἀσεῖρωτον ζυγοῖς together = “without trace-horses added to the pair of yoke-horses.” The description implies that the chariot of the Sun just mentioned was, by contrast, drawn by four horses, as at 82 and usually in vase-painting. For Night’s chariot, cf. fr. 114, A. *Ch.* 660, fr. 69; for her forbidding blackness in parody of E.’s lyric style, Ar. *Frogs* 1331–7. Sun and Moon, each driving a four-horse team, appeared in the corners of the Parthenon’s east pediment; Stieber 2011: 252–4 lists further instances of the chariots of Sun/Dawn and Moon/Night in E. and the visual arts.

**1152–4 Πλειάς . . . | ὁ τε ξιφήρης Ὠρίων:** the collective sing. “Pleiad” occurs first here (again in *Or.* 1005, *IA* 8) for the Pleiades, seven stars that form part of the constellation Taurus. Many ancient peoples looked

to their heliacal rising and setting as seasonal markers, especially in connection with farming and sailing (West on Hes. *Op.* 383–4, 619ff.). At Hes. *Op.* 619–20, they flee Orion; later lore explains either that they were nymphs, daughters of Atlas and Pleione, pursued by the lusty hunter (cf. Zeitlin 1996: 328–9) or, taking off from the lengthened form Peleïades, that they were doves (πέλειαι) fleeing his weapons (Gantz 1993: 212–18). Πελ- occurs as early as Alcman (fr. 1.60) and Simonides (fr. 555.5); E. always has Πλ- (assuming transmitted forms in Πελ- are incorrect at *Hel.* 1489, *Or.* 1005), but that does not rule out an association of Pleiades and doves, developed by Giraud 1987: 89–91. Poets usually place the Hyades between the Pleiades and Orion, where they belong in fact (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18.486 = Hes. *Op.* 615); cf. 1147–58, 1156–7nn.

ξιφήρης “armed with a sword”: E. is fond of this adj. (× 9, including 1258), not found in any other classical author.

Ἄρκτος στρέφουσ’ οὐραῖα χρυσήρη πόλῳι: the Bear “turns her golden hind quarters around the pole” because these are further than her head from the North Star, around which she appears to revolve; for the “turning,” cf. Hom. *Il.* 18.488 = *Od.* 5.274, *S. Tr.* 130–1, fr. 432.1. οὐραῖα is an adj. (< οὐρά “tail”) used as a noun, “golden” because stars would be so depicted in weaving.

1155 ἡκόντιζ’ ἄνω: for light as missile, see e.g. Hom. *Od.* 5.479, E. *Her.* 1090, Barrett on *Hipp.* 530–4. The Greeks reckoned the full moon as the middle of the month; μηνὸς διχήρης = “dividing the month in two” (the adj. here only; cf. διχόμεν, διχομηνία, διχόμενις, διχόμενος). The root sense of -ήρης “fitted, armed (with)” (< ἀραρίσκω, cf. 1152–4n. ξιφήρης) is not felt here.

1156–7 Ὑάδες τε, ναυτίλοις | σαφέστατον σημεῖον: the Hyades, like the Pleiades, belong to the constellation Taurus, whose forehead they constitute. They are “a very clear sign to sea-farers” because their heliacal setting in early November coincided with the onset of harsh winter weather, as their rising in early May signaled the return of fair weather (West on Hes. *Op.* 615, 619ff.). They are out of sequence here; at *El.* 468, E. names them along with the Pleiades, as do Homer and Hesiod (1152–4n.). In poetry, their number varies from two to seven; according to Σ Arat. 172, E. said in *Pha.* that there were three, and in *Erech.* that “the three daughters of Erechtheus became Hyades.” Many accept both claims, noting the line-beginning Ὑάσιν at *Erech.* fr. 370.107; this would link the stars named here with the sisters of Creusa whose fate was discussed at 277–82. Sourvinou-Inwood 2011: 123–34, however, argues that the scholion’s claim about *Erech.* is mistaken.

1158–62 The tapestries are not “on the walls” (1158 τοίχοισιν δ’ ἔπι), but take the place of walls (1143n.), and they openly depict strife; contrast the ceiling, where hints of violence were muted (Orion’s sword, the

moon's "javelins," Dawn "pursuing" the stars). For ἤμπισχεν "he spread so as to create a covering" (not "he covered," as normally), see 1142n. These tapestries too were made by "barbarians"; "well-oared ships opposite Greek ships" will have made Athenians think anachronistically of the Persian Wars and their aftermath. As Ion laid out the tent in a square (1137–40n.) and four scenes are listed here, it is easy to imagine one on each side; this contributes to setting apart the object placed at the entrance of the tent, a depiction of Cecrops and his daughters (1163–4n.).

**1161–2** καὶ μιξόθηρας . . . θηράματα "and half-beast men and deer-hunts on horseback and hunts of savage lions": the hybrid creatures could be centaurs, as on the south metopes of the Parthenon. The scenes all belong to types well known in Greek art. Though merely listed, they suggest the triumph of civilization over savage nature (cf. 1143–58n.); a hind and a lion were among the beasts Heracles subdued in the course of his Labors (cf. 184–236n.).

**1163–4** κατ' εἰσόδους δὲ Κέκροπα: Cecrops is usually named as the first Athenian king, best known for a snake-like lower body, signifying autochthonous birth (Ar. *Wasps* 438, Eup. fr. 159), and for his daughters, whose story has been told at 23–4, 271–4(nn.). He gave his name to one of the ten Cleisthenic tribes and was a popular subject in art (Kron 1976: 84–103, Gantz 1993: 235–9, *LIMC* vi.1.1084–91, 2.721–3). The medium of the depiction of Cecrops and his daughters here is uncertain. If Κέκροπα is obj. of ἔστησ' (1166), they may be imagined as sculpture; if it is obj. of ἤμπισχεν (1159), as tapestry. The former is preferable: δέ sets Cecrops apart from the four objs. of ἤμπισχεν linked by καὶ and τε in 1160–2, as do the phrases "at the entrance" (1163) and "the dedication of some Athenian" (1164–5), as well as his position at the end of the list. If we think of sculpture, the description continues its downward progress and ends fittingly with autochthonous beings on the ground.

σπείραισιν εἰλίσσονται "twisting in coils": the verb is a favorite of E.'s but is usually trans., except when it means "dance."

**1165–89** The tent now becomes a συσσίτιον "place for communal dining" (1165); the guests are σύνδειπνοι "fellow diners" (1172) or θοινάτορες "feasters" (1206, 1217). What was to have been a feast (δαίς, δεῖπνον, θοίνη) for Ion's friends (663) already became, in the intention ascribed to him as he laid out his tent, an invitation to "all the people of Delphi" (1140), and now the herald proclaims that "whoever of the locals wants to should proceed to the feast" (1167–8); when the guests arrive, they fill the large space (1168; cf. 664). All this is consistent with a civic banquet; the public aspect emphasizes that Creusa's attempt is a crime against the community (1111–12, 1137–40nn.). As it progresses, however, the occasion comes to resemble a "private" drinking party (συμπόσιον). The eating is narrated briefly, with no further mention of

the sacrifice or consumption of oxen (664, 1031). There are no tables, couches, or other furniture, just the golden mixing bowls, mentioned at the start (long before they are needed) because of their importance to the plot, and cups and vessels later on. The Old Man enters the narrative between the eating and drinking and busies himself with hand-washing, incense-burning, and management of drinking cups (1173–6); then come music (αὐλοί “pipes”) and the shared mixing bowl as precursors to the expected libations (1177–8). The Old Man gives the order for “small wine vessels” to be taken away and replaced with large ones (1178–80); this gives him a chance to put poison in the cup destined for Ion, as Creusa instructed (1032–5).

**1166–7** ἐν δ’ ἄκροισι βᾶς ποσίν: the herald proudly draws himself up to his full height, the better to be heard (cf. *S. Aj.* 1230 with the notes of Jebb and Finglass). The proclamation regarding τὸν θέλοντ’ ἐγχωρίων resembles *IA* 340 τῷ θέλοντι δημοτῶν, in a context that makes it look like a formula of democracy.

ἀνεῖπε “proclaimed”: cf. *IA* 1564, LSJ ἀνεῖπον I.

**1169–70** εὐόχθου βορᾶς | ψυχὴν ἐπλήρουν “they satisfied their spirits with the abundant food”: εὐόχθος, a poetic epithet of feasts (derivation unknown), occurs first at *Bacchyl.* fr. 4.24 and only here in tragedy; cf. *Hes. Op.* 477 εὐοχθέων “prospering.” βορά is often used disparagingly of animal fodder or poor fare for humans, but evidently has no such connotation here. The gen. is regular after a verb of filling (1194–5, Smyth §1369).

**1170–2** ὥς δ’ ἀνεῖσαν ἡδονὴν | < > παρελθὼν πρέσβυς ἐς μέσον πέδον | ἔστη “when they had let go their pleasure . . ., the old man came in and stood in the middle of the floor . . .”: the first words vary the Homeric formula at the end of a feast, αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο (× 21); to fill the gap in 1171, some therefore supply a word for “feast” (δαιτὸς or δείπνων). Just as good are words qualifying μέσον πέδον (σκηνῆς or στέγης). As the sense is clear enough without either of these, still others supply an adv. (εὐθύς or ἄφνω).

**1172–3** γέλων δ’ ἔθηκε συνδείπνοις πολὺν | πρόθυμα πράσσων: the laughter aroused by the Old Man’s eager activity (πρόθυμα πράσσων) creates a diversion, as he intends, and as Hephaestus, in the Homeric model for these lines (*Il.* 1.599–600), distracts his fellow Olympians from the quarrel of Zeus and Hera by “bustling” (ποιπνύοντα) in a way that stirs “unquenchable laughter” (ἄσβεστος . . . γέλως). γέλων is a metrically convenient alternative to γέλωτα (× 7 in *S.* and *E.*).

**1173–4** ὕδωρ | χεροῖν ἔπεμπε νίπτρα “he kept bringing water for washing their hands”: νίπτρα is predicate acc., idiomatically pl. as at *Hel.* 1384, *A.* fr. 225. As a translation of πέμπειν, “send” is often misleading, as subj. and obj. do not necessarily become separated (Platnauer on *IT* 171).

**1174–5** κάξεθυμία | σμύρνης ἰδρῶτα “and he kept burning myrrh resin as incense”: ἰδρῶς (lit. “sweat”) is gum resin collected, in the case of myrrh, from certain Arabian trees and imported to Greece from Syria in hardened globules called “tears” (LSJ δάκρυον I.2); cf. Olson and Sens on Archestr. 60.4–5.

**1175–6** χρυσέων τ’ ἐκπωμάτων | ἦρχ’ “he controlled the golden drinking cups”: the Old Man in effect installs himself as συμποσίαρχος (a word not attested until Xen. and Alexis; cf. Pl. *Smp.* 213e9); see further 1178–80n.

**1177–8** ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐς αὐλοὺς ἦκον ἐς κρατῆρά τε | κοινόν “when they had arrived at (the time for) the pipes and the shared mixing bowl”: the pipes accompanied the paeon sung after or during the three libations (Pl. *Smp.* 176a, Xen. *Smp.* 2.1, Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 245ff.); for the libations, see 1192–3n. The Servant uses the sing. because κρατῆρα here represents a stage of the festivities; the many guests in fact require multiple mixing bowls (1166, 1195).

**1178–80** ἀφαρπάζειν . . . φρενῶν: for the second time (cf. 1128–9n.), the Servant uses direct speech. The Old Man had put himself in charge of the cups already when the guests were passing from eating to drinking (1175–6), but now he pretends to want to hasten their drunkenness, like Alcibiades at Pl. *Smp.* 213e, by replacing small cups with large ones. The small cups have not been used, but are merely part of his scheme to create another diversion.

**1181** μόχθος: lit. “toil,” but the point is not the effort required, but the “bustle” creating another diversion (cf. 1196–8n.).

**1182–3** ἐξαίρετον: the Old Man chooses an “exceptional” vessel as a compliment to Ion, but it is also “kept apart” long enough for him to pour poison into it.

ὥς . . . δὴ “as if”: these words indicate the Servant’s retrospective awareness of what was only an ostensible purpose (cf. 654, *GP* 230, and the similar use of δῆθεν in 656).

**1185–6** ὃ φασὶ δοῦναι φάρμακον δραστήριον | δέσποιναν “the potent drug which they say his mistress gave him”: since the Servant knows that Creusa did in fact give the poison to the Old Man (1215–16), he presumably says φασὶ to distance himself from her accusers (de Jong 1991: 15, 50–1).

**1187** κούδεις τάδ’ ἦιδειν: impressively ominous.

**1187–8** ἐν χερσὶν ἔχοντι δὲ | . . . παιδί τῷ πεφηνότι: the ptcpl. phrase is dat. of interest; translate “as he was holding . . .” In the Servant’s unsympathetic phrase, Ion is “the child who has (suddenly) appeared”; cf. 978.

**1189** βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο: prompting this βλασφημία “word of ill omen” is presumably the first of Apollo’s interventions to save Ion’s life. Ion’s response arises from his nature, as the pigeons’ visit

does from theirs, though we may certainly attribute its “lucky” timing to the god, who uses birds as messengers (next note). During the libations, anything other than prescribed prayers or ritual silence would count as ill-omened. The first occurrences of βλασφημία are here and Democr. 68 B 177 DK; like the related verb and adj., it is found occasionally in fourth-century prose but remains rare in pagan authors.

**1191–2 οἰωνόν:** the use of this word for “omen” recalls Ion’s respect for birds as messengers of the gods (179–81n.; cf. [374–7]) and anticipates the pigeon that will save his life (1204–5n.).

**ἔθετο** = “put it down, considered it as” (LSJ τίθημι B.II).

**ἄλλον νέον | κρατῆρα:** for the pleonasm (“another, fresh mixing bowl”), cf. *Med.* 705, *Su.* 573, *Her.* 1177, etc.

**1192–3 τὰς δὲ πρὶν σπονδὰς θεοῦ | ... ἐκσπένδειν λέγει:** the libation was to have been partly drunk, partly poured on the ground, but because of the omen Ion orders it all to be poured out. What had been mixed was the first libation (poetic pl. σπονδαί), meant for Olympian Zeus (θεοῦ) and the other Olympians; this was normally followed by a second, to the heroes, and a third, to Zeus Soter (A. fr. 55, Σ Pi. *I.* 6.10a, Σ Pl. *Phlb.* 66d).

**1194–5 σιγῇ δ’ ὑπῆλθεν ... Βιβλίνου τε πώματος:** for the pregnant silence, a trope of tragic messenger speeches, cf. *An.* 1145–6, *Su.* 673–4, *Her.* 930, *Ba.* 1084–5, S. *OC* 1623, de Jong 1991: 147–8; for δρόσος = “pure water,” 96–7n. “Bibline” indicates Thracian origin, and thus perhaps wine that is strong, more than usually “Dionysiac” (because of the god’s associations with Thrace), or both; cf. 1204–5n., West on Hes. *Op.* 589, Gow on Theoc. 14.15. For the gens. after a verb of filling, 1169–70n.

**1196–8 κἄν τῷδε μόχθῳ:** “amid this bustle” (1181n.) or just “while this was going on,” as the phrase is used at *Hel.* 1537, *Ph.* 1396.

**πτηνὸς . . . | κῶμος πελειῶν:** for pigeons living in Apollo’s sanctuary, see Diod. Sic. 16.27.2 (cf. 154–83n.); ἄτρεστα = “fearlessly” (the adj. × 6 in tragedy, elsewhere in classical Greek only × 1 in Pl.). The birds arrive in a κῶμος, lit. “band of revelers”; after the Dionysiac death of one of them (1204–5n.), uproar ensues. No doubt many an actual symposium was interrupted by drunken revelers arriving from outside, like Alcibiades and his fellow κωμασταί at Pl. *Smp.* 212c–d.

**ἐσπίπτει δόμους:** the acc. (Badham) is expected after ἐσπίπτει (699–701n.). Some suspect that L’s δόμοις, which recurs at the end of 1197 in a different sense (“temple” rather than, as here, “structure, tent”), has ousted another word, but no convincing replacement has been proposed. It is not rare for successive lines to end with different forms of the same word (some sixty examples in E., according to Parker on *Alc.* 704–7).

**ὥς δ’ ἀπέσπεισαν:** the subj. is the feasters.

**1199–1200 εἰς αὐτὸ χεῖλη πώματος κεχρημέναι | καθῆκαν** “wanting a drink, they dipped their beaks into it”: κεχρημέναι is perf. mid. ptcpl. <

χράω, “desire” or “be in want of, lack” (LSJ C.1, 2). καθῆκαν is a rare but established alternative to καθεῖσαν, third pl. aor. act. indic. < καθίημι. εἶλκον = “they were drawing it up, drinking it” (LSJ ἔλκω A.II.4).

**1202 ἡ δ’ ἔζετ’**: “but (the one) which was sitting.”

**1204–5 κάβάκχευσεν** “and began to act like a maenad”: more or less isolated uses of Dionysiac language are not rare in tragedy (e.g. *Her.* 966, *IT* 1243, *Or.* 411, 835; *S. Ant.* 136). Here, the Servant’s image could be connected with the symposium/revel in progress and/or the background presence of Dionysus in the play and at Delphi (216–18n.).

**ἐκ δ’ ἔκλαγξ’ ὅπα | ἀξύνετον αἰάζουσ’**: κλάζειν suggests prophecy (904–6n.), appropriately for a divine messenger (179–81n.), but the pigeon is “shrieking unintelligibly,” a bad sign (cf. *S. Ant.* 1001–2, 1004, 1021–2). Nevertheless Ion, ὁ μαντευτὸς γόνος (1209), whose upbringing among μάντις was just mentioned when he recognized inauspicious speech as an omen (οἰωνός, 1190–1), will immediately draw the correct conclusion from the bird’s suffering (1210–12).

**εἰθάμβησεν** “watched in astonishment”: L transmits the verb without temporal augment (see app.). The epicism is permissible in a tragic messenger-*rhexis*, and θαμβεῖν itself is a mainly epic word, but Page on *Med.* 1141 shows that almost all tragic instances of omitted augment occur at the beginning of the line.

**1207–8 θνήσκει δ’ ἀπασπαίρουσα, φοινικοσκελεῖς | χηλὰς παρείσα**: the Servant lingers over the pigeon’s convulsing and finally motionless red feet (cf. 161–3n.) before switching abruptly to Ion’s energetic reaction. ἀσπαίρειν is an epic word, always of a hero’s or animal’s death throes; the compound is unique. παρείσα is aor. act. ptcpl. < παρίημι “relax, let go.”

**1208–9 γυμνά δ’ . . . ἦχ’ ὁ μαντευτὸς γόνος** “the son bestowed by the oracle bared his limbs from under his clothes as he thrust them over the table”: ἦχ’ is aor. act. indic. < ἵημι; a compound (e.g. ἐφῆκεν) would be used in prose. For ὁ μαντευτὸς γόνος, cf. ὁ πυθόχρηστος Λοξίου νεανίας (1218n.).

**1210–12 τίς . . . πάρα**: direct speech adds to the excitement (1128–9n.).

**1213–14 εὐθύς δ’ ἐρευνᾷ . . . | ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ πρέσβυν ὥς ἔχονθ’ ἔλοι** “he immediately interrogated the old man, so that he might catch him red-handed, having. . .”: ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ can mean “in the act,” but often, as here, it = “with the evidence still on his person,” which may be its meaning as a legal technical term (Harris 2006: 373–90). ἔχονθ’ lacks a dir. obj., hence the assumption of a missing verse. The alternative solutions given in the apparatus mend the syntax but leave the corruption unexplained.

**1215 ὥφθη δὲ καὶ κατεῖπ’ ἀναγκασθεὶς μόλις** “he was found out, and under compulsion reluctantly admitted”: the Servant has returned to his starting point (ὥφθη ~ 1116 ὥφθη, 1216 μηχανάς ~ 1116 μηχανήματα). Here

ᾧφθη has a personal subj. (as at e.g. Thuc. 4.74.2), unless a different subj. has been lost in the lacuna. ἀναγκασθεῖς suggests torture. Athenians felt no qualms about torturing slaves, and may sometimes have tortured citizens, in the course of an investigation, a practice distinct from “evidentiary” torture, which Athenian law required if a slave’s testimony was to be admitted in court (Gagarin 1996, Mirhady 2000).

**1218 ὁ πυθόχρηστος Λοξίου νεανίας:** cf. 1209 ὁ μαντευτὸς γόνος. Among the Servant’s many ways of describing rather than naming Ion (1106–1228n.), this one is notable for occupying an entire trimeter and for the irony, repeated from 311, that the young man really does belong to Loxias.

**1219 κὰν κοιράνοισι Πυθικοῖς:** like ἄναξ (1222), κοίρανος is an all-purpose word for “leader”; this group represents the community (cf. 1251 Πυθίαι ψήφωι), whether or not its members are sacred officials, for example the Δελφῶν ἄριστῆς of 413–16(n.).

**1220–1 ὦ γαῖα σεμνή . . . θνήσκομεν:** the final direct quotation in the Servant’s speech (1128–9n.) begins with a spontaneous call to witness; the form is traditional, but in this context may evoke Delphi as center of the earth (5–7n.) or even Earth as previous owner of the oracle (A. *Eu.* 1–2), as perhaps suggested by σεμνή and the invocation of Earth alone (usually combined with Zeus, sun, aether, or the like: *Med.* 148, 1251, *Hipp.* 601, 672, *El.* 867, 1177, etc.). In relation to the land, Creusa is ξένη, which Ion also uses to express his outrage and distance himself from her (237–40, 338–9nn.). His pres. θνήσκομεν means something like “I was on the verge of death”; similarly, Creusa is condemned for κτείνουσιν “trying to kill” (1224) and φόνον τιθεῖσαν “attempting murder” (1225; contrast the aor. at 1291[n.], 1500; for the periphrasis with τιθέναι, see 102–3n.).

**1222–3 ὠρίσαν πετρορριφή | θανεῖν . . . οὐ ψήφωι μιᾷ:** “determine, decree” is an established meaning of ὀρίζω in poetry and prose (LSJ III); for πετρορριφή, see 1111–12n. In place of οὐ ψήφωι μιᾷ “not by a single vote” = “by a large majority” (litotes), Reiske proposed ἐν ψήφωι μιᾷ “unanimously” (cf. A. *Su.* 942–3, Ar. *Lys.* 270).

**1224 τὸν ἱερόν . . . ἐν τ’ ἀνακτόροις:** the aggravating circumstances that the intended victim belonged to the god and the crime occurred in the sacred precinct justify the harsh sentence.

**1225–8 πᾶσα δὲ ζητεῖ πόλις:** at 1111–12, “the local authorities” sought Creusa; now it is “the entire city,” an amplification drawing attention to her offense against the community.

**σπεύσασαν** echoes the Chorus’ reference to Creusa’s σπουδαί at 1061–2; for her miserable “path,” cf. 929–30n.

**παίδων γὰρ ἔλθοῦς’ εἰς ἔρον Φοίβου πάρα:** for ironic effect, E. has the Servant use strained language, “having conceived a desire for children from Phoebus” instead of “desiring information from Phoebus about children.” ἔλθοῦς’ εἰς is said of entering into an emotion but may encompass



the literal journey as well, undertaken “towards, in regard to” (LSJ εἰς IV) the desire of children, with an echo of 66–7 ἤκουσι . . . | ἔρωτι παίδων. The Servant ends by saying that Creusa has “lost her life along with (κοινῇ) her children,” with σῶμα = “life,” as at *S. Ant.* 676, Thuc. 1.136.4, etc. This anticipates 1284–5, where Ion asks what is common (κοινόν) to Creusa and Apollo, and Creusa answers by entrusting her σῶμα to Apollo. The fact that E.’s messenger speeches all end with some kind of summing up (de Jong 1991: 74–6, 191–2) tells strongly against Herwerden’s proposed deletion of these lines.

### 1229–1249 FIFTH SONG (INTERLUDE) OF THE CHORUS

As the action nears a climax, the Chorus react to the Servant’s news with a short astrophic song in place of a stasimon, as at e.g. *Med.* 1081–1115, *Hipp.* 1268–82, *Her.* 875–921. Picking up on 1115, they foresee death as the price of their involvement in Creusa’s plot (1229–37). After a fantasy of escape (1238–43), they muse on the fate they expect to share with Creusa in recitative anapaests (1244–9) as, or just before, she enters.

When the Chorus predict their own death, we may think first of Xuthus’ threat (666–7, with reminders at 756, 760), but 1240–1 and 1247–9 suggest that they expect to meet the same fate as Creusa, death by stoning at the Delphians’ hands. This assumption adds urgency to their song, reinforced stylistically by anadiplosis (1229, 1231), anaphora with asyndeton (1235), rhetorical question (1238–43), expressions of self-pity (1230, 1236), and emotive language (1235). But interest in the fate of the Chorus does not persist after 1247–9. The anapaests already turn attention to Creusa, and 1250–60 are entirely concerned with the danger to her.

*Meter.* The meter is mainly aeolic, perhaps entirely so. 1231, with its opening series of seven short syllables perhaps expressing the Chorus’ dread, is metrically ambiguous (2ia<sub>Λ</sub> or resolved pherecratean), as are 1233 (anacreontic, i.e. anaclastic ionic, or “anaclastic hagesichorean”) and 1240–1 (ionic or resolved pherecratean). The choice of labels hardly matters, as iambic and ionic are associable with aeolic anyway, and the high incidence of resolution, the typical feature of E.’s late lyric style that makes these cola ambiguous, clearly signals emotional agitation. Pherecratean probably makes period-end at 1230; if the corrupt text preserves the original rhythm, 1231–3 are likewise pendant and could each close a period, but rhetorical structure points rather to the blunt 1234 (glyconic) as the next break. Phalaecians (glyconic extended by a catalectic iamb) probably mark further period-ends at 1237 (in rare “dragged” form) and 1239 (regular). The lyrics are followed by a regular system of recitative anapaests with paroemiac clausula.

This is the Chorus' last song; after 1260, even the Chorus-leader has only a few perfunctory lines (1510–11, 1619–22). Only Creusa will sing again, in the reunion duet (1439–1509).

— — — — — ∪ — |

οὐκ ἔστ' οὐκ ἔστιν θανάτου

1229 gl<sup>τ</sup>

∪ ∪ — ∪ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

παρατροπὰ μελέαι μοι

1230 ph

∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — — | or ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ — — |

φανερὰ φανερὰ τάδ' ἦδη

1231 2ia<sub>Λ</sub> or ∪∪ph

— — — ∪ — — |

†σπονδὰς ἐκ Διονύσου

1232 ph

∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — |

βοτρύων θοᾶς ἐχίδνας

1233 anacr or <sup>τ</sup>hag

∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — ||<sup>?</sup>

σταγόσι μειγνυμένας φόνωι†

1234 gl

∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — |

φανερὰ θύματα νερτέρων

1235 gl

— ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — |

συμφοραὶ μὲν ἐμῶι βίωι

1236 gl

— ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — — ||<sup>?</sup>

λεύσιμοι δὲ καταφθοραὶ δεσποίνειαι

1237 phalaecian (gl ia<sub>Λ</sub>)

∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — |

τίνα φυγὰν πτερόεσσαν ἦ

1238 gl

∪ ∪ — ∪ — ∪ — — — ||<sup>?</sup>

χθονὸς ὑπὸ σκοτίων μυχῶν πορευθῶ

1239 phalaecian (gl ia<sub>Λ</sub>)

∪ — — ∪ — — | or ∪ — — ∪ — — |

θανάτου λεύσιμον ἄταν

1240 2io or ph

∪ — — ∪ — — | or ∪ — — ∪ — — |

ἄποφεύγουσα, τεθρίππων

1241 2io or ph

— — — — —

ὠκίσταν χαλὰν ἐπιβᾶσ'

1242 gl'

— — — — —

ἦ πρύμνας ἔπι ναῶν

1243 ph

**1230 παρατροπά** “diversion, deflection”: here only in classical Greek (adj. at *An.* 528 μόρου παράτροπον μέλος, also lyr.). Words derived from ἀπο-τρέπειν are more common, though E. also has ἀποτροπά only once (*Hel.* 360, lyr.).

**1231–4** No convincing emendation of these lines has been found. For the acc. σπονδᾶς . . . μειγνυμένας, which lacks a construction, Page proposes σπονδαί γ' . . . μειγνύμεναι, in apposition with τᾶδ'. The translation is then “this is now clear, clear: the libation from the grape-clusters of Dionysus murderously mixed with the drops of the swift serpent.” This may be close to what E. wrote, but the modal dat. φόνωι “murderously” is not fully convincing; perhaps something has dropped out of the text.

**θοᾶς**: L has both grave and circumflex accents over -ας. A gen. agreeing with ἐχίδνας gives good sense: serpents may be swift, and the idea that the poison acted swiftly (1203 εὐθύς) is echoed. In the text as transmitted, acc. pl. θοάς does not give good sense, but the surrounding corruption makes certainty unattainable.

**1235 θύματα**: either “the victims for the (impending) sacrifice,” namely the Chorus themselves and Creusa, or “the (attempted) murder” of Ion, viewed as a sacrifice. The latter allows φανερά to refer again to the now revealed plot (as in 1231), but the former is preferable; it makes for a smoother transition to 1236–7 and is well supported by Euripidean usage (e.g. *An.* 506, *Her.* 453). Either way, the language of sacrifice is perverted, as very often in tragedy; νεπτέρων does not strongly evoke actual ritual “for the nether gods” (for which see Burkert 1985: 199–203; for the gen., cf. *Hel.* 1333, *Ph.* 174), but merely adds a sinister note.

**1237 λείσιμοι δὲ καταφθοραί**: in its only other classical occurrence at A. *Ch.* 211, καταφθορά is metaphorical “destruction”; for stoning, see 1111–12n.

**1238–9 τίνα φυγὰν . . . πορευθῶ**; “what escape am I to make, winged or under the dark recesses of the earth?": the posing of this alternative is common in E. (Barrett on *Hipp.* 1290–3); the choice, “chariot or ship?” (1241–3), is also traditional (e.g. *Med.* 1122–3). μυχῶν perhaps suggests the cave where Creusa was raped and Ion exposed, in which case σκοτίων is a reminder of his illegitimacy (860–1n.). Creusa's escape wish at 796–9, which involves only flight, is likewise embellished with thematically significant detail (see note ad loc.).

ὑπὸ σκοτίων μυχῶν: after a verb of motion, ὑπό regularly takes the acc., but the gen., known in this usage as “proleptic” because it anticipates the final state of rest (K-G 1.522), is found at e.g. Hom. *Od.* 9.375, Hes. *Th.* 717-18.

1240 θανάτου λύσιμον ἔταν: the Chorus envisage their own disfiguring death by stoning, though we have heard only that the Delphians decreed this punishment for Creusa (1222-3, 1237; cf. 1229-49n.). For the phrase (an example of enallage, 112-14n.), cf. A. *Th.* 199, Ag. 1616, S. *Aj.* 254, *Anl.* 35-6.

1241-2 τεθρίππων | ὠκιστᾶν χαλᾶν ἐπιβᾶσ’ “mounting a team with very swift hooves”: τεθρίππων is obj. of ἐπιβᾶσ’ (as at *Her.* 380), χαλᾶν gen. of description.

1244-9 The anapaests effect a transition from the song to the following scene. Such systems often contain words such as ἀλλ’ εἰσορῶ γάρ covering an actor’s entrance. In the absence of such words here, we may imagine Creusa arriving either during or after the anapaests. If during, the voc. ὦ μελέα δέσποινα (1246) serves as an announcement (like ἀρίστης . . . ἀλόχου τῆσδ’ at *Alc.* 241-2, similarly placed after an opening generalization). If after, the Chorus-leader will seem almost to have conjured her, rather as Ion’s entrance at 510 follows choral reflection on Creusa’s lost child (cf. *Hyps.* fr. 757.846-50, further examples in Halleran 1985: 43-6). This possibility is worth considering because the anapaests give no indication of the haste that is evident in Creusa’s first words in trochaic rhythm (1250-1319n.) and to be expected in her situation. In any case, attention now turns to Creusa.

1244-5 οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὅτι μὴ χρήζων | θεὸς ἐκκλέπτει “it is not possible to escape detection unless a god willingly does the stealing away/concealing”: the general phrasing permits multiple levels of reference: to the detection of Creusa’s plot and the Chorus’ complicity, to their immediate chances of escape, and forward, ironically, to Apollo’s rescue of Creusa from Ion and the ultimate plan, enjoined by Athena, to conceal Ion’s true identity from Xuthus. The indic. mood of ἐκκλέπτει means that the Chorus generalize rather than wish; in Homer, ὅτε μὴ + opt. resembles the protasis of a future less vivid conditional, but this construction is not found in tragedy. For ἐκκλέπτειν, see 946, 1253-4nn.

1246-7 τί ποτ’ . . . μένει | ψυχῇ σε παθεῖν; the primary meaning is “What manner of death awaits you as punishment for your wrongdoing?” μένει is not neutral, but implies “the perpetual and abiding manifestation of guilt and its consequences” (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 1563); with δρᾶσαι/πεισόμεθα/τὸ δίκαιον nearby, it looks like Aeschylean reminiscence (next note). But the πάθος awaiting Creusa belongs to a different tragic universe, and there is a hint of this in the unusual ψυχῇ παθεῖν “experience in your soul.”

1247–9 ἄρα θέλουσαι | δρᾶσαι τι κακὸν τοὺς πέλας αὐταὶ | πεισόμεθ’ ὥσπερ τὸ δίκαιον; whether or not Creusa is yet visible (1244–9n.), she has just been addressed and is included in the first pers. pl., enhancing the irony of τοὺς πέλας “those near us” referring to Ion. That the doer must suffer is traditional wisdom; in tragedy, it is associated especially with A.’s *Oresteia* (e.g. *Ag.* 532–7, 1563–4, *Ch.* 313–14). The double acc. after δρᾶσαι is regular (Smyth §1622–3).

### 1250–1622 CLOSING SCENE (*EXODOS*)

In the *exodos*, the consequences of mortal error play out in a series of short and varied scenes. Ion is on the verge of killing Creusa when a quasi-epiphany of the Priestess blocks him and turns the action in a new direction. After recognizing Ion’s basket and passing the test of naming its contents, Creusa embraces her son and bursts into song, but a shadow falls when Ion recalls Xuthus and then, after learning that Apollo is his father, realizes that the god must have lied through his oracle. Ion’s attempt to confront Apollo is blocked by Athena, who decrees his kingship and the glory of his descendants.

These scenes reveal extremes of Ion’s character, including a powerful impulse to retaliate, affectionate respect for his foster-mother, sympathy for his mother, and determination to learn the truth. For her part, Creusa ends up praising Apollo unreservedly. Ion mentions Creusa’s plot against his life and his near-murder of her together (1514–15, perhaps also 1500–1), and a kind of emotional equivalence between these morally distinct acts probably adds to the satisfactions of the long-delayed recognition. For Athenian spectators, there is also the pleasure of Athena’s flattering and optimistic predictions.

#### 1250–1319 *Creusa and Ion*

Creusa asks where she should flee, and the Chorus-leader suggests the altar of Apollo (1250–60). Ion enters with armed attendants and fiercely denounces Creusa (1261–81), who defends her actions from the altar while Ion continues to threaten punishment (1282–1311). The action reaches a climax as Ion first criticizes divine law for protecting unjust suppliants (1312–19) and then moves to attack Creusa (1320–1n.).

Action and variety are packed into this short scene. The trochaic tetrameters (510–65n.) of Creusa’s exchange with the Chorus-leader become still more lively at 1255, where mention of Apollo’s altar coincides with *antilabe* (cf. 530–62n.). Ion denounces Creusa during a unique “chase scene,” and tense stichomythia then culminates in his criticism of divine law. Now as repelled by Creusa as he was drawn to her earlier, he

finds himself on the verge of impiety. Creusa's trust in Apollo is at such a low ebb that she fails even to think of seeking his altar herself, doubts it will protect her, and reckons only that she may yet harm her enemies (1260, 1311nn.). There is greater moral complexity here than in E.'s other surviving suppliant scenes, and the action reaches a very difficult pass. The entrance of Apollo's Priestess at 1320 is an unusually swift and direct manifestation of divine power to avert catastrophe.

**1250–1** διωκόμεσθα . . . κρατηθεῖσ': for the agreement, see 548–9n.

**ἔκδοτος:** probably “delivered” (to her enemies by her πρόξενοι: cf. 1039), perhaps with a hint of “betrayed” (by the Old Man: cf. 1215–16, *Synag.* ε 180 [p. 194 Cunningham] ἔκδοτος· προδεδομένος). The adj. occurs only here in tragedy.

**1252** ἴν' εἰ τύχης “where you are in (mis)fortune.”

**1253–4** προύλαβον μόλις πόδα | μὴ θανεῖν “I just managed to escape so as not to die.”

**κλοπῇ** “by stealth”: for the wording, cf. *S. Aj.* 246 ποδοῖν κλοπᾶν (lyr.), *E. Or.* 1499 ἐξέκλεπτον . . . πόδα, *Hyps.* fr. 759a.1600. Creusa's stealth may be aided by Apollo: cf. 946, 1244–5nn. For πολέμιους, cf. 1045–7n.

**1255** ποῖ δ' ἂν ἄλλοσ' ἢ πῖ βωμόν: Intro. §3.

**τί . . . πλεόν** “what advantage?” (Dawe on *S. OT* 918). Creusa's surprising question draws attention to her mistrust of the god and his protection.

**1256** οὐ θέμις . . . τῷ νόμῳ δέ: θέμις “divine law” (220–1n.) protects the suppliant; violators of asylum risk ritual pollution and divine anger (Parker 1983: 181–6, Mikalson 1991: 69–77). But Creusa counters that she stands condemned by νόμος “(human) law,” and suppliants' rights were sometimes denied in real life. The exchange thus prepares for Ion's dilemma at 1312–19, but that passage, instead of building on the θέμις/νόμος distinction made here, collapses it into “νόμοι [which] the god has ordained for mortals.”

**1257** χειρία γ' ἄλοῦσα “only if you fall into their hands”: not merely redundant after ἄλοῦσα (“caught,” from ἀλίσκομαι), χειρία, a tragic variation on ὑποχείριος, almost always refers to women in danger of rough treatment at the hands of men (*An.* 411, 628, *Cy.* 177, *S. Aj.* 495; pointed variation at *A. Su.* 507).

**καὶ μὴν οἷδ' ἀγωνισταὶ πικροί:** in effect an entrance announcement (a regular use of καὶ μὴν and a form of ὅδε: *GP* 356), but unusually placed and enlivened by “bitter adversaries” (lit. “contestants,” especially in games, here only in tragedy), perhaps recalling ἀγων- words at 863, 939.

**1258** πυρᾶς ἐπὶ “on the altar” (cf. 1255 βωμόν), where burnt offerings were made.

**1260** προστρόπαιον αἷμα: the earliest associations of προστρόπαιος, lit. “pertaining to one who turns to another for help,” are with “the murderer who is a fugitive with his crime unexpiated” and thus accursed (Fraenkel

on A. Ag. 1587). By this route, προστρόπαιον αἷμα comes to mean simply “blood-guilt” at *Her.* 1161 (where see Bond). So too here, but given the situation, the nuance “blood-guilt incurred by the murder of a suppliant,” i.e. one who turns to the god for protection, is also felt.

**1261–81** Ion enters with armed attendants, denounces Creusa (1261–4), and orders his men to seize her (1266–8). After they move to do so, he reflects on his narrow escape (1269–74). When Creusa continues to evade them, he proclaims that neither altar nor temple will save her (1275–8). After she reaches the altar, he denounces her again and implies that she is still not safe (1279–81).

The entire speech may be retained in the transmitted order (for real and alleged difficulties, see 1266–8, 1276–7, 1279–81nn.). Creusa does not immediately follow the Chorus-leader’s advice to flee to the altar. Her hesitation suits her feelings about Apollo (1250–1319, 1255nn., Taplin 1978: 72–3) and makes possible a “stylized and hence unnaturally slow pursuit” (Mastronarde 1979: 111). We need not imagine Ion’s men chasing Creusa while Ion speaks: the stage movements can be arranged in bursts at the natural breaks in his speech (before 1269, 1275, 1279). Before 1275, Creusa reaches a spot suggesting flight to *either* temple or altar; one may imagine the Chorus trying to shield her from her pursuers, especially if the altar she reaches by 1279 is in the orchestra (Introd. §3).

**1261 ὦ ταυρόμορφον ὄμμα Κηφισοῦ πατρός:** like many rivers (e.g. Oceanus at *Or.* 1377–9, Alpheus at *IA* 275–6, Achelous at *S. Tr.* 507–9), the Cephissus, the main river of Athens and Attica, is represented as a man with the head and horns of a bull (Ael. *VH* 2.33, *LIMC* Kephisos I); the periphrasis with ὄμμα, common in tragedy, thus captures his most distinctive feature. “Father” is partly honorific (cf. *Hec.* 451–4, *Ba.* 571–5), partly a reminder of Creusa’s ancestry (for “father” = “ancestor,” cf. 267n.), since E. (probably) made Cephissus the father (at Apollod. 3.15.1 he is the grandfather) of Creusa’s mother Praxithea in *Erech.* (fr. 370.63, restored on the strength of Lycurg. *Leoc.* 98). Cephissus is invoked as a representative of Athens in contexts of praise at *Med.* 835, *S. OC* 685–91.

**1262–5 ἔχιδναν:** the association of vipers with treacherous women is constant in tragedy (e.g. *Alc.* 310, *An.* 269–73; *A. Ch.* 247–9, 994; *S. Ant.* 531). It is especially apt for Creusa, whose paternal ancestors are often depicted as (part-)snake (271–4, 1163–4nn., Introd. §§6.2, 8.2). For the descendant of a river to be seen as a viper makes sense, and rivers themselves are sometimes imagined as snakes (e.g. Achelous at *S. Tr.* 11–12).

**πυρός | . . . φοινίαν φλόγα:** internal acc. after ἀναβλέποντα (examples in Diggle 1981: 12–13). The snake’s gaze, which supplies the etymology of δράκων (< δέρκομαι, aor. δρακεῖν), is regularly compared to fire or lightning which can blind or kill the observer. δράκων hardly differs from ἔχιδνα, but the rhetorical amplification is effective.

**Γοργοῦς:** comparison of autochthonous Creusa with Earth's daughter Gorgo (called ἔχιδνα at 1233 and equipped with snakes at 993 and 1015) now becomes explicit, and Ion's multiple images of Creusa's monstrosity are fused.

**1266–8 λάζυσθ':** 1027n. Ion's men fail to execute this order, but with the staging suggested above, neither deletion (Bain 1979) nor transposition (Kovacs 2003: 20–2) is necessary.

**ἀκηράτους:** properly “unharméd, intact” (cf. κῆρ, κηραίνειν), hence (of hair) “unshorn” (perhaps with influence from κείρειν “cut”; cf. Apollo's epic epithet ἀκερσεκόμης), suggesting high status and vanity; but association with κεραννύναι “mix” early gave rise to a meaning “pure, inviolate” (Hom. *Il.* 24.303, A. *Pe.* 614, S. *OC* 471, 690). Thus Ion's sneer unintentionally hints at the divine protection (soon to be) enjoyed by Creusa – especially if the word has Delphic associations (at Hdt. 8.37.1, a Delphic προφήτης is named Akeratos). The word is later used of the olive tree from which Creusa fashioned the wreath she placed with other items in Ion's basket (1436).

**καταξήνωσι** “may shred”: the punishment Ion threatens here is different from that mentioned by the Servant (1111–12, 1222–3nn.) but assimilated to it by this verb, a compound of ξαίνειν “card (wool)” used metaphorically of various kinds of destruction, and stoning in particular (*Su.* 503, *Ph.* 1145, A. fr. 132c.2, S. *Aj.* 728, Barrett on *Hipp.* 274, Olson on Ar. *Ach.* 319–20).

**πετραῖον ἄλμα δισκηθήσεται:** the cruelty of “thrown like a discus” (the image only here and at *Tro.* 1121) is heightened by ἄλμα (internal acc.), which implies that Creusa actively “leaps.” The death Ion threatens recalls that of Creusa's relatives (and mythic prototypes), the daughters of Cecrops, on the slopes of the Acropolis (271–4n.).

**1269–70 ἐσθλοῦ δ' ἔκυρσα δαίμονος** “I met with a benevolent spirit”: i.e. “it was a stroke of luck” (cf. 1374n.), but Athena will say it was Apollo's devising (1565n.).

**χὺπὸ μητρυιάν πεσεῖν** “and (before) falling under a stepmother's power” (cf. 1025n.).

**1271–2 ἀνεμετρησάμην φρένας | τὰς σάς** “I took the measure of your disposition”: cf. *Hec.* 745–6 ἐκλογίζομαι . . . φρένας τοῦδ' “I reckon this man's disposition.” The enjambed “your” marks the beginning of “contact” between Ion and Creusa.

**ὅσον μοι πῆμα δυσμενὲς τ' ἔφους** “how great a bane and how hostile you are to me”: indirect question after ἀνεμετρησάμην.

**1273–4 περιβαλοῦσα** “having encircled, trapped,” as in a net.

**ἄρδην ἂν ἐξέπεμψας εἰς Αἰδου δόμους** “you would have killed me outright,” possibly with a hint of “you would have dispatched me on high to Hades,” lifted like a corpse in a funeral procession (cf. *Alc.* 608).



**1275–6 οὔτε βωμός οὔτ’ Ἀπόλλωνος δόμος:** for a possible reflection of the stage action in “neither altar nor temple,” see 1261–81n. It would be surprising indeed if Ion were to act on his threat, but we do not know how far rage will carry him; a similar threat recurs in 1281. Ἀπόλλωνος goes with both nouns (*Versparung*: 156–7n.).

**1276–7 ὁ δ’ οἶκτος †ὁ σὸς ἐμοὶ κρείσσων παρά† | καὶ μητρὶ τήμῃ:** the transmitted text can only mean “pity for you is stronger in me and my mother,” and this will not do. Combining this with other, less cogent, objections, Diggle 1994: 125–8 (cf. 1981: 121) deletes 1275–8, but one would like to keep the “sigmatism” (386–7n.), Ion’s ironic mention of his “absent” mother, and the typically Euripidean play on absence/presence and σῶμα/ὄνομα (next note). The sense may have been something like “I [*sc.* as your intended victim] deserve pity more than you [*sc.* as a suppliant] – and so does my mother.” Corruption may extend beyond the second half of 1276.

**1277–8** The thought of his mother is never far from Ion (313, 540, 563–5, 668–75). For the σῶμα/ὄνομα antithesis, which interested contemporary philosophers and sophists, in (especially late) E., see *IT* 504, *Hel.* 66–7, 588, 1100. *Or.* 390, Allan 2008: 48. The related play on absence/presence recurs in other scenes involving unrecognized φίλοι, e.g. 385, *IT* 62, *El.* 245. For οὐκ . . . πω = οὔποτε, see 546n.

**1279–81 ἴδεσθε:** probably addressed not so much to Ion’s men as to imagined witnesses of Creusa’s outrageous ploy – including, implicitly, the spectators. This type of imper., well established in tragedy, runs little risk of disrupting the “dramatic illusion” and is thus quite different from spectator address as found in comedy (Willink on *Or.* 128–9); cf. 1090–5n. The mid. (rare in Attic) conveys indignation (“Will you look at that!”): Wilkins on *Hcl.* 28–9.

**ἐκ τέχνης τέχνην** “one trick after another”: Creusa’s previous trick was the murder plot, with which Ion began his tirade (1261–5). The association of τέχνη with “women’s wiles” (e.g. *Med.* 322, *Hel.* 1621, *Ba.* 675) is strengthened here by ἐπλεξε (826n., cf. 692n.).

**βωμόν ἔπτηξεν θεοῦ** “she has crouched at the god’s altar”: like a cowering bird (Bond on *Her.* 974). Whereas “neither altar nor temple” in 1275 implied that Creusa was still fleeing, the present lines signal that she has reached the altar. This meets the objection to the transmitted sequence (Diggle 1994: 126).

**ὥς οὐ δίκην δώσουσα:** the implied threat prompts Creusa’s prohibition in the next line. As reflected by σε there, Ion now moves to the fore, his attendants forgotten until 1402.

**1282–1311** In stichomythia, Creusa and Ion debate the motives for her crime and the propriety of her refuge at Apollo’s altar. While the characters remain locked in bitter conflict, we are treated to multiple ironies.

**1283** τοῦ θεοῦ θ' ἵν' ἔσταμεν: probably “and of the god where [i.e. at whose altar] I have stopped”; alternatively, with less natural word order, ἵν' ἔσταμεν depends on κατακτείνειν in the previous line. For ἔσταμεν as, in effect, a stage direction (confirming the implication of 1280 ἔπτηξεν), cf. *El.* 227 ἔστηκα, *Hel.* 555–6 ἵστημι (πόδα), *IA* 861 ἔσταμεν.

**1284** τί δ' ἐστὶ Φοίβωι σοί τε κοινὸν ἐν μέσῳ; “What is there in common between Phoebus and you?”: heavily ironic, as the answer is of course Ion himself. For similar irony, cf. 433–6n.; for the “partnership” theme, 358, 566–8, 577, 771–5nn.

**1285** ἱερὸν τὸ σῶμα τῷ θεῷ δίδωμ' ἔχειν: suppliants “give themselves” to the god (*Hdt.* 2.113.2, 6.108.4, com. adesp. 1032.12–13) and become his “property” (Mikalson 1991: 72–3). Physical contact is required (cf. *Hel.* 543–4), hence ἔχειν “to have/hold.” On another level, as Apollo once took Creusa's body by force, so now she gives it, though reluctantly, in a step towards the happy ending (cf. 1612–13n., *Intro.* §8.2).

**1286** κᾶπειτ' ἔκαινες . . . τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ: Ion is outraged (κᾶπειτ', like κᾶιτα, 294–8n.) that Creusa, who gives her body to the god and declares it ἱερὸν because she stands on sacred ground, tried to kill him, τὸν τοῦ θεοῦ (the god's servant, he means, but also his son).

**1288** †ἀλλ' ἐγενόμεσθα, πατρός δ' οὐσίαν λέγω†: the transmitted text is unmetrical and meaningless. One solution is to read ἀλλ' ἐγενόμεσθα πατρός ἀπουσίαι λέγω and translate “But I did (previously) belong (to Apollo), I mean in the absence of my father” (Kraus 1989: 88). The play with absence/presence is welcome (1277–8n.), and the connection with 1289 is good. It also follows well on 1287 if aor. ἐγενόμεσθα really can mean “I did (previously) belong,” in pointed reply to imperf. οὐκέτ' ἦσθα “you no longer belonged.” But it may be doubted whether the change in tense alone suffices to make this point. Contrast 1289, where the advs. “then” and “no longer” aid clarity.

**1289** οὐκοῦν τότε ἦσθα “So yes, you did then (belong to Apollo),” a rare tragic example of “assentient” οὐκοῦν (*GP* 437).

**1291** ἔκτεινά σ' ὄντα πολέμιον: Ion may have been pious, but he was an enemy (next note), and Creusa admits she “killed” him. Here and at 1500, the aor. conveys that she would have succeeded but for forces beyond her control. For other examples of this usage (not all textually secure), see *An.* 810, *IT* 992, *S. Aj.* 1126, *OC* 1008.

**1292–3** Ion points out that Creusa is misusing the word πολέμιος (1045–7n.); she embraces the exaggeration and accuses him of setting her house on fire (cf. 527n.). Though absurd, Creusa's image of Ion acting in one of the ways the Old Man suggested she act (974) hints at family resemblance and the violent excess of which Ion may be capable (Mastronarde 2003: 305–6).

ἐς τὴν σὴν χθόνα: where Creusa speaks of her “house,” Ion answers in terms of the “land,” as again at 1303/1296 (cf. 1295–1305n., Kraus 1989: 89).

**1294** ποίοισι πανοῖς ἢ πυρὸς ποίαι φλογί; that Ion takes Creusa’s ἐπίμπρης literally is typical of angry exchanges; note also the blustery alliteration (for p-sounds conveying “breathless excitement,” see Fraenkel on A. Ag. 268, Finglass on S. El. 210).

**1295–1305** Transposition of 1300–3 after 1295 (Nauck) concentrates the play on μέλλειν (next note) in three successive lines. Another advantage is that the new sequence 1299/1304 varies the house/land contrast (1292–3n.).

**1295, 1300–1** ἔμελλες . . . τοῦ μέλλειν . . . μέλλων: in angry stichomythia, it is common for a character to throw a particular word or words back in his opponent’s teeth (the *locus classicus* is S. OT 547–52), and the present extension over three lines is very effective. The verb μέλλειν may be translated “be about to” or “intend” in all three places. A third meaning, “delay,” has been thought necessary to make sense of 1301, but εἰ σὺ μὴ μέλλων τύχοις means “if you should be not (merely) being about to/intending.”

**1302** φθονεῖς: Ion knows Creusa’s true motive: not fear, but envy arising from her childlessness (with which he earlier sympathized, 607–20). The implied correction suggests this is a statement, not a question. As Lee notes, “Ion is right. . . , but he does not understand, as Apollo does (cf. 306), the real nature of her childlessness.”

**1296** For the right of Xuthus to acquire property and Ion to inherit it, see 657–60n., Introd. §6.1.

**1297** τοῖς Αἰόλου . . . τῆς Παλλάδος: here and in 1299 and 1305, Creusa takes exclusivity so far as to imply that Xuthus’ military aid did not earn him a share of the land; for Xuthus’ ancestry, see 63–4n. With τῆς Παλλάδος, understand γῆς (cf. Hclld. 140, Cy. 586 as emended by Hermann).

**1299** ἐπίκουρος οἰκῆτωρ γ’: Creusa means that being an “ally” does not make one an “inhabitant (with the right to own and bequeath land).” Neither word is inherently value-laden, but context gives ἐπίκουρος negative color (as at 297, Archil. fr. 15, Lys. 12.94), οἰκῆτωρ positive (as at Su. 658), based on the Athenian claim always to have inhabited Attica (29n.).

**1304** ἡμῖν δέ γ’ ἅμα <τῷ> πατρὶ γῆς οὐκ ἦν μέρος; “And I, along with my father, had no share of the land?”: Page’s supplement restores meter, and with δέ γε “continuing the train of thought started by the other speaker” (GP 154), the connection with 1299 is convincing.

**1305** ὅσ’ “only”: lit. “as far as.” παμπησία “inheritance” (< πᾶν, πεπᾶσθαι) is a rare synonym of παγκληρία (813–16n.).

**1306** θεηλάτους ἔδρας “your god-sent sitting”: the adj. (< θεός, ἐλαύνειν) has been doubted but is richly meaningful with ἔδρας understood as “(act of) sitting” (e.g. S. OT 13, OC 112), rather than (or at the same time

as) “seat.” Nearly confined to tragedy (Hdt. 7.18.3 is distinctly tragic in color), θεήλατος often describes disasters (as Creusa’s sanctuary appears to Ion), but occasionally (as at 1392; cf. *S. Ant.* 278) a “miracle” (as it may in fact be). There may even be a hint that Creusa is (potentially) a sacrificial victim, who willingly approaches the altar because she is θεήλατος (Verrall, citing *A. Ag.* 1297). When Creusa *leaves* the altar at 1402, Ion believes she is θεομανής “suffering from god-sent madness.”

**1307 τήν σήν ὅπου σοι μητέρ’ ἐστὶ νουθέτει:** it is common for a dep. clause to be nested within a main clause, but the further dislocation of μητέρ’ creates a highly unusual example of interlocking word order, which underscores the irony that mother and son still do not know how their fates are intertwined. For νουθέτει, cf. 436–7n., 1332, 1397.

**1309 ἐντὸς ἀδύτων:** 226–9n.

**1310 ἐν στέμμασιν:** either “equipped with στέμματα,” the emblem of the suppliant since Hom. *Il.* 1.14 (so Diggle 1981: 60, 1994: 39), or “among the woolen bands (decorating the altar)” (223–4n.).

**1311 τιν’ ὦν:** for indef. τις in veiled threats, cf. *An.* 577, *S. Aj.* 1138, *Ant.* 751, *Ar. Frogs* 552, 554. Ion will assume he is meant, but Creusa means Apollo – or both Apollo and Ion. The pl. rel. ὦν, indicating that the antecedent τινὰ belongs to the class of those who have caused Creusa pain (mainly poetic: K–G 1.55–6), allows the threat to be both inclusive and cryptic. If Creusa dies at the altar, Ion will suffer pollution and divine anger (1256n.), Apollo desecration of his altar.

**1312–19** Ion criticizes the νόμος by which the unjust enjoy the same right of asylum as the just; refuge at an altar, he says, should be available only to the just. After seeming ready to act at 1310, Ion is blocked first by religious scruple and then by the Priestess’ entrance. His hesitation contrasts with the Old Man’s exuberant amorality (especially at 1045–7) and marks him as a good and sympathetic character, but it remains unclear how he will act even after the Priestess’ intervention. For explicit awareness that the rights of asylum extend to the unjust, see e.g. *Lys.* 12.98. The custom draws a sneer from the unsympathetic Herald at *Hcl.* 259–60 and an expression of willingness to violate those rights without fear of the gods from an unknown speaker (perhaps Creon) in *Oed.* fr. 554a (cf. *Lycurg. Leoc.* 128). For other complaints about the disposition of the world in E., see e.g. Barrett on *Hipp.* 616–24, Mastronarde on *Med.* 190–204.

**1312–13 δεινόν γε:** “a common preface to an indignant reflection” (Diggle on *Pha.* 164 = fr. 776.1); cf. 1416n. So also φεῦ before 1312, used here as at e.g. *Hipp.* 925, 936, *Hec.* 864, 956; cf. 330n.

**θνητοῖς τοὺς νόμους . . . ἔθηκεν ὁ θεός:** Ion reflects on laws he regards as absolute, though misguided. From his attribution of these νόμοι to the god, it is clear that the scene does not hinge on a distinction between religious and civic jurisdictions (Naiden 2006: 203); cf. 1256n. Ion cannot be

seen as representing only civic authority, and when the Priestess arrives, she does not consider whether to accept or reject Creusa's supplication, but simply blocks one action and launches another. Contrast the situation in *Hcld.*, where it is relevant that competent authorities did sometimes reject real-life suppliants (cf. Allan 2001: 39–43).

οὐ καλῶς | . . . οὐδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης σοφῆς “not well and not with wise judgment” (ἀπὸ γνώμης like A. *Eu.* 674–5; contrast S. *Tr.* 389 with Davies' note). For this kind of moral and intellectual criticism of the gods, see 448–9, 916–18nn.; Wilamowitz and Bond on *Her.* 655–6.

1314–15 τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκους βωμόν οὐχ ἵζειν ἐχρῆν | ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν “the unjust should not sit at the altar, but <one should> drive <them> out”: the syntax is a little loose. Some understand “the god” (from 1313) as subj. of the infs. and ἵζειν as trans. “seat at,” but no examples of the latter usage are cited, whereas “sit at” + acc. is normal tragic diction (5–6n.; cf. 1317 ἱερὰ καθίζειν).

1315–17 οὐδὲ γὰρ ψαύειν καλὸν | θεῶν πονηρᾷ χειρὶ, τοῖσι δ' ἐνδίοις “indeed it is not right for a wicked hand even to touch the gods, but (it is right) for the just”: Ion is again horrified at the thought of contact between a wicked mortal and the god or his emblems (522n.; cf. 635–7, 1285nn.).

ὅστις ἡδικεῖτ' ἐχρῆν “the one who is wronged should sit”: the dependent verb is put in the same tense as ἐχρῆν, which is formally imperf. but refers to the pres. (what should be the case but is not: Smyth §1774–8).

1318 ἐπὶ ταὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἰόντ' “by recourse to this same protection” (not “by going to this same place”), with ταὐτό conveying the unexpectedness of equal treatment for good and bad; cf. *Hipp.* 348, S. *OT* 458, 1209, *Ph.* 119, etc.

### 1320–68 *Ion and the Priestess*

Apollo's Pythian Priestess enters and blocks punishment of Creusa. Producing the basket in which Ion was exposed as a baby, she tells him to use it to find his mother. She has intuited that Apollo wanted her to keep the basket secret and Ion to use it in this way. Ion's impending departure explains her timing, but the repeated emphasis on the present moment (1341, 1349, 1353) reinforces the sense that Apollo is intervening directly, that this is one of the μηχαναί by which Athena later says he saved Ion and Creusa (1563–5). In a sense, the intervention doubles the divinely established νόμοι that have just given Ion pause (1312–19); it also anticipates Athena's epiphany. Both Athena and the Priestess enter unannounced and halt impending action, and just as Athena arrives σπεύσας Ἀπόλλωνος πάρα (1556), the Priestess comes straight from Apollo's oracular tripod (1320–1 τρίποδα γὰρ χρηστήριον | λιποῦσα ~ 1556). Like Athena, she speaks for the god (1322 Φοίβου προφήτις ~ 1559, 1569).

**1320–1** ἐπίσχεις: the Priestess gives this command, which regularly halts an action in progress (e.g. *An.* 550, *Hel.* 1184, 1642, *El.* 962, *Cret.* fr. 472e50; *Hyps.* fr. 757.853), in the sing., i.e. to Ion, who, she says, is making a mistake in being savage (1327). Ion, meanwhile, continues to insist that killing Creusa is right (1328, 1334). We may infer that he has begun some movement not indicated in the text. Probably he raises a sword to strike Creusa (Burnett 1971: 119). Creusa’s “bitter adversaries” entered armed with swords (ξιφήρεις) at 1257–8, and a sword suits indications that Ion means to kill Creusa on the spot if necessary (1309–11). Other possibilities are that he aims his bow at her (Wiles 1997: 80, noting Apollo’s mythical killing of the Python and 154–83, where Ion threatens the birds; add Ion’s threat against Xuthus at 524) or moves to drag her from the altar. The moment provides a thrill of a sort evidently enjoyed by ancient spectators (cf. *Cresph.* fr. 456, with *Arist. Po.* 14.1454a5–7, on Merope’s near-murder of her son with an axe; hyp. *Alex.* 25–30, on Hecuba’s near murder of Paris at an altar).

τρίποδα γὰρ χρηστήριον | λιποῦσα θριγκοῦς τοῦσδ’ ὑπερβάλλω ποδί “having left the prophetic tripod, I step beyond the confines of this masonry”: a ptcpl. phrase with λείπειν is formulaic in divine entrance speeches (*An.* 1232, *Tro.* 1, *Ba.* 13, *S. Ph.* 1414, fr. 562.1); the impressive temple architecture represents the inside/outside boundary (cf. 156–7n.). For ὑπερ- “beyond the confines of,” see Willink on *Or.* 1370–2; for the acc. obj., *Alc.* 829, *Or.* 443, 1644.

**1323** πασῶν Δελφίδων ἐξαιρετος: the Priestess is “exceptional among all Delphian women,” but the adj. also implies “elected, chosen from” (by lottery or other method thought of as controlled by the god). Unfortunately, no ancient source tells us how the Pythia acquired her office (for the possibilities in general, see Connelly 2007: 46–55), nor can we conclude from “all” that literally every Delphian woman was eligible, though “pious pagans gloried in emphasizing that, except when on the tripod, a Pythia might be a very ordinary woman” (Parke and Wormell 1956: 1.35).

**1324** ὦ φίλη μοι μῆτερ: answering ὦ παῖ (1320; cf. 1358), but with heavy irony, since his true mother is present. For the Priestess as foster-mother, see also 49, 321, 1363.

**1325** ἀλλ’ οὖν λεγόμεθά γ’ “well, I am called (mother) anyway”: *GP* 442. For φάτις = “name,” cf. *A.* fr. 6.3.

**1327** καὶ σὺ δ’ ὠμός ὢν ἀμαρτάνεις “but you too [δέ connective, καὶ adverbial: *GP* 200] are making a mistake in being savage [lit. ‘raw’; cf. 47]”.

**1329–30** προγόνοις δάμαρτες δυσμενεῖς ἀεί ποτε “wives are always hostile to children born before”: this is the earliest instance of πρόγονος = “stepchild”; the usual meaning in E.’s day is “ancestor,” as at 20, 267(n.), 1000. Ion replies ἡμεῖς δὲ μητρυιαῖς γε “and we to step-mothers.” On step-mothers, see 1025n.

δέ ... γε: 367–8n.

**1331 μὴ ταῦτα** “Don’t (say) that!”: the colloquial ellipse marks the Priestess’ maternal manner as she attempts to calm Ion (cf. 1335, Collard 2005: 367, Olson on *Ar. Ach.* 344–6).

**1332 νουθετούμενον:** 436–7n.

**1334–6 καθαρὸς . . . πολεμίους:** Ion now accepts that he and Creusa are military enemies (πολέμιοι: 1045–7, 1291nn.), and “for Athenians, as, apparently, for all Greeks at all times, blood shed in battle could simply be washed off” (Parker 1983: 113), i.e. was not polluting. Ion’s tone is still self-righteous; his repetition of the Priestess’ καθαρὸς would be at home in a more hostile exchange (cf. 1295, 1300–1n.), and τοι contains a note of remonstrance (*GP* 540–1). But the Priestess responds with a gentle μὴ σὺ γε “Don’t you (do this)!” (439–51, 1331nn.) and a change of topic, which Ion politely accepts (λέγοις ἄν: 335n.) because she is well-disposed (εὖνους δ’ οὔσ’).

**1338 ἀντίπηγ’ ἐν στέμμασιν:** the play’s most significant object was last named at 40; cf. 19n., 1380, 1391. στέμματα are associated with Delphi elsewhere in the play (223–4, 1310nn.), and these mark the basket as temple property; Creusa recognizes it only after they have been removed (1389–94).

**1339 νεόγονον βρέφος:** cf. 31 βρέφος νεογόνον, the tender phrase there used by Apollo (as reported by Hermes).

**1340 ὁ μῦθος εἰσενήνεκται νέος:** within the fiction, the Priestess’ story is new because Ion has never heard it. Since it gives a decisive turn to the plot (another sense of μῦθος), it is tempting to hear metatheatrical overtones, perhaps including a hint that the whole “myth” of Ion is novel (Cole 2008, Torrance 2013: 27). For εἰσφέρειν “introduce” used of theatrical innovation, see e.g. *Ar. Clouds* 547, *Frogs* 850; in tragedy, *Hel.* 664 and *Ba.* 650 could be interpreted along similar lines.

**1341 σιγῇ γὰρ εἶχον αὐτά** “I kept quiet about it”: αὐτά (“it, the facts”) is also to be understood as direct obj. of δείκνυμεν, and of ἔκρυπτες in 1342, which means, “Then why did you conceal it at the time when you took me long ago?”

**1347 ἐνθύμιόν μοι τότε τίθησι Λοξίας** “Apollo put (preserving these things) into my mind then”: the obj. σώζειν τάδε is understood from the previous line; the adj. ἐνθύμιος is simply what is ἐν τῷ θυμῷ “in one’s mind.” For the aptness of this description of Apollo’s influence, see Hunter 2011: 33–4.

**1350 τί κέρδος ἢ τίνα βλάβην:** Ion’s worry that the basket may cause him harm anticipates his later hesitation to open it for fear of what he may learn (1380–4n.). It also recalls the twin capacities of Creusa’s bracelet (1001–17).

**1352 μητρὸς τὰδ’ ἡμῖν ἐκφέρεις ζητήματα;** Ion sees that the Priestess is giving him the clue he lacked at 329. One may doubt whether ordinary σπάργανα would be helpful “means of searching for a mother” (for the

formation of ζητήματα, cf. 112–14n.), but Ion’s σπάργανα prove to be far from ordinary, and we know that Creusa put a golden snake ornament in the basket (26–7).

**1354** ὦ μακαρία μοι φασμάτων ἥδ’ ἡμέρα “O this day blessed for revelations”: φάσματα are unexpected sights such as dreams, portents, and ghosts (and mystic visions: Zeitlin 1996: 307). When Creusa catches sight of the basket at 1395, she speaks of a φάσμα; cf. 1444. For μακαρία, cf. 308, 562, 1460–1nn.

**1355** τὴν τεκοῦσαν ἐκπύονει “diligently search for your mother.”

**1356** Ion responds to the Priestess’ command with bounding enthusiasm – and obvious irony, since his mother is right beside him. “Europe and Asia” is a “polar expression” (877–8n.) implying “the whole world” (cf. *Trö.* 927), but also anticipates 1586–7, which describe places actually colonized by Ionians.

**1357–8** γνώσει τάδ’ αὐτός “That is for you to decide”: having completed her duty to the god, the Priestess hands the basket to Ion. The performative ἀποδίδωμι accompanying her action adds a ceremonious note.

[1359–60] The idea that Apollo caused (without directly ordering) the Priestess to act was expressed already, and more subtly, at 1346–9; in 1360, οὔτου δ’ ἐβούλεθ’ κτλ. is in tension with 1343 and 1353, where the Priestess has some knowledge of Apollo’s purposes. Also, 1360 is two syllables too long (though this problem can be solved easily, for example by deleting σῶσαί θ’, which could have intruded from 1349). The lines could be due to an actor wanting to linger over the sacred mystery of the basket’s preservation.

**1361–2** ἥιδει δὲ . . . κεκρυμμένα: these lines make the important point that only the Priestess knows of the basket, which has thus been free from tampering. Following on 1357–8, they emphasize the contrast between the god (for whose sake the Priestess acted) and mortal men (of whom none knows what she did). The epic combination θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων perhaps lends authority to this pronouncement. It is not found elsewhere in tragedy (Diggle 1981: 114), but A., S., and E. all have the similar θνητὸς ἀνὴρ. For masc. pl. ἔχοντας used of a female, see 955n.

**1363** καὶ χαῖρ’ ἴσον γάρ’ σ’ ὡς τεκοῦσ’ ἀσπάζομαι: this line makes a satisfying ring with Ion’s greeting at 1324 and repeats its irony, but it may also indicate a problem with the preceding lines. As Diggle 1981: 114 observes, “When E. uses the phrase καὶ χαῖρε or καὶ χαίρετε, he has always used an imper. immediately before, so that καὶ is the copula” (cf. 1604). For this and other reasons, he suspects 1357–62. But 1363 alone makes an abrupt end to the scene if 1364–8 are deleted, as they should be (next note). Also, in only one of the eleven other instances Diggle cites do another character’s words intervene between the first imper. and καὶ χαίρε(τε); here, some of what the Priestess says before her final farewell



responds to the intervening 1356 (Erbse 1984: 86–7). In view of this, the occurrence of καὶ χάρις without preceding imper. at A. *Eu.* 775 (noted by Diggle), and the useful functions of 1357–8 and 1361–2, it is probably better to tolerate the anomaly.

[1364–8] Hirzel's deletion is almost certainly correct. After the Priestess gives Ion the basket, bids him farewell, and embraces him (1363 ἀσπάζομαι), we do not want her telling him where to search (in 1357 she said it was for him to decide). The lines' only virtues are a closing formula in 1367–8 ἔχεις | ἅπαντα (Fraenkel on A. *Ag.* 582, 1045–6: but we have already had appropriate closing gestures) and double meaning in 1368, where the Priestess says that Apollo μετέσχε τῆς τύχης (but the same irony is present in 1357).

### 1369–1548 *Ion and Creusa*

**1369–94** Reminded by the basket of his mother's abandonment of him, Ion is moved to tears. The parallel with Creusa's tears on first seeing Apollo's temple at 237 is reinforced by a verbal echo (1370 ἐκεῖσε τὸν νοῦν δοῦς ~ 251 ἐκεῖσε τὸν νοῦν ἔσχον). Also like Creusa, Ion has suffered irreparable loss (1376n.). A returning fear of base origins leads to a moment of hesitation (1380–4n.), but Ion recognizes Apollo's will and bows to it. As he slowly unwraps the basket, he marvels at its state of preservation. The speech contains pathos, irony, and another example of Ion's extraordinary empathy, when he imagines his unknown mother's suffering as identical to his own (1378–9). His amazed description of the basket's condition underscores the power of the gods, for whom “the intervening time” (1393–4 ὁ δ' ἐν μέσῳ | χρόνος), so long in mortal eyes, is but a moment. Creusa looks on and recognizes the basket when the woolen bands covering it are removed.

**1369 κατ' ὄσσων ὡς ὑγρὸν βάλλω δάκρυ:** for a character's weeping indicated by words, cf. 241–2n.; for the fullness of expression (“wet tear”), 105–6n.

**1371 ἀπημπόλα:** “sold away” resonates with Ion's life as a slave and fear that his mother was a slave (1382–3). The verb is also used figuratively of shady dealings: *IT* 1360, *Ph.* 1228, *Ar. Ach.* 374; cf. A. *Ch.* 132, S. *Ant.* 1036.

**1372 μαστὸν οὐκ ἐπέσχεν:** ἐπέσχεν (Dobree: ὑπέσχεν L) is *uox propria* for offering the breast (*An.* 225, LSJ ἐπέχω II); cf. 319–21n., 1492.

**ἀνώνυμος:** while anyone might resent namelessness, Ion's complaint perhaps suggests an instinctive sense of entitlement; cf. 1376 τρυφήσαι. On naming Ion, see 74–5, 80–1, 309–11, 661, 802–3nn.

**1373 οἰκέτην βίον:** Ion's new attitude towards servile status (cf. 128–40, 674–5nn.) prepares for his surprising decision in 1380–4. For οἰκέτης used as an adj., cf. 269–70n.

**1374** τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μὲν . . . τοῦ δὲ δαίμονος: Ion praises Apollo while bemoaning his luck (for δαίμων so used, cf. 1269, *Alc.* 561, *IT* 203, etc., Burkert 1985: 179–81, Mikalson 1991: 22–9).

**1376** τρυφῆσαι “be pampered”: often, like χλιδή (26–7n.), with connotations of luxury and excess. Common in E., comedy, and prose, τρυφᾶν and τρυφή are not used by A. or S. Because μητρός τρυφῆσαι is enjambed at the beginning of 1376, word-play with μητρός τροφῆς frames the two lines 1376–7. The coincidence of sound with τερφθῆναι further emphasizes that Ion missed one of life’s great pleasures.

τι τερφθῆναι βίου “take some pleasure in life”: cf. 541 τερφθῆς τοῦτο.

**1378–9** Earlier, Creusa assumed Ion’s unknown mother suffered (330, 360). That Ion now imagines her pain is yet another ironic reflection of the instinctive sympathy between them.

**1380–4** With Xuthus, Ion concluded that his mother was a free-born participant (whether Delphian or, as he hoped, Athenian) in Dionysiac ritual (545–56, 670–5). There is no new reason for him to fear otherwise (cf. 819–22n.), and it somewhat strains belief that he would abandon his desire to find her, but his decision makes for a thrilling moment when it appears that Apollo’s plan has encountered another unforeseen obstacle.

**1381–3** εὔρω . . . | εὕρεῖν: Ion fears that the “find” preserved by the Priestess (1349 εῦρημα) may lead to unwelcome discoveries, but we know it is of the usual, lucky kind (1441–2n.).

**1385–6** καίτοι τί πάσχω; “And yet, what’s the matter with me?”: as at *Med.* 1049 (cf. *Med.* 879), the colloquialism (436–7n.) announces a change of mind.

προθυμίαι: of a god’s will or purpose also at *Alc.* 51, *Hipp.* 1329, 1417, *An.* 1252. Whereas the Priestess intuited Apollo’s will, Ion discovers it by reflection.

σύμβολ’: physical “tokens” (Mastronarde on *Med.* 613) and abstract “signs, evidence” (e.g. S. *OT* 221, *Ph.* 403–4), a regular feature of recognitions (*El.* 577; cf. *Hel.* 291, *Men. Sic.* 295); cf. 329, 1352nn.

**1387** ἀνοικτέον τάδ’ ἐστὶ καὶ τολμητέον: holding the basket, Ion says, “I must open this and endure (what I find).” But ἀνοίγειν is also figuratively “lay open, disclose (something unpleasant)” (LSJ 2), hence “I must disclose and endure this [i.e. my possibly base origin].” The blending of literal and metaphorical opening recalls the Chorus’ response to Creusa’s monody (923–4n.); see further 1563n.

**1388** τὰ γὰρ πεπρωμέν’ οὐχ ὑπερβαῖν ποτ’ ἄν: beginning with Homer (*Il.* 6.488 μοῖραν δ’ οὐ τινά φημι πεφυγμένον ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν), expressions of the idea that fate is inescapable are legion (*Hcl.* 615, Thgn. 1033–4, Pi. *P.* 12.30, A. *Th.* 781, fr. 362, etc.). But ὑπερβαίνειν (lit. “pass beyond”) often connotes “overstep, transgress” (LSJ I.2; cf. ὑπερβασία) and perhaps alludes to the ways in which Ion and Creusa have striven against what Apollo and fate planned for them.

**1389** ὦ στέμμαθ' ἱερά: 1338n.

**1391** περίπτυσμ' "covering": only here.

**1392** ἔκ τινος θεηλάτου "by some miracle": 1306n.; cf. 1456.

**1393** εὐρώς "mildew" (or occasionally other decay, such as rust), a mostly poetic word not elsewhere in tragedy (cf. epic εὐρώεις). Com. adesp. 1084, with γνωρίσματα including a torn and moth-eaten cloak, may poke fun at the sort of miracle E. stages here.

**1394** θησαυρίσασιν: 923-4n.

**1395-1438** Creusa sees the basket and is immediately convinced that Ion is her long-lost son; she leaves the altar and tries to embrace him. Resisting, Ion tests her knowledge of the basket's contents. As she describes each object, he holds it up for all to see.

E. has several variations on the scene in which one character arrives at recognition sooner than another. Here he sets up comparison with the false recognition between Ion and Xuthus earlier in the play (510-65; cf. 1402-3n.). As there and elsewhere, the scene unfolds mainly in stichomythia, with longer speeches for Creusa's descriptions of the basket and two of the tokens (1398-1400, 1427-9, 1433-6), all of which have rich thematic associations (cf. Huys 1995: 212-25, Mueller 2010). The "test" format of the recognition is unique in surviving tragedy, though *IT* 805-27 is somewhat comparable; it has descendants in Menander (*Epit.*, *Peric.*) and Plautus (especially *Rudens*: Telò 1998). Ion is guarded at first. He carefully avoids giving anything away, insists on the integrity of the test (1414 πρὶν εἰσιδεῖν, 1420 ὥς με μὴ ταύτῃ λάβῃς), and pushes Creusa for greater specificity (1418, 1420, 1426, 1430). As late as 1426, he wonders whether luck helped Creusa identify the first token. But already at 1416 he is sufficiently impressed by her τόλμα to allow the test to proceed, and by 1430 he "longs" to hear her identify the third item. Once Ion accepts Creusa as his mother, the two embrace (1436-7), and Creusa begins to sing.

**1395** τί δῆτα φάσμα τῶν ἀνελπίστων ὀρῶ; "Well now, what unbelievable vision do I see?" With δῆτα, not merely emphatic but with "logical connective force" (*GP* 269), Creusa's first words in over eighty lines convey instantaneous recognition of the uncovered basket. For φάσμα, cf. 1354n.

τῶν ἀνελπίστων: the meanings "unbelievable," "unhoped-for," and "unexpected" shade into one another (cf. *El.* 570-9, *Alc.* 1123-34, Kannicht on *Hel.* 585) and are all typical in recognitions and rescues (1441-2n.); the construction is partitive gen.

**1396** σίγα σύ' πῆμα καὶ πάροιθεν ἦσθά μοι: to Ion, Creusa's interruption is an unwelcome distraction. There is a similar irony at *IT* 773: Orestes interrupts Iphigenia when her use of his name reveals her identity to him, but she brushes him aside. Ion called Creusa a πῆμα at 1272; here, the word is one of three conjectures needed to make sense of a

very corrupt line (see apparatus). L also gives the line to the Chorus, but assignment to Ion may be regarded as certain: the scene belongs to him and Creusa.

1397 οὐκ ἐν σιωπῇ τάμ' "my situation does not allow silence": for τάμ', cf. 247-8n.; for the expression as a whole, *Ph.* 1276 οὐκ ἐν αἰσχύνῃ τὰ σά, with Mastronarde's note.

μή μ' ἐνουθεῖται: 436-7n.

1398-1401 Creusa realizes that her lost child stands before her. There is great pathos in ὦ τέκνον μοι and βρέφος ἔτ' ὄντα νήπιον (1399), and it is fitting that Creusa give immediate expression to it. Ion does not respond to these tender words, whether because he is absorbed in inspection of the basket, is too angry at Creusa to "hear" her, or takes "you" in 1399 to be someone else. Creusa proclaims indifference to punishment (repeated in 1404), as did Xuthus at 527.

ὁρῶ γὰρ ἄγγος "I do see the vessel," picking up ὁρῶ in 1395. To judge from Aristotle (*Pa.* 16.1454b25), the basket has a parallel in the σκάφη ("skiff") that brought about recognition in one of S.'s lost *Tyro* plays (cf. S. fr. 657), but we do not know whether this play preceded *Ion* or made use of further tokens (Moodie 2003: 122-5).

Κέκροπος ἰς ἀντρα καὶ Μακρὰς πετρηρεῖς: for the topography, see 11-13, 492-4nn. Κέκροπος marks the locale as Athenian without indicating a particular cave (cf. 936-8n.).

1402-6 After 1401, Creusa leaves the altar, and Ion orders his men to seize and bind her. Her first words in 1404 apparently stop them; at any rate, she remains free enough to say ἀνθέξομαι (1404-5n.) and try again to embrace Ion and the basket, leading him to say ρυσιάζομαι (1406n.). After this, Ion's men may restrain Creusa, but if she succeeds in grasping the basket, she will not willingly let go until Ion agrees at 1416 to let her name its contents.

1402-3 θεομανῆς γὰρ ἦλατο: cf. 520 and 526, where Ion thinks divine madness may explain Xuthus' attempt to embrace him. Other parallels between that scene and this include the rare word ρυσιάζειν (523 ~ 1406); expressions involving φίλος (523 ~ 1406-7) and φίλτατος (525 ~ 1409); the role of fate (554 ~ 1422); and the sequence of embrace by one partner, rejection by the other, and challenge by the first to "go ahead and kill me!" (517-27 ~ 1404-6); cf. Taplin 1978: 137-8. Creusa's "leap of faith" also resonates with 271-4, 1266-8, 1306(nn.).

ξόανα "carved images" (< ξεῖν), whether statues or reliefs, later a technical term for primitive wooden cult statues (Cropp on *IT* 1359, Donohue 1988).

1404-5 σφάζοντες οὐ λήγοιτ' ἄν "don't stop killing me": that is, "carry on killing me, for all I care." For the opt. + ἄν, cf. 335n.

ἀνθέξομαι | καὶ τῆσδε καὶ σοῦ τῶν τ' ἔσω κεκρυμμένων "I will lay hold of this and you and the things hidden within": thematically, the three gens.

are as one; in terms of staging, we may imagine a stylized struggle over the basket, to which τῆσδε (fem.) must refer, even though it was last called ἀντίπηξ (fem.) at 1391 and has since been called ἄγγος (neut.) at 1398 (cf. 1394 τοῖσδε θησαυρίσμασιν). τῶν τ' ἔσω is Tyrwhitt's improvement of L's τῶν τε σῶν.

**1406 ῥυσιάζομαι δόλωι:** Ion probably intends “I am being deceitfully robbed (of the basket),” but the meaning “I am being deceitfully claimed as property” is also present (for the rare verb so used, cf. 523n.). δόλωι (Jacobs) is palaeographically easy and thematically apt (1279–80, 1326, 1410). L's λόγωι makes sense if Creusa is immobilized, but not on the staging proposed here (1402–6n.).

**1407–9 σοῖς φίλοισιν εὕρισκῃ φίλος . . . | ἐγὼ φίλος σός; . . . | παῖς γ', εἰ τόδ' ἐστὶ τοῖς τεκοῦσι φίλτατον** “You have been found φίλος to those who are φίλος to you “. . . “I (have been found) φίλος to *you*?” . . . “Yes, (you have been found) my *child*, if that is what is φίλτατον to parents”: for the φίλος-words, see 521, 1437–8nn. In 1409, Creusa's παῖς γ' continues the syntax of 1407 and the first half of 1408, overlooking the second half, καίτ᾽ αὖ μ' ἔκτεινες λάθραι; (where καίτ᾽ αὖ is an indignant “and then”: 294–8n.).

**1410 πλέκουσα . . . πλοκάς:** for the metaphor of weaving as deceit, with *figura etymologica*, see 826n. The corruption in L resulted from not recognizing the parenthesis (Diggle 1981: 115–16). Others, allowing πλέκουσα to stand uniquely without an obj., translate L's καλῶς with λήψομαι as “I will get a proper hold of you,” a wrestling image.

**1411 τοῦδε τοξεύω:** sc. τοῦ ληφθῆναι, picking up Ion's λήψομαι in 1410 but in a different sense, “embrace” rather than “catch out” (LSJ λαμβάνω I.1 and I.4, respectively). Creusa's metaphorical archery is now friendly: contrast 256–7(n.).

**τέκνον:** possibly felt as a climax after 1407 φίλος and 1409 παῖς. Ion's move in the next line towards testing Creusa may be taken as a softening in response.

**1414 πρὶν εἰσιδεῖν:** Ion does not easily let go his suspicion (cf. 1420, 1426).

**1416 τι δεινόν:** the root meaning “anything about which one can be of two minds” is evident here. The feeling aroused by Creusa's τόλμα (also ambivalent: 252–4, 960nn.) is something like awe, rather than fear (989) or indignation (1312–13n.); see also 1502–4n.

**1417 σκέψασθ'** “examine”: the pl. imper. reminds us that the scene, while intimate, has its public aspect, as Creusa proves her knowledge before witnesses (Ion's men). The spectators may well feel included (cf. 1279–81n.).

**1419 οὐ τέλειον, οἷον δ' ἐκδίδαγμα** “not complete, but as it were apprentice work”: there is an undercurrent of pathos here and in 1425 (and 1489–91). Creusa was just past girlhood at the time of her ordeal (cf. 888–90). For symbolic interpretations of Creusa's incomplete weaving, see Huys 1995: 219–21.

**1421–3 Γοργών . . . αἰγίδος τρόπον:** just as Iphigenia wove the strife of Atreus and Thyestes (*IT* 811–14), so Creusa chose a subject associated with her family (at 987–97, the aegis is etymologized in connection with Athena’s slaying of Gorgo; at 1580–1, it gives its name to one of the Ionian tribes; see also 209–11, 223–4nn.). The *topos* begins in the *Iliad*, where Helen is seen weaving the sufferings of Greeks and Trojans on her behalf (3.125–8). The Euripidean examples introduce faintly sinister notes into contexts of joyful reunion; Ion compared Creusa to Gorgo, whose blood was meant to kill him, at the start of this very scene (1264–5).

**ἐκκυνηγεῖ πότμος:** another parallel with the false recognition (554 ὁ πότμος ἐξεῦρεν), but also a reversal of metaphorical role for Ion, the hunter now hunted (1111, 1250; cf. 255n.).

**κεκρασπιδωται** “is fringed”: the verb only here, but κράσπεδον is not rare.

**1424 †θέσφαθ’ ὥς εὐρίσκομεν†:** Ion holds up the weaving and, in the transmitted text, connects it in some way with prophecy. Since he knows of no prophecy regarding the events now taking place, some accent ὥς and take him to be saying that Creusa has spoken the truth *as if* prophesying. This could be effective, but it is hard to get out of the Greek, and it comes too early: Ion is not ready to treat Creusa’s first correct answer as an oracular revelation. No convincing emendation has been found.

**1425 χρόνιον . . . παρθένευμα** “maiden-work seen after so long”: unsurprisingly, the long passage of time is a recurrent motif aiming at pathos in recognition scenes (*El.* 578, 585, *Hel.* 566, 625–6, 645, 652–3, *Hyps.* fr. 759a.1583, *S. El.* 1273–4); cf. 1393–4, 1615. Like other nouns in -μα, παρθένευμα (only E.) is “characteristically used in different senses inferable from the contexts” (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 1265; cf. 112–14n.); at 1473, παρθένευμα σόν means “you, while a maiden.”

**1426 μόνωι τῷδ’ εὐτυχεῖς:** to the extent that a lucky guess is less sinister than deceit (1410, 1420), Ion is already softening; cf. 1432n. For εὐτυχεῖν + dat., cf. *IT* 850, *Ph.* 424, fr. 143, 285.12.

**1427–9** Creusa names the golden snake ornament Hermes told us she put in the basket with her baby (20–7). The detail that Athenians raise (1428 ἐντρέφειν) their children adorned with such talismans is repeated from that scene (25–6), where it contrasts pathetically with Creusa’s expectation that *her* child will die (27). But here, as a “golden gift of Athena to the ancient race,” the snakes are a reminder of the patronage and protection Ion actually enjoys. L continues stichomythia by using *paragraphe* to assign 1428 to Ion, 1429 to Creusa; but Ion’s role in the interrogation is to ask questions, not supply information, and MS authority is negligible in such a matter.

λέγει, | . . . μιμήματα: the Athenian custom not only imitates what Athena did for Erichthonius (as 21–5 already imply, especially 24 ὅθεν), but is decreed by the goddess herself (pres. λέγει indicating the lasting force of her command). For the acc. “in apposition to the sentence,” see 102–3n.

Ἐριχθονίου γε τοῦ πάλαι: for this idiom to describe an ancestor, cf. *Ph.* 341–2, *Or.* 512, *S. OT* 1, 268.

1430 τί δρᾶν, τί χρῆσθαι . . . χρυσώματι; understand λέγει from 1428 and translate “She says to do what, to use the golden ornament how?” Cf. 1012n.

1431 δέραια: Creusa reveals that the object is a necklace. Such a token becomes typical in comedy (*Men. Epitr.* 246, 303, *Peric.* 815, adesp. 1084.27), whose debt to E. in this matter is noted by Satyrus fr. 39, col. 7. For φέρειν, cf. 1009n.

τέκνον: full of pathos, especially alongside παιδὶ νεογόνωι.

1432 ποθῶ μαθεῖν: by this point, Ion’s desire to learn is scarcely distinguishable from a desire that Creusa succeed in naming the third object (cf. 1426n.).

1433–6 στέφανον ἐλαίας: we have not been prepared for the olive wreath, and Creusa never says why she placed it around Ion; thus surprise and mystery are among the many layers of meaning of the last token. The olive shows up often in images of Erichthonius (references in Huys 1995: 223 n. 448), whose story Ion’s in part replicates, and its flourishing mirrors that of the Athenian royal family. Indeed the olive is called παιδοτρόφος at *S. OC* 701, in the midst of a stanza devoted to it as a symbol of Athens. We learn from Hsch. στέφανον ἐκφέρειν that Athenians marked the birth of a male child by displaying an olive wreath outside their doors. It is also attested as a protective talisman, and as a token of victory, honor, recovery from illness, and freeborn status (Hähnle 1929: 48–51). These all have some relevance to Ion; at the same time, with a view to his situation when Creusa exposed him, we may recall that sacrificial victims and human corpses were also adorned with olive. But Ion survived, and the olive seems above all to mark his passage from the patronage of Apollo (and his laurel) to that of Athena. It is likely that a golden grape-cluster symbolizing Dionysus played a similar part in the recognition scene of *Hyps.* (test. iv).

ἦν πρῶτ’ Ἀθήνας σκόπελος ἐξηνέγκατο: the olive is the very one Athena brought forth in her contest with Poseidon to become Athens’ patron deity (a story alluded to at e.g. *Tro.* 801–2, *Erech.* fr. 360.46–9, *Hdt.* 8.55, *Paus.* 1.27.2). The tree grew in the precinct of Pandrosos, just to the west of the Erechtheum (235n., Hurwit 1999: 204). Thus the Acropolis itself is “the olive-sprouting hill” at 1480, a phrase that supports the changes made to the text here (Diggle 1981: 116).

**ἀκηράτου:** the tree is pure and inviolate to ordinary Athenians (including the spectators), but this did not prevent its use by Creusa, a point emphasizing her closeness to Athena; cf. 1266–8n.

**1437–8 ὦ φιλότατη μοι μήτηρ:** two important actions take place before Ion speaks these words. First, though it is not signaled in the text, Ion surely displays the wreath, perhaps during 1436, so that we simultaneously hear of and witness its miraculous freshness. Then, still without a word, he embraces his mother (as we infer from perf. πέπτωκα). Only then does he address her with superlative φιλότατη, which very often marks the moment of recognition (A. *Ch.* 235, S. *El.* 1224, 1354, E. *Alc.* 1133, *El.* 567, 576, *IT* 795, 815, 828, *Hel.* 625, 636); cf. 521, 1488nn.

**ἀσμένας . . . ἀσμένως:** the high-style polyptoton and enallage “your happy cheeks” intensify the feeling.

#### 1439–1509 *Reunion Duet*

Embracing, mother and son express joy and incredulity at finding one another. As in other plays (*IT*, *Hel.*, *Hyps.*, S. *El.*), the scene following recognition takes the form of an *amoibaion* in which the female sings while the male continues to speak iambics (whole trimeters and fragments; cf. 1500–1n.). In two places, joy gives way to renewed anxiety, which leads to further exchanges of information. First, when Creusa mentions her relief that she has finally provided an heir for the House of Erechtheus, Ion remembers Xuthus. After some build-up, Creusa reveals that Ion’s true father is Apollo, and Ion is overjoyed, but not quite convinced (1488n.). Next, as Creusa recounts the exposure of her infant, Ion responds with astonishment and relief. Lyrics often play a crucial part in convincing males that a female has endured a bodily experience such as rape, near sacrifice, or abduction (Chong-Gossard 2008). Earlier in the play, Ion sang, but here his lines are all spoken, perhaps an indication that he has “matured” and is now meeting the expectation that males show greater restraint (Beverly 1997: 111).

*Meter.* Creusa’s lyrics (astrophic as in the other Euripidean reunion duets, but not S. *El.*) have iambic lines and fragments interspersed (her own and Ion’s). The lyrics are of a type known as “enoplian dochmiacs,” that is, dochmiacs and associated rhythms such as iambics, including cretics and bacchiacs, mixed with enoplian cola, where “enoplian” describes cola that begin with rising double-light movement (∪ – . . .) and end with single-light movement. “Rising double-light movement” also describes anapaests, and regular anapaestic dimeters do occur in the reunion duets of *IT* and *Hyps.*, but in *Ion* and *Hel.* “anapaests” always have an iambic or quasi-iambic suffix. (For defense of the term “enoplian,” avoided by West 1982, see e.g. Willink 1986: xx, 112, etc., Itsumi 1991–3.) 1507–8 is only an apparent exception, since 1507–9 constitute one long enoplian sequence,



where both characteristic figures, rising double-light and single-light, are expanded at the end of the stanza, as often in Greek lyric. A special feature of the suffixes is that they often end  $\times -$ . When by itself in the form  $- -$ , this may be analyzed  $\wedge ia \wedge$  and called “iambic,” but iambic analysis is hardly convincing when the suffix forms part of the verse-end  $\cup - - -$  (as at 1480, 1482, 1494), a distinctive rhythmic figure (without a name) perhaps felt as akin to dochmiac (West 1982: 112). Altogether,  $\times -$  or  $\cup - \times -$  occurs at the end of enoplian cola nine times in this song (and once after D, in 1484). In every case, there may be period-end, though this is certain only at 1466, 1475–6, and the end of the song. Enoplian cola were heard in the Second, Third, and Fourth Songs of the Chorus, but they were isolated and did not anticipate the form of clausula that becomes typical here.

(1439–40: 2 iambic trimeters [Creusa])

$\cup - \cup - - | - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - |$   
 ἄελπτον εὖρημ', ὃν κατὰ γᾶς ἐνέρων 1441 pe | D (iambelegus)

$\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup \cup - - - || \dot{?}$   
 χθονίων μέτα Περσεφόνας τ' ἐδόκουν ναίειν 1442 enop

(1443–4: 2 iambic trimeters [Ion])

$\cup \smile - - - | \cup \smile - \cup - |$   
 ἰὼ ἰὼ λαμπρᾶς αἰθέρος ἀμπτυχαί 1445 2do

$\cup - - | \cup - - | \cup - - | \cup - - |$   
 τίν' αὐδὰν αὖσω βοάσω; πόθεν μοι 1446–7 4ba

$\cup \cup - \cup \cup - \cup - \cup - || \dot{?}$   
 συνέκυρσ' ἀδόκητος ἡδονά 1448 enop

$\smile \cup \smile - \cup - ||$   
 πόθεν ἐλάβομεν χαράν 1449 2cr

(1450–1: 2 iambic trimeters [Ion])

$\cup \smile - \cup - |$   
 ἔτι φόβῳι τρέμω 1452 do

(1453: iambic trimeter [in *antilabe*])

$\cup \smile - \cup - |$   
 ἀπέβαλον πρόσω 1453bis do

υ υ – υ – | υ υ υ υ – |

ἰὼ <ἰῶ> γύναι, πόθεν ἔλαβες ἔμὸν

1454 2do

υ υ – υ – |

βρέφος ἐς ἀγκάλας

1454bis do

υ υ υ υ – | υ – – υ – |

τίν' ἀνὰ χέρα δόμους ἔβα Λοξίου

1455 2do

(1456–7: 2 iambic trimeters [Ion])

υ υ – υ υ – υ – υ – – ||<sup>?</sup>

τέκνον, οὐκ ἀδάκρυτος ἐκλοχεύη

1458 enop

υ – υ – υ – υ – υ – – ||<sup>?</sup>

γόοις δὲ ματρὸς ἐκ χερῶν ὀρίζη

1459 3ia<sup>Λ</sup>

υ υ – υ – | υ υ – υ – |

νῦν δὲ γενειάσιν πάρα σέθεν πνέω

1460 2do

υ υ – υ – | υ – – υ – |

μακαριωτάτας τυχοῦσ' ἡδονᾶς

1461 2do

(1462: iambic trimeter [Ion])

υ – υ – υ – υ – υ – – ||<sup>?</sup>

ἄπαιδες οὐκέτ' ἐσμέν οὐδ' ἄτεκνοι

1463 3ia<sup>Λ</sup>

– – υ – – – υ – υ – – ||<sup>?</sup>

δῶμ' ἐστιοῦται, γὰρ δ' ἔχει τυράννους

1464 3ia<sup>Λ</sup>

υ – – | υ – – |

ἀνηβᾶι δ' Ἐρεχθεύς

1465 2ba

υ υ – υ υ – υ υ – υ – υ – ||<sup>h</sup>

ὃ τε γηγενέτας δόμος οὐκέτι νύκτα δέρκεται

1466 enop

– υ – υ – | υ – – υ – |

ἁελίου δ' ἀναβλέπει λαμπάσιν.

1467 2do

(1468–9: 2 iambic trimeters [Ion])

– υ – |

ὦ τέκνον

1470 cr

υ – – υ – υ ∞ – υ – |

τί φής; οἶον οἶον ἀνελέγχομαι

1471 2do

– – υ :: – υ – | υ ∞ – υ – |

πῶς εἶπας; :: ἄλλοθεν γέγονας, ἄλλοθεν

1472 ia<sup>Λ</sup> cr do

(1473: iambic trimeter [Ion])

– ∞ – υ – | – ∞ – υ – |

οὐχ ὑπὸ λαμπάδων οὐδὲ χορευμάτων

1474 2do

υυ – υυ – υυ – υυ – υ ~ ||<sup>b</sup>

ὑμέναιος ἐμός σὸν ἔτικτε κάρα, τέκνον

1475–6 enop

(1477: iambic trimeter [Ion])

– ∞ – υυ – :: υ – υ – υ |

ἴστω Γοργοφώνα :: τί τοῦτ' ἔλεξας

1478 D|pe (elegiambus)

– υυ – υυ – |

ἃ σκοπέλοις ἐπ' ἐμοῖς

1479 D

υυ – υυ – υ – – – ||<sup>?</sup>

τὸν ἐλαιοφυᾶ πάγον θάσσει

1480 enoplian

(1481: iambic trimeter [Ion])

υυ – υυ – υ – – – ||<sup>?</sup>

παρ' ἀηδόνιον πέτραν Φοῖβωι

1482 enoplian

υ – υ – – |

τί Φοῖβον αὐδᾷς

1483 pe

– υυ – υυ – – – ||<sup>?</sup>

κρυπτόμενον λέχος ἡνῶσθην

1484 D – –

(1485: iambic trimeter [Ion])

υυ – υυ – υ – υ – ||<sup>?</sup>

δεκάτῳ δέ σε μηνὸς ἐν κύκλῳ

1486 enop

∞ υ – – ∞ – – – ||

κρύφιον ὠδῖν' ἔτεκον Φοῖβωι

1487 cr do

## (1488: iambic trimeter [Ion])

— υ ~ υ — — υ — |

παρθένια δ' ἤμας† ματέρος

1489 cr do

— υ — υ ~ — ~ — υ —

σπάργαν' ἀμφιβολά σοι τάδ' ἀνῆψα κερ-

1490 hypodo do

υ ~ — υ — |

κίδος ἑμᾶς πλάνους

1491 do

υ — υ — υ — υ — υ — ||<sup>?</sup>

γάλακτι δ' οὐκ ἐπέσχον οὐδὲ μαστῶι

1492 3ia<sub>Λ</sub>

υ — υ — υ — υ — υ — ||<sup>?</sup>

τροφεῖα ματρὸς οὐδὲ λουτρά χειροῖν

1493 3ia<sub>Λ</sub>

υυ — υυ — υ — — ||<sup>?</sup>

ἀνὰ δ' ἀντρον ἔρημον οἴωνων

1494 enop

— — — υ — υ — — υ —

γαμφηλαῖς φόνευμα θοίναμά τ' εἰς

1495 2 do

— — — — ||<sup>h</sup>

Ἄιδαν ἐκβάλληι

1496 do

(1497: iambic trimeter [in *antilabe*])

υ ~ — υ — | υ ~ — — — |

καταδεθείσα σάν ἀπέβαλον ψυχάν

1498–9 2do

— — υ — — — υ — — ~ υ — —

ἔκτεινας ἄκουσ', ἤξ' ἐμοῦ τ' οὐχ ὄσι' ἔθνησκες†

1500–1 corrupt (3ia<sup>?</sup>)

υ ~ — — — υ — ~ υ — |

ἰὼ <ἰώ>· δειναί μὲν <αῖ> τότε τύχαι

1502–3 2do

— υυ — υυ — υ — υ — υ — |

δεινὰ δὲ καὶ τάδ'· ἐλίσσόμεσθ' ἐκέϊθεν

1504 D pe (elegiambus)

— υυ — υυ — υ — υυ — υυ — |

ἐνθάδε δυστυχίαισιν εὐτυχίαις τε πάλιν

1505 D ~ D (choerilean)

υ – υ – υ – υ ~ ||<sup>b</sup>

μεθίσταται δὲ πνεύματα

1506 2ia

υυ – υυ – υυ – υυ –

μενέτω· τὰ πάροιθεν ἄλις κακά· νῦν

1507–8 2an

υυ – υυ – υ – υ – – – |||

δὲ γένοιτό τις οὔρος ἐκ κακῶν, ὦ παῖ.

1509 enop

**1439–40 ὦ τέκνον, ὦ φῶς μητρὶ κρεῖσσον ἡλίου:** the image of a long-awaited person as a “light,” regular in recognitions (*IT* 849, *S. El.* 1354) and reunions (*Her.* 531, *Ba.* 608), often involves notions of salvation and healing (cf. 82–183n.) As heir and successor, Ion does “save” Creusa and her family (475–7, 1463–7nn.) and is thus “greater than the sun” in his mother’s eyes (cf. fr. 316). Since Homer (*Il.* 6.400–1), comparing a child to a star is also traditional (Page 1981: 161); that Creusa immediately thinks of the sun as a god (συγγνώσεται γὰρ ὁ θεός) is not only typically Greek, but likely brings Apollo to mind (cf. 41–51, 82–5, 184–236, 1549–50nn.).

**1441–2 ἄελπτον:** the “unexpected, unhoped-for” theme was anticipated at 1395 and continues throughout the scene (1448, 1450–3, 1510–11). Unsurprisingly, it is very common in recognitions (*Alc.* 1123, 1134, *El.* 570, 579–80, *IT* 802, *Hel.* 656–7; possibly fr. 62, 761, *S. El.* 1262–3).

**εὕρημ’** “lucky find”: the Priestess uses this word of Ion’s basket (1349), Ion of Creusa (1518). For the meaning “foundling,” LSJ II.2 cites only this passage and *S. OT* 1106–7, where the Chorus apply it to Oedipus in a moment of deluded optimism. The god responsible for lucky finds (also called ἔρμαια) is Hermes, who is still notionally hiding and watching (76, 77nn.); see also 923–4n.

**κατὰ γᾶς ἐνέρων | χθονίων μέτα Περσεφόνας τ’** “below the earth with the underworld dead and Persephone”: with these words Creusa begins to sing, as she probably does until the end of the duet, even when she completes trimeter fragments spoken by Ion (1453 and 1497). Here, lyrical pleonasm heightens the contrast with the sun’s light. L’s χθόνιον would agree with ὄν (Ion) but make it impossible for “with” to govern both “the dead” and “Persephone” (Diggle 1981: 117).

**1444 ὁ κατθανών τε κού θανών φαντάζομαι:** Ion’s language is full of emotional intensity. φαντάζομαι “I am made visible” hints that he is like a ghost (cf. 1354, 1395). The coupling of affirmation and denial (“dead and not dead”) to suggest paradox, ambivalence, or confusion is typically Euripidean; examples very similar to this one are *Alc.* 521 ἔστιν τε κούκέτ’ ἔστιν, *Hel.* 138 τεθνᾷσι κού τεθνᾷσι. This trope, which recurs just below (1453), caught the attention of Ar., who mocks it in his earliest surviving

play (*Ach.* 395-401, where Olson's note lists many more examples in E.; on *Alc.* 521, Parker gives a few examples earlier than E.).

1445 λαμπρᾶς αἰθέρος ἀμπυχαί: Creusa's address to the "open expanse of bright sky" is above all an expression of strong emotion (cf. fr. 443, Griffith on [A.] *PV* 88); it may also recall her oath "by Zeus's starry seat" at 870.

1446 τίν' αὐδ' ἀν' ἄσω βοάσω; like Iphigenia and Helen in similar circumstances (*IT* 839-40, *Hel.* 656-7), Creusa asks, "What am I to say?" The form of expression, especially the nearly synonymous verbs in asyndeton, belongs to the high style (763-5n.). If the long series of questions from here to 1455 recalls that at the start of Creusa's monody (859-69), the point will be to emphasize the contrasting mood of her present song.

1450-1 ἔμοι . . . ἔγω: probably "everything would have occurred to me to be (true) rather than this, that . . ." (LSJ παρίστημι B.IV). For ὅπως introducing indirect statement, see Smyth §2578, Wilkins on *Hcl.* 1051.

1453-1453bis μῶν οὐκ ἔχειν μ' ἔχουσα; the paradoxical mode of expression (1444n.) may exploit different shades of meaning of ἔχειν ("[out of fear] that, although you embrace me, you do not [truly, permanently] possess me?").

τὰς γὰρ ἐλπίδας | ἀπίβαλον πρόσω: Creusa did not finally abandon hope until her monody (866), but she had long reckoned with the death of her child (348).

1453 γύναι: the Priestess, now off stage.

1455 τίν' ἀνὰ χεῖρα . . .; "upon what arm?": apparently a unique use of the prep.

1456-7 θεῖον τόδ' "this was god's doing": simple and pious, but also dismissive, implying that the answers to Creusa's questions are beyond mortal ken. But we know them (28-48), and the irony underscores Apollo's providence. Ion's attitude invites comparison with 530-62 (especially 544-9), where the news was less welcome, and Ion less complacent.

τῆς τύχης | εὐδαιμονοῦμεν "let us enjoy our good fortune": mention of τύχη so soon after "god's doing" is striking; we will hear more about both, and E. does not try to reduce one to the other; cf. 1512-15n. The gen. is of source or cause, as with δύνασθαι (cf. δνάμαν τύχας in a similar context at *Hel.* 645) or trans. εὐδαιμονίζειν; apparently unique, but cf. Pl. *Phd.* 58e4 εὐδαίμων . . . καὶ τοῦ τρόπου καὶ τῶν λόγων.

1458-9 ἐκλοχεύη . . . ὀρίζη: Creusa merges delivery and abandonment in a single, tearful image, vividly recalled in the pres. tense, but with passive verbs that slightly obscure her responsibility (cf. 1497, Schuren 2015: 134-5). For her anguish, see 942-7, 1595-9nn. The image of the boundary (ὄρος) in ὀρίζη is here used of the infant Ion for the third time (46, 503-6nn.); the place from which he was banished, his mother's arms, should have been joyful and safe (280, 1376nn.).

**1460–1** γενειάσιν πάρα σέθεν πνέω: still (or again) embracing cheek by cheek (cf. 1438), Creusa and Ion breathe as one, so to speak. Compare the sweet scent (πνεῦμα) of children's skin, on which mothers remark at *Med.* 1075, *Tro.* 758. There may also be a hint of ἀναπνέω “I catch my breath, am restored to life.”

**μακαριωτάτας:** for the special relevance of this adj. to Creusa's discovery that she has a son, cf. 308, 562, 1354nn.

**1462** κοινῶς: the word used insistently earlier of familial bonds that are or should be shared (358, 608–9, 771–5, 1284nn.); cf. 1468–9n.

**1463–7** Creusa's focus widens, as she considers how Ion's survival affects her family and country. The language is full of vivid and interconnected metaphors. Family is perpetuated by children, and as Creusa is no longer childless, her house “is provided with a hearth” (perhaps recalling “Phoebus' hearth at the navel of the earth,” 461–4n.); “the land has a king,” and Erechtheus “is young again.” The house “no longer sees night,” but “regains sight in the light of the sun.” Through the epithet γηγενέτας (1466) and “no longer sees night,” there are links to the play's dark spaces (cave, womb, tent) and forces (Giants, Gorgons, autochthons), but these all give way to the sun, an image relevant to both Ion and Apollo (1439–40n.).

**1464** ἐστιοῦται: for the symbolism of the hearth, see generally Vernant 1983: 127–75, Burkert 1985: 170; and, on this passage, Chalkia 1986: 126–7. The verb ἐστιοῦν is found only here in classical Greek.

**1465** ἀνηβᾷ δ' Ἐρεχθεύς “Erechtheus is young again”: i.e. the house or lineage of Erechtheus, a rather different image from the commonplace “rejuvenation” of old men themselves by feelings such as patriotism, religious enthusiasm, or intoxication.

**1466–7** οὐκέτι νύκτα δέρκεται, | ἀελίου δ' ἀναβλέπει λαμπάσιν “no longer sees night, but recovers sight in [or “by”] the light of the sun”: νύκτα is direct obj. of δέρκεται, or possibly internal acc. (“sees night” = “is blind”); cf. *Ph.* 377 σκότον δεδορκώς with Mastronarde's note. For ἀναβλέπει “recovers sight” (not “looks up at”), see Dodds on *Ba.* 1308. For λαμπάσιν (lit. “torches”) of sunlight, see *Med.* 352 (with Page's note), *S. Ant.* 879.

**1468–9** Ion's recollection of his “father” Xuthus gives the duet, until now purely joyful, a new turn and a new tone.

**μετασχέτω | τῆς ἡδονῆς τῆσδ' ἧς ἔδωχ' ὑμῖν ἐγώ:** the present joy is one in which Ion believes Xuthus should “have a share” (cf. 1462n.); pl. ὑμῖν “to you both” is artfully placed beside ἐγώ. For the regular attraction of the rel. pron., see Smyth §2522.

**1471** ἀνελέγχομαι “I am caught out”: earlier, Ion told Creusa that her inquiry was a source of embarrassment and she should not “show up” (ἐξελέγχειν) Apollo (367–8n.; cf. 336–7, 860–1, 1557–8nn).

**1472** ἄλλοθεν γέγονας, ἄλλοθεν: addition of a short syllable before or after γέγονας would make these words (which L, incredibly, assigns to

Xuthus!) complete the trimeter begun by Ion (see Diggle's apparatus), but lyric better suits Creusa's anadiplosis, here in an unusual split form that leaves the cryptic ἄλλοθεν "from another source" hanging in the air.

**1473 νόθον με παρθένευμ' ἔτικτε σόν;** a subtle periphrasis, perhaps both euphemistic (sparing the feelings of both Creusa and Ion himself) and slightly distant (as Ion's thoughts turn to himself, and return to bastardy, 591–2n.). For παρθένευμα, cf. 1425n.; for ἔτικτε, 1474–6n.

**1474–6 οὐχ ὑπὸ λαμπάδων οὐδὲ χορευμάτων:** deliberate paradox, as torchlit song and dance during the procession from bride's house to groom's virtually define the Greek wedding (Oakley and Sinos 1993: 24–7). Torchlight in particular stresses the public visibility that helped to legitimize unions in a society that did not rely on marriage certificates or church records. When glossing σκότιος, a synonym of νόθος "bastard" (the word just used by Ion), ancient sources mention precisely the absence of torches (ΣbT Hom. *Il.* 6.24 σκότιον· τὸν ἐξ ἀδαιδουχῆτων γάμων, τὸν νόθον; likewise Σ E. *Alc.* 989; cf. 860–1n., 1522, Ebbott 2003: 23–6). The progression from darkness to light Creusa celebrated in 1466–7 is here reversed, but "light" will soon be restored (1549–50n.).

**ὑμέναιος ἐμός σόν ἔτικτε κάρα, τέκνον:** "my wedding(-song) bore your head" is high lyric style. "Your head" for "you" is affectionate (cf. Davidson 1991, who however says of this passage, too realistically, that κάρα is highlighted "as the part of the body which normally emerges first at a human birth" [93]). The imperf. ἔτικτε, where one might expect aor., conveys both the fact of giving birth and the continuing relationship (Barrett on *Hipp.* 419–21; so also pres. τίκτω, 897–8n.); with σόν κάρα and τέκνον, it pleads for sympathy.

**1478–88** Creusa prefaces her answer with an elaborate oath by Athena (as again at 1528–31; cf. 870–3), which builds suspense and draws two interruptions from the impatient and uncomprehending Ion. When she speaks the name Phoebus, he reacts immediately, and he punctuates her further revelations with encouragement to go on. When the news is finally out, he greets it with ὦ φίλτατ' εἰποῦσ'. Thus Ion, though still speaking while Creusa sings, participates actively and emotionally.

**1478 Γοργοφόνα:** sc. Athena, as Ion may or may not know. Athena's feat is known only from 987–97, which Ion did not hear, but he does know, and the epithet reminds us, that Creusa tried to kill him with Gorgo's blood (1265).

**1480 τὸν ἐλαιοφυᾶ πάγον:** 11–13, 1433–6nn.; cf. *Her.* 1178 τὸν ἐλαιοφόρον ὄχθον.

**1481 σκολιά** "roundabout": puzzled and impatient, Ion interrupts, and suspense builds. Herwerden's conjecture (for δόλια, a jarring throw-back to an earlier mood) is just right. The word is found in tragedy only in E., once of a bent arm (*Hec.* 65), once of "crooked" deceit (fr. 913.5). The



latter is usual when the adj. is figurative in earlier poetry, but Herodotus uses it of rivers, and later authors of riddles and oracles (Oenom. ap. Eus. *PE* 5.33 = Parke and Wormell 1956: II, no. 318.6, D.S. 16.91). For the type of expression σκολιά κού σαφῆ, cf. 132–3n., 639.

**1482 παρ' ἀηδόνιον πέτραν:** for Athenians, the “rock/cave of the nightingale” evokes Procne, daughter of King Pandion, who, in revenge for her Thracian husband Tereus’ brutal rape and mutilation of her sister Philomela, killed her son Itys and served his flesh to Tereus. The story, including Procne’s metamorphosis into the bird whose beautiful song is a perpetual lament for her son, was dramatized in S.’s *Tereus*, which may have been produced just a few years before *Ion*. Once again, bright aspects of Athenian myth are presented as inseparable from darker ones (cf. 1463–7, 1478nn.). See further Loraux 1993: 222 (and 229, where a secondary association of ἀηδόνιος with ἀηδής is suggested, so that we also hear “by the joyless rock”), Zacharia 2001: 106–7, Allan on *Hel.* 1107–12.

**1484 κρυπτόμενον λέχος ἡνύασθην:** that the union was “hidden” (like the birth, 1487 κρύφιον) suggests that it was something to be ashamed of (cf. 1524); the verb ἡνύασθην is euphemistic and, though passive in form, conveys no hint of compulsion (cf. *Pha.* fr. 773.1, where the grammatical subject is θεός; 338–9n.). These details show that Creusa has returned to the ordinary “discourse of shame” she temporarily abandoned in her monody (860–1n.).

**1485 κεδνόν** “good”: often of welcome news (A. *Ag.* 261, 622, 548, *Ch.* 701, etc.). Without hesitation or qualification, Ion wishes Creusa’s story to be true. Contrast his reaction to the story of her “friend” (339, 341, 370–2, 436–51).

**1486 δεκάτῳ . . . μηνός ἐν κύκλῳ:** a fair description of a pregnancy of normal length, since Greek months lasted twenty-nine or thirty days (Austin and Olson on Ar. *Thesmo.* 741–2). “Tenth” could have modified either “month” or “cycle,” since these are essentially the same (“synonymous” gen., 82–5n.). The phrase is thus not a true example of enallage (112–14n.), and there is no need for Owen’s explanation that adj. and noun coalesce into one idea; cf. Bers 1974: 5–7.

**1487 κρύφιον ὧδιν’ ἔτεκον Φοίβῳ:** the name Phoebus conveys no new information, but comes last for emphasis (cf. 467n., 1482). On secrecy, see 1484n.; on “labor pain” for “child,” 44–5n.

**1488 ὦ φίλτατ’ εἰποῦσ’, εἰ λέγεις ἐτήτυμα:** a formulaic, unreserved expression of joy (521, 1018, 1437–8nn.), followed immediately by doubt, preparing for 1516–27.

**1489–96** Creusa has said she gave up Ion tearfully (1459). She now adds pathetic details not specifically sought by him. From the swaddling clothes that just aided the recognition, she passes to the withheld breast, again the leading symbol of maternal nurture and care, and then to the

act of exposure, which again conjures an image of feasting birds, even though Creusa now knows that no such feast occurred (1494–5n.). For the moment, the tone is self-reproach, without any accents of joy, but lifting the burden of secrecy and singing of the past brings its own relief (874–5n.).

**1489–91** παρθένια . . . | σπάργαν' . . . κερ- | κίδος ἐμᾶς πλάνους: the swaddling is “maiden-work” (cf. 1425), “wanderings” of Creusa’s shuttle, both details enlisting sympathy for the inexperienced girl she then was (1419n.).

**δ’** †ἐμᾶς† ματέρος: the text must be corrupt, since we know the σπάργα are Creusa’s work (1417–25). Paley’s easy change (δὲ σᾶς) solves this problem, and the juxtaposition of “girlish” and “mother” (both referring to Creusa) is effective (Huys 1995: 96–7). But the emphasis on “your” is hard to explain, and the equally easy δ’ ἐκάς (Badham) also makes a good point: Creusa had to do without *her* mother’s support as she swaddled her newborn (similarly Jackson, whose longer supplement produces the same rhythm as in the next line, hypodo + do). While the lines may involve Creusa’s mother, supplements introducing variations of the “fear” and “secrecy” motifs for which other evidence is lacking should be resisted (<φόβωι> Wilamowitz, <λάθραι> Murray; cf. 897–8, 1497–9nn.).

**1492–3** For the nourishing breast withheld from Ion, see 319–21, 961–2, 1372nn. Bathing, another natural symbol of maternal care, probably had ritual significance as well. The mother’s postpartum bath was a step towards eliminating pollution (Parker 1983: 50–1). We do not hear of a (separate) ritual purpose for the infant’s first bath, but the motif is prominent in poetic versions of the birth of gods (*h. Ap.* 120–1, *Call. Hymn to Zeus* 14–16) and is mentioned in one other tale of heroes exposed at birth (Paus. 1.38.9 = *E. Ant.* T iv d). The special source of the bathwater, and the group of females who sometimes give the bath, doubtless had an analogue in the god’s or hero’s cult, and perhaps in the care of mortal infants as well.

γάλακτι δ’ οὐκ ἐπέσχον οὐδὲ μαστῶι | τροφεῖα ματρός οὐδὲ λουτρά χειροῖν “but I did not give you maternal nourishment with the milk of my breast or a bath with my hands”: highly wrought language, with “milk or breast” standing for “milk of my breast” by hendiadys, and ἐπέσχον governing both τροφεῖα (a proper use, 1372n.) and λουτρά by zeugma.

**1494–5** οἰωνῶν | γαμφηλαῖς φόνευμα θοίναμά τ’ “to be murdered and feasted on by the jaws/beaks of birds”: the infant who deserved food nearly *became* food; cf. *Ph.* 1602–3. The birds’ “feast” is repeated from 503–6, 902–4(nn.), but the unique φόνευμα is more shocking and self-incriminating than words used there and elsewhere of the child’s fate (903 ἀρπασθεῖς, 348 κτανεῖν, 917 συλαθείς); for the formation, cf. 112–14n. Creusa’s vivid description of what she now knows did not happen invites pity from both Ion (cf. next note) and spectators (Schuren 2015: 218–19).

**1497–9** ὦ δεινὰ τλᾶσα, μήτηρ: Ion's words express sympathy, horror, and amazement (960n.; cf. 252–4, 1416, 1502–4nn.).

ἐν φόβῳ, τέκνον, | καταθεθεῖσα σὰν ἀπέβαλον ψυχάν: if Creusa means that fear motivated her to expose Ion, this is the only certain occurrence of this motif in the play, and we still do not learn what or whom she feared (cf. 14–15n.). She could instead (or also) be referring to her fear *for Ion* as she abandoned him (cf. 897–8n.).

καταθεθεῖσα: here first figurative; cf. *Hipp.* 159–60 λύπαι . . . εὐναία δέδεται ψυχά, where Phaedra's "soul is bound in grief" (fig.) so that it (i.e. she) remains "in bed" (lit.).

**1500–1** ἔκτεινας ἄκουσ', †ἐξ ἐμοῦ τ' οὐχ ὅσι' ἔθνησκες†: Ion acknowledges the hard circumstances in which Creusa acted and adds that her death at his hands would have been impious. With "I threw away your life" in 1499, Creusa's confession is complete, and this line is best given in its entirety to Ion (so Diggle in his apparatus, redividing L's ἔκτεινά σ' ἄκουσ'; for the aor., see 1291n.). It may well be right also to replace ἔθνησκες with ἔτλης (Maas), which neatly restores a trimeter (spoken, like all of Ion's lines in the duet). If left as transmitted or shortened by deletion of οὐχ ὅσι' (Wilamowitz), the line, including whatever part of it belongs to Ion, must be sung. Since Ion has sung earlier in the play and Menelaus sings a little in the duet of *Hel.*, this cannot be regarded as impossible, but Ion's comforting and conciliatory attitude does not justify sung delivery in just this one place (contra Barrett 2007: 392 n. 8).

**1502–9** Creusa accepts Ion's comparison of past and present but deflects moral questions by attributing their "terrible" experiences to chance, presented in a gradually developing metaphor as changing winds buffeting sailors.

**1502–4** δειναὶ μὲν <αῖ> τότε τύχαι, | δεινὰ δέ καὶ τὰδ': with 1500–1 as our guide, we could take <αῖ> τότε τύχαι as "my fortunes when I exposed you" and τὰδ' as "your attempt on my life." But Creusa's terms seem more inclusive, not only "our fortunes then" and "our attempts on each other's lives," both "terrible," but perhaps even Ion's *survival* "then" and the *failure* of the attempted killings, both "wondrous, amazing" (on the multivalence of δεινός, see 1416n.). 1502–4 do not mention positive outcomes explicitly, but they are hinted at in 1505 εὐτυχίαις. See further 1512–15n.

**1506** μεθίσταται δέ πνεύματα "the winds keep changing": retrospectively, 1504–5 ἐλίσσόμεσθ' ἐκεῖθεν | ἐνθάδε "we are whirled this way and that" takes on nautical color, continued in 1509 οὖρος "favorable wind." Such language was quite familiar to Greeks and well suited to the themes of tragedy (927–8, 966, *El.* 1147–8, 1201–2, *Her.* 216, fr. 153, etc.).

**1507–8** μενέτω "let them hold steady."

**1510–11** The Chorus-leader, silent since 1260, signals the end of the reunion duet with a couplet whose sentiment is traditional (e.g. Archil. fr. 122.1, S. *Aj.* 648 [cf. 715–18], E. fr. 761).

**1512–48** Ion is happy for only a moment, before it occurs to him to wonder who has lied, Creusa or Apollo. He resolves to enter the temple to consult the oracle.

**1512–15** ὦ μεταβαλοῦσα . . . | τύχη “you who have caused change for countless mortals, so that they suffer misfortune and then again fare well, Fortune”: Ion picks up Creusa’s theme of change (1506 μεθίσταται) and extracts from her τύχη-words (and the Chorus-leader’s τὰ τυγχάνοντα) an active τύχη/Τύχη. While reunited characters often hope their good fortune will last (1456–7, *El.* 839–41, *Hel.* 645, 698–9, *Hyps.* 759a.1610), development of the τύχη theme in *Ion* is fuller and more far-reaching (Intro. §9).

παρ’ οἷαν ἤλθομεν στάθμην βίου “what a finish-line of my life’s course I came near”: for στάθμη = γραμμή, cf. Pi. *N.* 6.7. The use of παρά + acc. may be influenced by two other expressions, παρ’ ὀλίγον “nearly” and παρὰ στάθμην “by the rule, precisely.” For the metaphor, cf. *Med.* 1245 ἔρπε πρὸς βαλβίδα λυπηρὰν βίου.

καὶ παθεῖν ἀνάξια: ambiguous, since Ion did not “deserve” either to kill his mother or to be poisoned by her – or indeed to die as an infant, in which connection it is worth recalling that the finish-line of a Greek race was often the same as its starting-line.

**1516–22** With φεῦ (330n.), Ion draws a line between what he has learned so far and what he means to ask next. He knows his question will embarrass Creusa, so he takes her aside to shroud his business in darkness.

**1516–17** ἄρ’ . . . μαθεῖν; “is it possible to learn all of this in the bright realms enfolded by the sun, by day?”: the usual view of these lines is that they sum up Ion’s thoughts on τύχη with “Well! Isn’t it possible to learn of such reversals of fortune every day?” This reading leaves the emphasis on sunlight unexplained and involves four arbitrary assumptions: that Ion is still preoccupied with Chance; that ἄρ’ here = ἄρ’ οὐ, implying the answer “yes” (*GP* 46–7); that πάντα τάδε looks back, past Ion’s particular experiences (1514–15), to reversals of fortune in general (1512–13), rather than forward, to what Ion is about to ask; and that καθ’ ἡμέραν means (as it often does) “every day” rather than “by day” (as at *El.* 603, A. *Ch.* 818). The view taken here gives a better point to the contrast between sunlight and darkness (1522).

ἐν φαενναῖς ἡλίου περιπτυχᾷς: the sun, symbol of purity and publicity, should not look on matters best kept hidden. For the phrasing, cf. *Ph.* 84 φαεννὰς οὐρανοῦ . . . πτυχᾷς with Mastronarde’s note.

1518–20 “Now my having found you, mother, is welcome (and thus suitable to be aired in public), but the rest I want to say to you alone.” The transition to the case at hand (μὲν οὖν) implies an answer to the question asked in 1516–17: no, it is *not* possible to learn “all of this” (πάντα τάδε) openly; what Ion wants to ask next requires privacy. For εὐρημα (and ὑπομεν), see 1441–2n.

οὐδὲν μεμπτόν “impeccable”: a form of understatement (8n.) often used of family connections, especially marriages (*Hel.* 1424, *Ph.* 425, *IA* 712); cf. (Page on) *Med.* 958, (Richardson on) *h. Dem.* 83ff. Ironically, Ion is about to insinuate the worst fault of which an unmarried girl could be guilty.

ὥς ἡμῖν: probably not just “in my opinion,” but also “at least for me,” with limiting ὥς as at *S. Aj.* 395, *OC* 20. The nameless slave will rise in status even if he proves illegitimate.

1520–2 πρὸς σὶ . . . μόνην . . . | δεῦρ’ ἔλθ’ ἐς οὓς . . . εἰπεῖν: these words serve as stage directions for a private conversation and draw attention to the embarrassment public disclosure would cause. No particular significance is attached to those actually present, the Chorus and Ion’s men. Private conversation is rare in fifth-century drama (but cf. *S. Ph.* 573–88, *Ar. Birds* 1647), frequent later, especially in comedy (Bain 1977: 59–61; see also 695–6, 911nn.).

σκόπον: 860–1, 1474–6nn.

1523–7 Ion suspects Creusa of fabricating her story of union with Apollo. He earlier accused Creusa’s “friend” of the same ploy, motivated by shame “at the wrong done to her by a man” (340–1n.). To modern ears, that sounds more creditable than the motive he here imputes to his mother, desire to evade the consequences of her own weakness. That he can still suspect her of such behavior highlights the need for something more than her own vigorous denial to put the matter beyond all doubt, as Athena does at 1560.

1523–5 ὅρα . . . μὴ . . . προστίθης τὴν αἰτίαν “take care that you are not imputing the blame”: the construction conveys anxious suspicion (cf. *Or.* 208–9, *Hel.* 119, [Griffith on] *S. Ant.* 278–9); a subjunct. verb would have made the possibility that Creusa is lying seem more remote.

σφαλεῖσ’ & παρθένους | ἐγγίγνεται νοσήματ’ ἐς κρυπτοὺς γάμους “made to fall/falling into a secret union, a disease that occurs in girls”: with σφαλεῖσα (which recurs in an erotic context at *An.* 223), νοσήματα (the commonest of metaphors for desire), and the notion that girls are especially prone to (giving in to) desire, Ion perhaps means to mitigate Creusa’s guilt. But the accusation remains harsh.

1526 τοῦμόν αἰσχρόν “the shame of [i.e. occasioned by] me.”

1528–31 μὰ τὴν παρασπίζουσαν ἄρμασιν ποτε | Νίκην Ἀθάναν Ζηνί: Creusa again swears by Athena that Apollo is Ion’s father (cf. 1478–88n.).

The image here is of Athena running beside Zeus's chariot during the Gigantomachy (cf. 205–18n.), and it evokes the contest of ἀποβάται “dismounters” held at the Panathenaic festival. In the *aition* for this event, Erichthonius drives a chariot (his own invention) and has an armed passenger (παραιβάτης in one source), whom the ἀποβάται imitate (Parker 2005: 254–5). The allusion thus provides another link between the city's goddess, its royal family, and the spectators' ritual reality. For Athena Nike, cf. 455–7n.

**ἔξεθρεψε:** Ion earlier made much of the god's “nurture” (137, 183; cf. 327, 357, 823); now Creusa too acknowledges it and perhaps hopes it will convince Ion; cf. 1600, 1610.

**1532–6** Ion poses two questions, about what Apollo did (1532 ἔδωκ') and what he says (1533 φησι). Regarding the latter, Creusa asserts what she cannot know, since she did not hear it or Xuthus' report of it. Creusa and the Old Man took the Chorus-leader's third-hand report (774–5) to mean that Ion had been revealed as Xuthus' natural son, the conclusion also reached by Ion and Xuthus (533, 537nn.). Instead of addressing the contradiction between that account and her own, Creusa tries to explain what Apollo did.

**1533–4** ἐκπεφυκέναι . . . | πεφυκέναι: simple verb follows compound without distinction of meaning, here mainly a metrical convenience. E. often uses the figure expressively, especially in lyr. (e.g. *Alc.* 400, *Med.* 1252, *Hec.* 167, Diggle 1994: 389).

**1534–6** According to Creusa, Apollo wants his son to become a (childless) friend's heir. This may reasonably be counted among the god's motives, though he has other, more important, ones. Creusa's language, while not technical, evokes the real-life process of adoption and motives for it (Lacey 1968: 145–6, Just 1989: 89–95). The spectators and those now on stage can indeed see the outcome as a kind of adoption, but a different mechanism will be used to secure Ion's rights (1539–45n., Introd. §6.).

καὶ γὰρ ἂν φίλος φίλῳ | δοίῃ “for a friend might well give to a friend”: γὰρ connective, καὶ emphasizing the verb (*GP* 320–1).

**1537–8** Ignoring Creusa's explanation, Ion reformulates his question about what Apollo said in terms that remind us of his devotion and idealism: the possibility that the god prophesies in vain understandably (εἰκότως) troubles him (Yunis 1988: 134–8). For ἀληθὴς ἢ μάτην, see 275–6n.

**1539–45** The explanation Creusa now offers evokes a more specifically Athenian legal context than the one she gave at 1534–6, which these lines complement rather than contradict; cf. 1561–2n. Creusa explains that if Ion were known as “Apollo's son,” he would not be able to inherit his father's property and name. This alludes to the process by which an Athenian man's membership in an *oikos*, and thus his right to inherit, was

recognized. An expected step was enrollment in a phratry after being introduced by one's father (Lacey 1968: 110–12). The process would fail in Ion's case because Apollo would not be present, and Creusa's own behavior would be seen as proof that her story of union with him was a lie (1543–4). In real life, those making this judgment would be φράτερες, but Creusa does not name them, and we need not work out the scenario in detail (Introd. §6.1). It is enough to know that people do not ordinarily succeed in passing themselves off as sons of gods, let alone in inheriting their very considerable property.

**1539** ἅμ' ἐσῆλθεν “what just occurred to me”: ἅμ' = ἅ ἐμέ.

**1540** εὐεργετῶν: here and in 1545 ὠφελῶν, Creusa presses a point that mattered a great deal to Ion earlier (138–40, 369–80nn.).

**1541–3** τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ λεγόμενος | . . . ὄνομα πατρός: legitimacy and the right to inherit are sometimes figured as the right to use a patronymic (Ogden 1996: 91–8). Ion made a point of bestowing “the name of father” on Apollo in his monody precisely because his relationship with the god involved material benefit (138–40n.).

παγκλήρους δόμους: the adj. only here; for the prefix, cf. 813–16n.

**1545** προστίθης: not “impute,” as at 1525, but “attach, make over” (LSJ I.2), suggesting a formal transfer of possession or authority (Mastronarde on *Ph.* 964).

**1546** φαύλως “casually, superficially”: still not satisfied, Ion resolves to ask Apollo. For the meaning of φαῦλος, cf. *A. Pe.* 520 ὑμεῖς δὲ φαύλως αὐτ' ἄγαν ἐκρίνατε (referring to interpretation of a dream), LSJ II.3.

**1548** εἴτ' εἰμὶ θνητοῦ πατρὸς εἴτε Λοξίου: the answer to this question matters to Ion both for its own sake and because it will settle the matter of the god's honesty (cf. 1606–8n.). He no longer worries about embarrassing or angering the god, as he did at 363–80. For consultation of oracles on matters of paternity, see Parker 1985: 311, 2016: 87. The best-known example is the possibly legendary inquiry of the Spartans about their king Demaratus (Hdt. 6.66).

### 1549–1622 *Ion, Creusa, and Athena*

As Ion moves to enter the temple, he is stopped by the epiphany of Athena above it. The goddess declares that Apollo is Ion's father and explains his actions. She reveals Ion's future as ruler of Athens, father of the eponymous heroes of the four old Athenian/Ionian tribes, and eponym of the Ionians. After further justification of Apollo, she instructs Creusa to keep Ion's true identity secret from Xuthus. Ion and Creusa accept Athena's words, and all three depart for Athens.

A divine epiphany closes *Hipp.*, *An.*, *Su.*, *El.*, *IT*, *Hel.*, *Or.*, *Ba.* (partially lost), and *IA* (before loss of the original ending); also [*Rh.*] and at least

eight lost plays, including *Ant.*, *Erech.*, *Androm.*, and *Hyps.* (see Collard and Cropp 2008: 11.693 [“Gods ... (at play-end)"]); among surviving plays of S., only *Ph. Ion* is framed by appearances of gods, as are *Hipp.*, *Ba.*, and probably *Erech.* In several of E.’s earlier plays, the main function of the so-called *deus ex machina* is to give instructions or make authoritative predictions that put the play’s outcome in a wider perspective, for example by linking it to places, events, and cult practices belonging to the spectators’ reality. In some later plays, including *Ion*, the god does this only after blocking an action about to be taken by one or more human characters. In *IT* and *Hel.*, gods block violence intended by villains in whom we have little serious interest; *Androm.* and S. *Tereus* may have been like this, while in *Erech.*, Athena persuades Poseidon not to send an earthquake. In *Or.* and *Ant.*, we are more engaged with would-be perpetrators of violence; so too in *Ion*, where no violence is imminent. In this regard, the closest comparison is with S. *Ph.*, where Heracles intervenes to reverse a decision bound up with the play’s most important characters, actions, and issues.

*Ion*’s announcement of Athena’s arrival (1549–52) displays piety and eagerness to see and learn “divine matters” (τὰ δαιμόνων) if now is the “right moment” (καίρός, 1551–2n.). By blocking *Ion*’s return to the temple, the epiphany reveals the impossibility of prolonging his childhood (55–6n., Introd. §§3, 7.1). Athena says she comes from Apollo and bears his message (1556–9; cf. 1569), and Apollo might indeed have been expected to appear himself. There are several dimensions to Athena as surrogate. While Apollo declines to show his face (1557–8n.), the face Athena shows above his temple is sun-like (1549–50n.). Athena will escort the characters from Delphi to Athens, a passage from Apollo’s power and protection to her own. An appearance by Apollo would have granted Creusa the contact she has sought throughout, and *Ion* a physical closeness to the father he now knows as real, not just symbolic. Apollo’s absence denies closure to these themes, replacing it with the closeness of Athena. Athena’s appearance has been prepared since the Entrance Song, with its Athenian preoccupations (184–236n.). The Chorus summoned her (along with Artemis) in their Second Song (452–71), and Creusa named her repeatedly in oaths whose veracity the goddess now confirms (870–3, 1478–88, 1528–31nn.).

*Staging.* *Ion* instantly recognizes the figure above the temple (1549 οἶκων . . . ὑπερτελής) as a god (1549–50 τίς . . . θεῶν;). Athena says that she has come in a hurry (1556 δρόμῳ σπεύσας), in a chariot (1570 ἄρματ’). These details confirm use of the *mechane*. The goddess probably remains suspended throughout her speech; then, movement of the crane perhaps accompanies the exit she commands at 1616 (στείχεθ’, ἔφομαι δ’ ἐγώ). For example, the *mechane* could at this point complete a 180-degree arc, so



that Athena disappears behind the *skene* on the side of the theater that signifies “away from Delphi” (Mastronarde 1990: 294).

**1549–50** ἔα· τίς οἴκων θυοδόκων ὑπερτελής: the impression of Athena as substitute for the sun/Apollo is underscored by ὑπερτελής, since ὑπερτέλλειν is used of the rising sun (*Ph.* 772, Hdt. 3.104.2, Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 286). For ἔα, which announces divine epiphanies also at *Hipp.* 1391 and *Her.* 815, cf. 241–2n.; for θυοδόκων, 510–11n.

ἀντήλιον πρόσωπον “face turned towards the (rising) sun”: the *skene* represents the east façade of the temple; we may also assume a dazzlingly bright mask (note ἐκφαίνει). But the adj. also suggests “instead of the sun” and thus “instead of Apollo” (82–5, 1439–40nn.). See further Fraenkel on *A. Ag.* 519 (on ἀντήλιος), Loraux 1993: 198, Zeitlin 1996: 329.

**1551–2** Although Ion is now bent on an action he earlier rejected (370–3), the epiphany of Athena prompts an instinctively pious reaction. For the belief that it is better to avoid seeing gods (who may not wish to be seen), see Hom. *Il.* 20.131, Paus. 10.32.18, Call. *Hymn* 5.101–2, with Bulloch’s note. At the same time, E. plays with our awareness that it is the right moment for an epiphany. Ion’s conditional clause reflects determination to arrive at the truth, even if (as some infer) it is prompted by a stopping gesture from the goddess. For καιρός “right moment,” see 1061–2n.; Race 1981: 211 argues that the “temporal aspect . . . is subordinate to the idea of propriety” here.

**1554** εὐμενῇ “kindly”: especially of gods (*Alc.* 791, *Med.* 919, *An.* 55, etc.). So Theseus, in response to Athena’s speech *ex machina* in *Su.*, says σοῦ γὰρ εὐμενοῦς πόλει | οὔσης τὸ λοιπὸν ἀσφαλῶς οἰκήσομεν (1230–1).

**1555–6** ἐπώνυμος δὲ σῆς . . . χθονὸς | Παλλάς: 9, 802–3nn.

**1557–8** These lines probably mean that Apollo thought it beneath his dignity (οὐκ ἡξίου) to hear Creusa and Ion (dual σφῶιν) blame him openly for past events. But although Athena does not clearly say that Apollo felt (or feared) shame, that idea was in play at 367 (cf. 370–2) and could derive support here from ἐς ὄψιν, since avoidance of eye contact commonly indicates shame. The formal ambiguity of her explanation stimulates reflection on who would “lose face” if Apollo appeared and there were μέμψις.

ἐς μέσον: “into the open” or “between you.” Since Apollo has not come, this “middle” is a reminder of a gap that remains unbridged and unbridgeable.

**1559** τοὺς λόγους: “his message.”

**1560** τίκτει: for the “registering” pres., see 57–8, 897–8nn.

**1561–2** With their echoes of both 1534–6 and 1539–45, Athena’s words seem to confirm Creusa’s “realistic” explanations without choosing between them.

**δίδωσι δ' οἷς ἔδωκεν, οὐ φύσασί σε:** like προστιθέναι (1545n.), διδόναι can connote formal transfer; repetition of the verb lends the declaration authority and finality. The allusive pls. οἷς and οὐ φύσασί refer to Xuthus alone.

**ὥς κομίζηι 'ς οἶκον εὐγενέστατον:** echoing Creusa's δεσπότην δόμων (1536) and ἐς εὐγενῇ δόμον καθίζει (1540-1), these words confirm that Apollo's plan is for Ion to secure a right of inheritance; she mentions the benefits to Xuthus and Creusa at 1602-3. κομίζηι is a correction of L's nonsensical νομίζης. It may be taken as either third pers. act. ("so that he may convey you," with σε understood) or second pers. pass. ("so that you may be conveyed"). It is not a legal technical term.

**1563 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνεώιχθη πρᾶγμα μηνυθὲν τόδε** "but when this business was disclosed and information was laid about it": both verbs sound defensive, ἀνεώιχθη because what is figuratively "opened" is usually unpleasant or discreditable (1387n.), μηνυθὲν because of its legal overtones and earlier occurrence just before Creusa heard the news that plunged her into despair (750n.). "This business" (πρᾶγμα . . . τόδε) is in the first instance Apollo's oracle, but vague enough to be associated with the play's other acts of informing and "opening" (Creusa's monody, the Old Man's confession: 923-4, 1215-16nn.).

**1564 θανεῖν σε δείσας** "afraid that you would die": the infin. construction (in place of a fear clause) is rare but established (*Hec.* 768, *Su.* 554-5, [*Rh.*] 932-3, *A. Se.* 720-5).

**1565 μηχαναῖς ἐρρύσατο:** though imprecise, Athena's words support the inference that Apollo caused the arrival of the Priestess (1320) and either the βλασφημία of the Servant (1189), the arrival and death of the pigeon (1196-1208), or both. Like Xuthus (in the Old Man's imagination) and Creusa, he employs "devices" (809, 1116nn.), but beneficently. Hermes set the tone by alluding to miraculous interventions at 14 (cf. 1595-6) and 47-8 (cf. 1347).

**1566-8** Athena and Hermes (71-3) agree about what Apollo intended, but Athena gives more detail.

**γνωριεῖν:** "make known," as at [A.] *PV* 487; more commonly "recognize," as at 525. Two constructions follow, "(to make) her (known) to you" and "(to make known) that you are born of her and Apollo" (with prolepsis of "you").

**1569-70 χρησμούς θεοῦ:** "a χρησμός is a statement which, on divine authority, is a true forecast of a future event" (Barrett on *Hipp.* 1349).

**ἐφ' οἷσιν:** the antecedent is unclear, either χρησμούς, πρᾶγμα and χρησμούς together, or the understood obj. of εἰσακούσατον.

**1571-5** We have known all along that Ion is the rightful heir to the Athenian throne, and now Creusa knows it too. Athena's grandiloquence is perhaps designed to keep us from recalling that, in the eyes of Xuthus

and “the public,” he will remain an outsider, Xuthus’ legitimated bastard. Thus she says “land of Cecrops,” “royal throne,” “establish him” (though it is really a matter of letting Xuthus do so, or at best of collaborating), “deserves to rule,” “descendants of Erechtheus,” and “renowned throughout Greece.”

**1571–2** λαβοῦσα . . . | χώρει, Κρέουσα: Athena now addresses Creusa alone and speaks of Ion in the third pers. until 1604 χαίρετε.

κάς θρόνους τυραννικούς: cf. 578, 621–32, 621–2nn.

**1573** ἐκ γάρ τῶν Ἐρεχθίδεω γηγώς: Ion is “born” of the single surviving Erechtheid (Creusa), but the pl. suggests in addition his rightful place among Ἐρεχθεῖδαι “Athenians” (23–4n.).

**1575–8** Before the reforms of Cleisthenes (508/507 BCE), the Athenians were divided into four tribes named for Ion’s sons (Hdt. 5.66.2). The antiquity and original nature of these old Attic φυλαί are largely matters for speculation. In general, tribes in historical Greece “are invariably not independent entities but subdivisions within a larger structure . . . A Greek ‘tribal society’ is therefore, paradoxically, one that in theory possesses a centralized political organization” (Parker 1996: 17). The basis for the subdivision may be territory, caste or occupation, or religious or racial affiliation. While Plutarch (*Sol.* 23.5) and Strabo (8.7.1) suppose an occupational explanation of the pre-Cleisthenic tribes, modern scholars tend to favor the territorial (Wilamowitz and Owen, citing other alleged territorial divisions known to Pollux [8.109]) or religious (e.g. Rhodes 1981: 68). They still existed in E.’s time but apparently played only a small part in cult (Parker 1996: 112–13), and their eponyms are unknown to myth.

ἐπώνυμοι γῆς κάπιφυλίων χθονός | λαῶν ἔσονται “will give their names to the land and the land’s people, divided into tribes”: L has κάπιφυλίου agreeing with χθονός (“the land, divided into tribal allotments”). This would more strongly imply division by territory but is less convincing Greek. Admittedly, the range of possible uses of ἐπιφύλιος (here only) is uncertain.

σκόπελον οἱ ναίουσ’ ἐμόν: whether or not the previous clause refers to divided territory, Athena’s reference to the Acropolis as her people’s dwelling place nicely illustrates the point that tribes and centralized political organization go together.

**1579–81** Athena names one son and three tribes; δεύτερος at the end of 1579 has no construction. The likely explanation is that one or more lines have been lost between 1579 and 1580.

Γελέων: named first also in Hdt. 5.66.2; the tribe Γελέοντες always comes first in inscriptions. L has τελέων; this form of the name is a variant in Plut. *Sol.* 23.5 and has been explained as “taxpayers,” but forms with gamma are better attested, including in a late fifth-century Athenian

inscription (*LSS* 10a.35, 47). Connection of the name with γελεῖν in the sense “to be splendid [i.e. noble]” (cf. Hsch. γ 298 γελεῖν· λάμπειν, ἀνθεῖν) suggests definition by caste but is only a guess; association with a Zeus Γελέων, attested in a second-century CE Attic inscription (*IG* 11<sup>2</sup>.1072), has also been suggested.

“Οπλητες Ἀργαδῆς τ’”: identified by Plutarch (*Sol.* 23) and Strabo (8.7.1) as “Warriors” and “Workers,” but even if explanation of these two names in terms of caste or occupation is plausible, the absence of a rank order, as indicated by the presence of Eupatrids and φυλοβασίλεις in all four tribes, suggests that the system as a whole is not caste-based (so Owen, pp. 194–6). As with the Geleontes, association with obscure deities and cult epithets has been postulated (How and Wells on Hdt. 5.66.2).

ἐμῆς <τ’> ἀπ’ αἰγίδος | ἐν φῦλον ἔξουσ’ Αἰγικορῆς “and the Aigikores will get a separate tribe (named) from my aegis”: ancient authors associate the name rather with αἶγες “goats” and identify a pastoral caste, but if the original basis of tribal division was religious, Athena’s derivation from αἰγίς and κόρη, probably improvised by E. in his familiar manner (997n.), may come closer to the truth. Hermann’s emendation of L’s senseless ἔμφυλον seems necessary; something lost in the lacuna may have made omission of a word like καλούμενοι less noticeable.

1581–8 Athena prophesies colonization of the Aegean islands and coastal areas by Ion’s descendants, who will be called Ionians after him, strengthen her city as allies, and win glory. For Athens as self-proclaimed metropolis of the Ionians and the significance of this idea in *Ion*, see Introd. §6.3. Athena divides the future colonies into two groups, islands and coastal areas, and then mentions a subset of the latter in terms that suggest the region of the Empire officially known as “Hellespontine” (for example, in inscribed tribute lists). But the apparent specificity of 1585–7 does not typify the description as a whole, which is meant rather to encompass the entire Athenian sphere of influence, with deliberate mystification when Athena implies that all its inhabitants are Ἴωνες. Since Athena speaks for Apollo (1569–70n.), it is worth noting that although Greek cities often sought Delphic approval of their colonizing efforts, Athens apparently did *not* make a habit of this in the fifth century (Parker 1985: 306–7).

1582 παῖδες . . . σὺν χρόνῳ πεπρωμένῳ: here παῖδες are “descendants,” at 1576 “sons.” Tribes and other groups bearing the names of Ion’s sons existed in several places outside Athens (details in Jones 1987: 303–22). Athena foretells colonization “at the fated time,” a regular expression in epiphany-*rheseis*.

1583–4 Κυκλάδας . . . νησαίας πόλεις | χέρσους τε παράλους: the first are properly cities on the islands “encircling” Delos, but a wider reference,

to islands throughout the Empire, suits Athena's aggrandizing tendency. Likewise, "coastal territories" need not refer only to the central part of the west coast of Asia Minor (the "Ionian" district), but could include e.g. the area further south (the "Carian" district).

**1584–5** ὁ σθένος τήμῃι χθονὶ | δίδωσιν: the settlement gives strength to Athens because the "colonists" became "allies" (members of the Delian League) after the Persian Wars. In E.'s day, most chose or were forced to make a monetary contribution to the Athenian Empire; only a few supplied ships and sailors. Here (δίδωσιν) and in 1589 (γίγνεται), Athena uses the "prophetic" pres., for which see (Barrett on) *Hipp.* 47, (Fraenkel on) A. Ag. 126.

**1585–6** ἀντίπορθμα δ' ἡπείροιν δυοῖν | πεδία "the lands, separated by straits, of two continents": i.e. the region around the Hellespont, Propontis, and Bosphorus.

**1586–7** Ἀσιάδος τε γῆς | Εὐρωπίας τε: since Greeks thought of the area in question as the boundary between Asia and Europe, the description is precise and literal, but also "polar," suggesting "the whole world" (1356n.).

**1590–4** Δῶρος: in [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 9, son of Hellen and brother of Aeolus and Xuthus, and thus Ion's uncle; the present genealogy audaciously diminishes his status (Parker 1986: 207, *Introd.* §2.a). The play does not trouble to explain, as it does in the case of Ion, why the general Greek belief about Dorus' origins is wrong.

Δωρίς . . . | πόλις κατ' αἶαν Πελοπίαν: i.e. Sparta (but see below).

ὁ δεύτερος | Ἀχαιός: eponym of Achaea in the northwest Peloponnese. Xuthus is called "Achaean" before this son is born (63–4n.).

γῆς παραλίας Ῥίου πέλας "coastal land near Rhium": as opposed to Sparta, the "Dorian city in the land of Pelops" (above). Rhium, strategically located at the entrance to the Corinthian Gulf, identifies the region efficiently for Athenians. On the view of these lines preferred by Owen, the first clause ends at πόλις in 1591, and κατ' αἶαν Πελοπίαν begins a new one; the Δωρίς πόλις is not Sparta, but the small region in central Greece between Malis and Phocis that both Herodotus (8.31) and Thucydides (3.92.3) call the metropolis of the Peloponnesian Dorians. The resulting snub to Sparta, now included only implicitly and at a further remove, would be fitting, but the balance of the sentence favors the view taken here. For ὁ δεύτερος as connective, see *GP* 376–7.

κάπσισημανθήσεται | κείνου κεκλησθαι λαὸς ὄνομ' ἐπώνυμον: lit. "and a people shall be distinguished as named after his name," a typically redundant naming construction (80–1n.).

**1595–9** καλῶς δ' Ἀπόλλων πάντ' ἔπραξε: Athena suppresses what Apollo may still be felt to have done οὐ καλῶς, his rape of Creusa and indifference to her years of suffering. Whether attributable to Athena's

skill as an advocate or a distanced divine perspective (not shared with Hermes, who is frank about the rape at 10–11), the whitewash is noticeable. Compare Apollo summing up Agamemnon's career in A. *Eu.* 631–2: “he transacted his business profitably for the most part.”

**ἄνοσον λοχεύει σ', ὥστε μὴ γνῶναι φίλους:** Apollo's “midwifery” (cf. the Old Man's question at 948, τίς λοχεύει σ';) had the practical effect of keeping φίλοι from noticing Creusa's confinement. While the Old Man never knew Creusa was pregnant, he did notice her grief (942–7n.), and Creusa, who was not aware of any divine help and felt her isolation keenly (931–69n.), says Ion was born “amid much wailing” (869) and “not without tears” (1458).

**ἄρπάσαντ' ἐς ἀγκάλας:** 280n.

**πορθμεῦσαι** “convey”: lit. “ferry,” a favorite word of E.'s (× 12, once each in A. and S.).

**1601–3 νῦν οὖν σιώπα:** on the paradoxes of this secrecy and the possible implications for E.'s originality, see Introd. §8.3.

**τὰ σαυτῆς ἀγάθ':** both “your good reputation” and “the good outcome Apollo has contrived for you.”

**1604–5 ἐκ γὰρ τῆσδ' ἀναψυχῆς πόνων** “after this release from toils”: Athena acknowledges that Creusa and Ion have suffered. The metaphor (ἀναψύχειν = “cool, especially by fanning”) is old and perhaps faded (Collard on *Su.* 615), but it enjoys a revival in E.'s reunion and rescue plays, whose themes it well suits (*IT* 1441b, *Hel.* 1094).

**εὐδαίμον' ὑμῖν πότμον ἐξαγγέλλομαι:** the mid. (“promise”) indicates Athena's own authority and will. There is no conflict with 1569 (1569–70n.) χρησμούς θεοῦ, but the goddess is more assertive here. Her promise of a “happy fate” responds to the wishes of Ion (1456–7) and Creusa (1501–9) for stable good fortune (τύχη).

**1606–15** Ion accepts Athena's words, Creusa praises Apollo for returning her child, and Athena approves Creusa's change of mind. The three depart, and the Chorus-leader offers a closing reflection.

These lines achieve a strong sense of closure by giving Ion a chance to say what he believes, Creusa what she feels; and by marking the *exodos* proper with a new meter (trochaic tetrameter: 510–65n.), so used in A. *Ag.* (and in E. *Ph.* and S. *OT* as transmitted). At the same time, the contrasting reactions of Ion and Creusa invite interpretation. In three lines, Ion offers three variations on “I believe,” but no hint of emotion (contrast 1485, 1488), and in 1608, he reminds us of the troubling question Athena did not address (1606–8n.). Creusa, by contrast, explicitly replaces blame with praise (1609), and the sight of the temple, which earlier caused her grief, now delights her (1611–12). While she “hangs gladly” from the door-rings (1612–13n.), Ion gives merely intellectual assent.

**1606–8 ὦ Διὸς Παλλὰς μεγίστου θύγατερ:** appropriately deferential, with interlocking word order belonging to the high style (94n.).

**οὐκ ἀπιστίαι . . . πείθομαι . . . οὐκ ἄπιστον ἦν:** the two double-negative formulations, like the simple affirmation they enclose, are strong assertions of belief (litotes); cf. 557(n.), and variations in response to divine epiphanies at *Su.* 1227, *IT* 1475–6, *Or.* 1670 and 1679, *S. Phil.* 1447.

**σοὺς λόγους ἐδεξάμεσθα:** the aor. distances Ion from the expression of acceptance (308, 561nn.). The polite formula is compatible with impatience, implying that he would like to get past what was already believable (“Apollo is my father”) to what interests him at least as much (“Does Apollo prophesy in vain?”), but now he knows that he must do without an answer to this question.

**καὶ πρὶν τοῦτο δ’ οὐκ ἄπιστον ἦν** “but even before this was believable”: at 1485 and 1488, Ion was eager to believe Creusa’s story, and her oath at 1528–31 convinced him. What Athena has not addressed is the troubling question he asked at 1537, whether Apollo tells the truth or prophesies in vain. Resisting the idea that Ion is less than fully satisfied by Athena’s speech, some emend here (see Diggle’s apparatus), unconvincingly. For καὶ . . . δέ, see 1327n.

**1610 οὐνεχ’ οὐ ποτ’ ἡμέλησε παιδὸς ἀποδίδωσί μοι:** Creusa probably means that Apollo, through “neglect,” caused Ion to endure separation from his mother; ἀποδίδωσί μοι suggests that she is also mindful of the pain that separation caused her. Since the god did not neglect Ion in the sense of letting him die (cf. 439, 1600), and in fact took good care of him, some understand ἡμέλησε “pregnantly” as “the child *I thought* he neglected.” Others read ἡμέλησα (Heath), but this does not fit what Creusa did (exposure, not neglect), and having Creusa admit fault unbalances the sentence and leaves her earlier blame (1609 οὐκ αἰνοῦσα πρὶν) unexplained.

**1611–12 εὖωποί . . . | δυσμενῇ:** the adjs. express Creusa’s feelings (“lovely . . . hateful”) as well as those she projects onto the temple as stand-in for Apollo (“friendly . . . hostile”). The emphasis on visual contact in εὖωποί suggests that by πάροιθεν “before,” Creusa means 241–6 specifically, but see also 885–6n.

**1612–13 ρόπτρων χέρας | ἡδέως ἐκκριμνάμεσθα:** Creusa proceeds from visual to physical contact; this is as close as she will get to Apollo (Introd. §§3, 8.2). The act of “hanging gladly” from ρόπτρα (here “door-rings, knockers”: *Ar.* fr. 40) seems to be without parallel. At *Lys.* 6.1, a horse is tied to a temple’s ρόπτρα and left as a gift; in a sense, Creusa now freely gives the body Apollo once took by force (while clinging to her wrists: 891n.), as she did reluctantly when seeking safety at his altar (1285n.). Desire for safety motivates contact described as (ἐκ)κριμνάσθαι at *Her.* 520–2 and *El.* 1216–17; cf. *Hdt.* 6.91.2, where a suppliant clings to a

temple's door-handles (ἐπισπαστήρες). But Creusa's feelings are clearly marked as pleasure and gratitude.

προσεννίπω "I greet": a gesture Creusa withheld at her first entrance (cf. 241-6). Others translate "I bid farewell." Both meanings are possible, but it is better to leave Creusa clinging to the temple door until her next speech at 1616.

1614-15 ἥνισ': Athena commends Creusa for the most noticeably changed aspect of her behavior, praise instead of blame (cf. 429-30, 885-6nn.). She does not comment on Ion's words or attitude. For explanation of the aor. in terms of politeness, see 308n.

μεταβαλοῦσ' †αἶε που†: to restore this line (senseless and a syllable short), Musgrave's ἀμείνονα is attractive ("having changed for the better"); cf. 412 μεταπέσοι βελτίονα, *Med.* 615 λήξασα δ' ὀργῆς κερδανεῖς ἀμείνονα.

χρόνια μὲν τὰ τῶν θεῶν πως, ἐς τέλος δ' οὐκ ἀσθενῇ: the idea that the gods and/or Justice act slowly is traditional (Hom. *Il.* 4.160-1, Sol. 13.7-8, 25-32, Dodds on *Ba.* 882-4). The context usually promises punishment of wrongdoing or reward of virtue (so the Chorus-leader in her *ennoi*, 1619-22), but Athena mentions only power (οὐκ ἀσθενῇ).

1616-18 *Antilabe* coincides with movement, as the actors begin their exit. If correctly restored (see apparatus), the sequence of speakers, repeated twice, is Creusa, Athena, Ion. The last word goes to Ion, each of whose half-lines begins with a form of ἄξιος (next note), picked up by the Chorus-leader in 1621. For the staging, see 1549-1622n.

ἄξια γ' . . . ἄξιον: a colorless translation, e.g. "fitting," is best. As applied to the dispensations of a *deus ex machina*, the adj. is formulaic and signals closure, but the tone varies: admiring ("worthily," *An.* 1274), vindictive ("as you deserved," *Chr. Pat.* 300, probably from the missing portion of Dionysus' speech in *Ba.*; cf. p. 354 of Diggle's edition), or objective ("your due," *Ant. fr.* 223.139). As Lycus in the last example acknowledges dispassionately that it is "only right" for Amphion and Zethus to rule Thebes, so Ion here. Others detect greater enthusiasm and gratitude (e.g. Burnett 1970: 130).

ὁδοῦρός: here evidently "guardian of our way"; at fr. 260 and S. fr. 22, the only other occurrences, "highway robbers" (lit. "road-watchers").

1619-22 The Chorus-leader bids Apollo farewell and opines that those who are afflicted but pious should take heart, for the virtuous ultimately get their due, while the wicked never prosper. The failure of the wicked has little relevance to *Ion*, which lacks villains, nor is this the only concluding reflection less than perfectly suited to the tragedy that precedes it. It is possible that the spectators both recognize a closural device and are stimulated to think more deeply than the Chorus-leader about what they have seen; cf. Allan on *Hel.* 1688-92, discussing the anapaests that conclude *Alc.*, *An.*, *Hel.*, *Ba.*, and (with a different first line) *Med.* For closing anapaests expressing a thought similar to that of



the Chorus-leader here, cf. fr. 446; for a reading in terms of Apolline wisdom, see Hunter 2011: 25–6.

**ὅτῳ δ' ἐλαύνεται | συμφοραῖς οἶκος, σέβοντα δαίμονας θαρσεῖν χρεών:** this thought does fit *Ion*, in part. The *oikos* of Xuthus and Creusa was troubled, and consulting the oracle was pious; as for Ion, he lacked an *oikos*, but his extraordinary piety was rewarded in the end. On the other hand, Creusa's behavior after Ion blocked her secret consultation and she learned of the oracle given to Xuthus bordered on impiety, to say the least, and forced the god to change his plans; yet she too was rewarded (Introd. §8.2).

**ἀξίων:** the Chorus-leader picks up Ion's word (1616–18n.), but her version is more celebratory, since she acknowledges the outcome as encouraging and speaks of pious action and good people.

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